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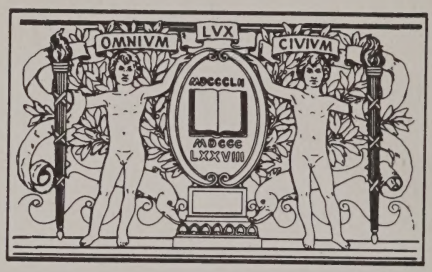

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CX.

JANUARY, 1841.

ART. I. — 1. *Letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in Compliance with the Resolution of the 9th ultimo, a System of National Defence.* Document No. 206. 26th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives.
2. *Annual Report of the Board of Visitors of the United States Military Academy.* June, 1840.

IN a former article, which reviewed a portion of the War Department documents of the twenty-sixth Congress,* we intended to close our remarks on the *coast defence* with some allusions to Mr. Poinsett's plan of organizing the militia, as exhibited in those documents, developing, as it did, a part of the means with which he proposed to make that defence effective and economical. The article, however, did not appear, until further communications from the same quarter, giving the promised details of this plan, had been sent to Congress, with much other kindred matter; which, presenting the subject in new relations, rendered all remarks, not having that additional matter in view, imperfect and premature in their character. We have now all those documents before us, but we have not placed the title of that which gives the proposed reorganization of the militia among those at the head of this article, because it is probably abandoned at the present time, or in its present shape. The President himself seems now to entertain doubts of its constitutionality.

* See *North American Review*, Vol. LI. pp. 158 *et seq.*

This is sufficient to decide its fate. We hope, however, that the attempt at some sort of reorganization will be renewed at a more propitious season. Much of Mr. Poinsett's plan was good; that of the classification, order of service, &c.; but the scheme of instructing and disciplining the militia is fallacious. As well might mechanics be taught their craft by a few days' training each year, as militiamen, by the same process, the duties of a soldier. Arm and organize the militia, and leave the rest to emergencies. Actual service does more in a few weeks, than periodical trainings would do in as many years. The amount of improvement is small and insignificant in either case, but it is available in one case, and is lost in an ever-shifting multitude in the other. Discipline did nothing at Bunker's Hill. All was effected by sharp-shooting under cover. It was the same at New Orleans. The faculty of firing well belongs to all our people. And those who expect to make a beneficial use of militia hereafter, must do as has been done heretofore, — place it in situations where this, its best and almost only available qualification, may be developed to advantage. Such situations may be found, or be formed, in all wars. Hence militia should always be a reliance in the defence of a country. It can often be serviceable, even without discipline; and no more should be expected of it, as discipline is unattainable by it. We, of course, here speak of the mass of the militia. Independent companies are an exception, as we shall have occasion to remark in the subsequent pages.

The "Letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in Compliance with the Resolution of the 9th ultimo, a System of National Defence," dated May 12th, 1840, forms a document of extraordinary interest to the nation. The Report embraced by it is the result of deliberations by a Board of Officers, which combined talent and experience, every way suited to a satisfactory fulfilment of the very important duty assigned to it. We have some ground for self-gratulation, that such a board should have regarded those opinions of a former Secretary of War, on the subject of national defence, which called forth from us some animadversions in the article referred to, as deserving its most earnest and careful attention, with a view to counteract their prejudicial influence on the public mind. Could we have anticipated the entrance of such a champion into the lists, our own comparatively feeble

lance might still have hung upon the wall, as being needless on a side so well furnished with skill and strength. But it will be borne in mind, that nearly four years had elapsed since those celebrated opinions were promulgated, and that, thus far, no effort, commensurate with the emergency, had been made to meet and refute them. It is at last done, however, most triumphantly in this Report of the Board of Officers, — a report that does honor to the service, affording evidence of an amount of science among our military men, and an ability to comprehend all its bearings on modern warfare, that may challenge comparison with these qualities in any other country. If we supposed that the document before us were likely to fall under the notice of the reading public in general, we should deem it supererogation to give such an analysis of its contents as may be compressed within our present limits. But such a diffusion of mere documentary information is not to be expected. Public attention must be sought through a variety of avenues. And we may be allowed to suppose that a periodical work of long standing presents one that reaches far and wide. It is, therefore, with an inward assurance that we are performing a good service, that we so soon again invoke reflecting men to bestow a portion of their thoughts upon the subject of *national defence*, repeating the remark before made, that there is scarcely one that more strongly claims the consideration of the patriot and the statesman, or that so little receives it.

The Board presents in the front rank of its Report the question, whether "the navy is the true defence of the country," as one that had come prejudged and determined from a "high official source," disturbing "the public confidence" in a system, founded on other means, which had long been its chief reliance; but examines it solely with a reference to this branch of our national defence as an *exclusive* trust for our national safety. No doubt is expressed, as none could have been felt, of its eminent fitness to perform its legitimate and customary part in the great duty of defensive and offensive warfare. The brilliancy its achievements have shed over every belligerent era of our history cannot be obscured. But its home is on the deep; and the notion, that it constitutes "our first and best fortification," has no parallel but in the act of the combatant, who spreads his hand on his breast, as a substitute for shield and breastplate, when it

should be wielding the sword on every side, leaving the *vis inertiæ* of such a duty to "sterner stuff," to less permeable matter. It is demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt in this Report, that any attempt to secure our seaports, in time of war, by a reliance on naval, or floating, defences alone, would, in this country, with its many points of this character, require a naval establishment of an enormous magnitude. Supposing the war to be with Great Britain, and her ports fortified in the usual manner, while our ports depended on naval means for defence; her fleet, which would be unnecessary for home defence, could select its point of attack upon our shore, without giving any hint of her intentions. The present adaptation of steam to ocean navigation places the arrival of a fleet at its destination within the limits of something like certainty. Warning is almost out of the question, and forms no element in the calculation. The attack will be the first admonition to defend. Under such circumstances, what complete, or even common, security would there be, but in such a force at each accessible and important point as would match the invader? It is true, that portions might be left comparatively weak. Achilles would then be pierced in the heel, or wherever most vulnerable. Whether the defence be complete, or only imperfect, the naval establishment required would be immense; for even twice the amount of the enemy's disposable force would be an intolerable burden, while it would prove little better than "looped and windowed raggedness" as a panoply for the maritime frontier.

It has latterly been a common opinion, that the introduction of steam power upon the high seas is likely to modify greatly the features of war, and also, perhaps, the system of fortification. The force of this opinion is most elaborately examined by the Board. We cannot give the details of this examination. It is obvious, however, upon slight reflection, that, when steam batteries are relied upon, the attacking and resisting power act under equal advantages, which are rendered otherwise only by the accident of more or less strength in the number of batteries or weight of metal used by the respective parties. The ability of the resisting or stationary party to make use of batteries, which, while they lose in mobility, gain in solidity, by thickened bulwarks or sides, is rendered nugatory by the use of shells, whose destructiveness is in proportion to that thickness, where the materials, as must

always be the case with wood, are permeable, and easily riven in pieces. Steam batteries cannot, therefore, be supposed to change the nature of relative force.

The Board concludes this portion of its Report with the following remarks;

"We should not have gone so much at length into a branch of our subject, wherein the conclusions appear to be so obvious and incontrovertible, but for the prevalence of opinions which we consider, not erroneous merely, but highly dangerous, and which, we think, must give way before the exhibition of the truth. We do not anticipate any formidable objections to the positions assumed, nor to the illustrations; but, even should all these, in the form in which we have presented them, be objected to, we may still challenge opposition to the following broad propositions, namely, 1. If the sea-coast is to be defended by naval means exclusively, the defensive force, at each point deemed worthy of protection, must be, at least, equal *in power* to the attacking force; 2. As, from the nature of the case, there can be no reason for expecting an attack on one of these points rather than on another, and no time for transferring our state of preparation from one to another, after an attack has been declared, each of them must have assigned to it the requisite means; and, 3. Consequently, this system demands a power in the defence as many times greater than that in the attack, as there are points to be covered."

Having disposed of this branch of the subject, the Board, "believing that a well-digested system of fortifications will save the country from the danger attending every form of defence by naval means, and the intolerable expense of a full provision of those means," next proceeds "to show that such a system is worthy of all reliance"; adding, that

"There has been but one practice among nations, as to the defence of ports and harbours; and that has been a resort to fortifications. All experience that history teaches is on one side only; it is the opposition of forts, or other works comprehended under the term *fortification*, to attacks by vessels; and, although history affords some instances wherein this defence has not availed, we see that the resort is still the same. No nation omits to cover the exposed points upon her seaboard with fortifications, and to confide in them."

This broad statement is sustained by arguments and illustrations that would seem to leave no doubt behind. Public opinion is easily misled, when experience is not at hand to

prevent or correct its wanderings. A striking instance, leaning one way, opportunely seized upon, prevails against a long record of opposing facts. We cannot conjecture what instance of this kind led to the conclusion before alluded to, that ships were our "first and best fortification," as nearly all reading, and reflections suggested by it, would appear to tend another way. Some of the more prominent instances of attack and defence furnished by history, where forts and ships were antagonists, are examined by the Board. Each one is exhibited with all its attendant circumstances, so far as they are known; and sufficient is known in each case to prove, that guns on shore are superior to guns afloat. Gibraltar, in 1782, is eminent as an example of the inefficiency of floating batteries; also Algeziras, in 1801, — comprehending ships under that term. In the latter instance, there was a great disparity in favor of the assailing fleet, which, however, could not avert a signal failure, produced mainly by a few guns, well placed and managed, in battery on shore. The attack on Fort Moultrie, during our Revolution, is not forgotten; when vessels, carrying more than two hundred and fifty guns, "were defeated with great loss of life, and injury to the vessels," by thirty guns behind a palmetto rampart. Copenhagen has been supposed to furnish a conspicuous proof of the power of a fleet operating against a strongly defended place. All the circumstances of this memorable event are brought under review by the Board, and it appears that the contest, up to the time when Nelson proposed the parley that concluded it, was between vessels and vessels. The batteries were unable to interfere, either from remoteness or relative position, the Danish fleet being between the most important of them and the enemy, until nearly the last hour of the combat. The struggle was therefore naval exclusively, and the victory was over the floating force. No inference, therefore, as to the relative strength of fortifications and fleets can be drawn from this event. It furnishes no argument either one way or the other.

Lord Exmouth's attack on Algiers, which bears more immediately on the question, is also presented by the Board in all its known details. The fleet of the English and Dutch mounted about one thousand guns, while about three hundred and twenty were on shore, though not more than two hundred of the latter were able to operate in the action. The loss of

killed and wounded in the combined forces was about nine hundred, notwithstanding the Algerine batteries permitted Lord Exmouth to take his position without firing a gun. Even if better and more promptly served guns on shore had been likely to avert the issue, — a most triumphant one for Lord Exmouth, — the event, under any aspect, shows the far greater power of annoyance in guns on shore, than in guns afloat. No one can doubt for one moment, that, had the guns of the Algerine battery been afloat, they would have been silenced by the assailing fleet with as little effort as loss. Nor can we resist the belief, that, had the two hundred guns on shore been skilfully, opportunely, and perseveringly managed, Lord Exmouth would have failed to dictate terms to the Dey. As it was, it is not certain that those terms might not have been rejected with impunity, as the fleets had taken advantage of a land breeze to haul off to a safe distance from those guns, under which it might have safely awaited the result of negotiations, had they been effectually silenced.

Two or three other comparatively minor affairs are cited, which, however, most clearly prove the "superiority which guns on shore must always, in certain situations, possess over those of shipping." One was, when a martello tower, armed with only one gun, beat off one or two British ships of war, with little injury to itself. Another, where Sir Sidney Smith, with an eighty-gun ship and two frigates, fired successive broadsides at a two-gun battery on Cape Licosa, until his ammunition was nearly expended ; when, finding the return fire destructive and unabated, he landed a small party, and compelled, or induced, the commanding officer to capitulate, who had had one of his two guns dismounted for some time ; so that, as the British authority, from which the account is taken, states, "an attack of an eighty-gun ship and two frigates had been resisted by a single gun on shore."

The Board, in commenting on these instances, remark ;

"Here are two examples ; 1. A single heavy gun, mounted on a tower, beat off one or two British ships. 2. A barbette battery, containing two guns, beat off a British eighty-gun ship, supported by two frigates. It would seem that no exception can be taken to either instance, as trials of relative power. There is no complication of circumstances on one side or the other ; nothing to confuse or mislead ; all is perfectly simple and plain. A small body of artillery, judiciously

posted on shore, is attacked by armed vessels bearing forty or fifty times as many guns; and the ships, unable to produce any effect of consequence, are beaten off. The cases present no peculiar advantages on the side of the batteries, either as regards position or quality; for both were immediately reduced by a land attack."

The Board states that the representation of both affairs is taken from "British military writers." The victorious party may represent the results as still more to "the disadvantage of the ships."

"The affair of Stonington," — an event of our war of 1812, — is also most properly alluded to by the Board, as showing, not only the gallantry of our "citizen volunteers," but the advantage of guns on shore over those afloat. In this affair, only two eighteen pounders, behind a battery three feet high, repulsed a sloop of war, which sustained considerable loss, without inflicting any.

These small affairs contain volumes of instruction and encouragement. They are too often regarded as chance-issues, which are not likely to occur again, even under similar circumstances. But the truth is, that such trials are always likely to end as those ended. The shore guns have an immense superiority over guns afloat. An extract from the Report of the Board on this subject will enlighten the most ignorant, and convince the most unwilling.

"A ship is everywhere equally vulnerable; and large as is her hull, the men and guns are everywhere concentrated within her; on the other hand, in the properly constructed battery, it is only the gun itself, a small part of the carriage, and now and then a head or an arm above the parapet, that can be hurt; the ratio of the exposed surfaces being not less than fifteen or twenty to one. Next, there is always more or less motion in the water, so that the ship gun, although it may have been pointed accurately at one moment, at the next will be thrown entirely away from the object, even when the motion in the vessel is too small to be otherwise noticed; whereas, in the battery, the gun will be fired just as it is pointed, and the motion of the ship will merely vary to the extent of a few inches, or at most two or three feet, the spot in which the shot is to be received. In the ship there are, besides, many points exposed, that may be called vital points. By losing her rudder, or portions of her rigging or spars, she may become unmanageable, and unable to use her strength; she may receive

shots under water, and be liable to sink ; she may receive hot shot, and be set on fire, and these damages are in addition to those of having her guns dismounted, and her people killed, by the shot which pierce her sides, and scatter splinters from her timbers ; while the risks of the battery are confined to those mentioned above."

The instruction to be derived from a consideration of the foregoing events is, that an attack by vessels of war upon exposed and nearly undefended parts of the coast, should be fearlessly met by such means of resistance, namely, a few cannon, a few spades, willing hands and stout hearts, as most maritime places afford ; and the encouragement may justly be entertained, that the attack, if confined to the water, (and detachments are seldom made from the crew, to land in populous districts,) will generally be repulsed.

But the most modern and startling instance of trial between these antagonist forces, that is, between guns afloat and guns ashore, is that of the castle of St. Juan d'Ulloa ; which affair, having been marked by (as it is generally supposed) the unaccustomed use of horizontal, hollow, or Paixhan's shells, (all the same,) and an unexpected result, was for some time thought to have revolutionized the mode of coast attack and defence. The fall of this celebrated strong-hold, after such a brief cannonade, could be accounted for only by supposing that there had been introduced into the attack a new means of destruction, having a power against which no calculations had been made. The Board has subjected this interesting and not very well understood event to a strict scrutiny, and analyzed all its circumstances, until we are satisfied, that its true and just bearing upon the future is ascertained and fixed. Admiral Baudin had a naval force, including two bomb-ketches, which mounted one hundred and eighty-eight guns, or ninety-four on a broadside ; and the castle had twelve twenty-four pounders and four sea-mortars engaged. The action lasted six hours, when, two magazines having exploded in the castle, and there being a well-grounded apprehension that "six other similar magazines" would also explode, (for there were all these deposits of powder or ammunition in the castle, which were not bomb-proof,) the Mexicans capitulated. The French fired over eight thousand shot at the castle, but produced no effect in preparing the way for a sword-in-hand assault, which was contemplated the following

morning. That great quantity of missiles no doubt marred and indented the walls to a considerable extent, but (as the Board not too strongly remarks) "might have been fired the other way," so far as they contributed to effect a breach, — the only way in which such a preparation could hope to be made by such means.

This castle, as we have before remarked, had been somewhat celebrated, during the revolutionary struggles of Mexico, for its strength. It was supposed that no ordinary means could subdue it. The result of this attack does not prove, that, had its interior been protected from explosions in the ordinary manner, its character in this respect was undeserved. The usual and indispensable precaution of giving all powder deposits bomb-proof roofs was here most unaccountably neglected. The mail-clad warrior was in the battle without his helmet. Had Admiral Baudin advanced his bomb-ketches alone, they might have produced, it is not improbable, unaided, all the causes, that is, the explosions within the castle ("one of which is reported to have buried sixty men in its ruins"), which led to the capitulation. An observance of this simple precaution, — a precaution we are inclined to believe not neglected with respect to any other magazines of consequence on the North American coast, — might, and no doubt would, have reversed the decision of this memorable trial.

The Board has not dwelt too long or minutely on this event. Inferences were likely to be drawn from it, which might have unsettled firmly and justly established opinions, and warranted the introduction of innovations of a dangerous character. The doubts of the day, admitted without due reflection, were gathering strength from an instance, that appeared to prove that fortifications were about to become powerless before fleets, particularly when aided by the Paixhan shells, which were generally thought to have mainly contributed to the reduction of St. Juan d'Ulloa. This redoubtable shell, which had wrought with such tremendous and unanticipated energy in the work of destruction, has been exhibited by the Board in its true light, which divests it of much of its terrors. We cannot, in justice to the subject, attempt to condense this portion of its Report, which says ;

"We fully believe, that the free use of these shells will have an influence of some importance on the relative force of ship

and battery ; but that influence must be the very reverse of what has been predicted. How are the batteries to be affected by them ? It can be but in two ways ; first, the ship gun having been pointed so as to strike a vital part, — that is to say, a gun or carriage, — the shell may explode at the instant of contact. This explosion may possibly happen thus opportunely, but it would happen against all chances ; and, if happening, would probably do no more than add a few men to the list of killed and wounded. For reasons that will soon appear, it is to be doubted whether the probability of dismounting the gun would be so great as if the missile were a solid thirty-two-pound shot. Secondly, if it be not by dismounting the guns, or killing the garrison, the effects anticipated from these missiles must result from the injury they do the battery itself. Now we are perfectly informed, by military experience, as to the effect of these shells upon forts and batteries ; for the shells are not new, although the guns may be so, — the eight-inch and the ten-inch shells having always been supplied in abundance to every siege train, and being perfectly understood, both as to their effects and the mode of using them.

" Were it a thing easily done, the blowing away of the parapets of a work (a very desirable result to the attacking party) would be a common incident in the attacks on fortifications ; but the history of attacks by land or water affords no such instance ; the only practicable way yet discovered of demolishing a fortification, being by attaching a miner to the foot of the wall ; or by dint of solid shot and heavy charges fired unremittingly, during a long succession of hours, upon the same part of the wall, in order not only to break through it, but to break through it in such a manner, that the weight and pressure of the incumbent mass may throw large portions of the wall prostrate. This, the shortest and best way of breaching a wall, requires, in the first place, perfect accuracy of direction ; because the same number of shots, that, being distributed over the expanse of a wall, would merely peel off the face, would, if concentrated in a single deep cut, cause the wall to fall ; and it requires, moreover, great power of penetration in the missile, — the charge of a breaching-gun being, for that reason, one third greater than the common service charges. Now the requisite precision of firing for this effect is wholly unattainable in vessels, whether the shot be solid or hollow ; and, if it were attainable, hollow shot would be entirely useless for the purpose, because *every one of them would break in pieces against the wall*, even when fired with a charge much less than the common service charge. This is no newly discovered fact ;

it is neither new nor doubtful. Every hollow shot thrown against a wall of a fort or battery, if fired with the velocity affording any penetration, will unquestionably be broken into fragments by the shock.

"After so much has been said about the effect of these shells upon the castle of St. Juan d'Ulloa, it was deemed advisable, although the results of European experiments were perfectly known, to repeat, in our own service, some trials touching this point. A target was therefore constructed, having one third part of the length formed of granite, one third of bricks, and the remaining third of freestone. This was fired at by a Paixhan gun, and by a thirty-two pounder, from the distance of half a mile, and the anticipated results were obtained, namely; 1st, whether it was the granite, the brick, or the freestone, that was struck, the solid thirty-two-pounder shot penetrated much deeper into the wall, and did much more damage, than the eight-inch hollow shot; and, 2dly, these last broke against the wall in every instance that the charge of the gun was sufficient to give them any penetration.

"From all this it appears incontrovertibly, that, as regards the effects to be produced upon batteries by shells, solid shot are decidedly preferable to hollow shot; and the ship, that, contemplating the destruction of batteries, should change her long twenty-four or thirty-two pounder guns for Paixhan guns, would certainly weaken her armament." . . . . . "The use of these hollow missiles by batteries against vessels, is, however, an affair of a different character. The shells do not break against timber; but, penetrating the bulwarks, they, in the first place, would do greater damage than solid shot, by making a larger hole, and dispersing more splinters; and having, as shot, effected all this injury, they would then augment it, many fold, by exploding."

The Report further adds on this subject, (we regret that our limits forbid us to continue to quote,) that these shells will generally, in close actions, pass through one side and explode at the other side of the vessel; that, if they were permitted, by the thinness of the bulwarks, to pass through and through, the damage would be much diminished; and hence, it suggests, that the use of these shells may "lead to a reduction in the thickness" of these bulwarks; concluding with these remarks;

"The facts of history, and the practice of warlike nations, are in perfect accordance with the conclusions of theory. The results that reason anticipated have occurred again and

again. And as long as, on one side, batteries are formed of earth and stone, and, on the other, ships are liable to be swallowed up by the element on which they float, or to be deprived of the means by which they move ; so long as they can be penetrated by solid shot, set on fire or blown up by hot shot, or torn to pieces by shells, the same results must inevitably be repeated at each succeeding trial."

We are persuaded that few readers, who are led to look into this article, will deem the space allotted to this portion of our subject too extended. It is highly important that just views, in this respect, should be open to the public generally. Common studies are unavailing for this purpose. It is only by deviating occasionally into strictly professional grounds, that the truth can be seen. With those who aspire to the standing of legislators, this truth is indispensable, and it is necessary to all who would comprehend the course of events, and their influence on the customs of war and the destinies of nations.

Having satisfactorily demonstrated that naval means are ineffectual as a sole or principal reliance for coast defence, the Board next considers the value of the usual mode of effecting this object, that is, by fortifications. We do not intend to dwell on this part of the Report ; not that we regard the considerations we have already bestowed upon it in a prior article as superseding the necessity of further amplification. We regret, that, when that article was written, we had not the advantage of the reasons advanced in the Report in favor of this well-tried and approved mode of giving security to a maritime frontier. As the subject now stands, however, we feel no distrust as to the opinion that will generally be formed respecting the preference of this mode over all others. Empiricism should have no sway in a matter involving such incalculable interests. The mistake of one era would be visited, in its consequences, upon the third and fourth generation.

The Report states a fact, which strongly illustrates the propriety of thus securing our commercial cities. The great fire in the city of New York, in 1835, is said to have consumed property to more than the value of $ 17,000,000. This was the work of a few hours, and might be repeated at almost any moment by the stroke of an enemy, who found no fortifications, or adequate naval force, to oppose his progress ;

augmenting the destruction a thousand fold, if he chose to involve the shipping, and the city generally, in the ruin. It is true, that the laws of civilized warfare forbid all this, except the destruction of the shipping, unless a military occupation of the place, — a most probable occurrence, — were to justify it. But every enemy, having a wealthy place at his control, feels authorized to levy contributions as a price of exemption from such a fatal calamity. The amount of such contributions cannot be calculated, depending, as it does, on the cupidity, generosity, or state of temper at the moment, of the military or naval arbiter in the case ; but it is generally measured by the ability to pay, and the value of the boon conceded. What is the cost of the works proposed to cover this great mart of our country ? Say about $5,000,000. If it were double, or treble, would it be prudent or expedient to hesitate about the expenditure ? Besides, what is the amount of revenue, which is poured into the national coffers by this commercial city ? One quarter's receipts would almost case her in a coat of mail ; while the neglect of this paramount duty might, by a most probable event of war, deprive the nation, in one year, of an amount that would half encase the whole United States in the same manner.

All other works of defence besides fortifications are liable to constant, extensive, and even total, decay. It is not so with walls constructed of stone, brick, or even earth. There is much about fortifications, we know, that is destructible by time and the elements. They must be preserved, repaired, or renewed, at an ever-recurring expense ; still the main expense is only at the outset. Once made, the wall stands by its own strength, and scarcely begins to crumble in the course of an age. Strong places are now standing which have stood for ages ; and even the "Indian hill" retains its form for a century, if spared by the plough. The force of these facts is not impaired by the well-known calls that are annually made for appropriations to repair forts, &c. These repairs, though expensive, are trifling compared with the first cost of the works. Nor is this continual expense an objection to them. As well might we cease to build houses, because the expense does not terminate with the erection.

In concluding its "views on the general subject of the defences of the coast," the Board very properly dwells for a time on the mode of garrisoning the forts, without resorting

to such an augmentation of the regular army, as their number and size would seem to demand. The *militia* is recommended as the main reliance. This may at first excite surprise; and indeed the proposition, without explanation, would be deemed wholly inadmissible. Mr. Poinsett's first plan of organizing and applying this force is not suggested. It is unnecessary to state the reasons which might discountenance such a suggestion. The Board looks to no new and comprehensive change in this vast, unwieldy mass of national strength, — a change that it would require much time to produce, even if the opposition, which has ever thus far stood in its way, were to be withdrawn, — but proposes only to use such force as already exists, is already found organized in most if not all our maritime cities.

It is well observed by the Board, that the militia is very inefficient, or incompetent, only in the field. There, where operations are successful through that discipline and skill which are acquired by long service alone, — such service as no militia ever will be, or can be, or ought to be, subjected to in this country, — an uninstructed, discordant multitude must always anticipate defeat. Such a consequence is as inevitable, as that an awkward and unwary clown, however strong, will be floored by an expert pugilist, however comparatively weak. But there is a description of military force in all our cities, that is far more in advance of the great body of the militia in all the qualities of organization and efficiency, than it is behind the regular army in these qualities. This force is formed by the volunteer companies of those places. The character of these companies is well known to the country. Most of them have aptitude in manœuvring, perform the manual exercise expertly, are animated by an *esprit de corps*, have confidence in their officers, and, to a certain extent, are strictly subordinate to their authority. In all these important respects, they are not only above the militia in general, but are wholly unlike them. Not one of these qualities, as a general rule, belongs to the mass of the citizen soldiers of the country; nor can they ever be imparted to it in any beneficial degree. These volunteer companies form a respectable numerical force along the whole sea-coast, — perhaps already sufficient for the purpose in view, — and, by suitable legislative encouragement, may be increased to any desirable amount. Such encouragement

should readily be accorded, particularly on the sea-board and on the other frontiers. The idea that has been started in some State legislatures, when incorporations of this kind have been proposed, namely, that they savour of exclusive privileges, and deduct so much from the efficiency of the militia in general, is warranted neither by reason nor by experience. If there be any privilege belonging to these companies, it is that of incurring an extraordinary expense, and bestowing an extraordinary share of time, in order to qualify themselves to serve their country. Leave the materials of which they are composed with the main body, and that body remains the same unorganized and undisciplined mass ; take them out, and they form new combinations, and assume new and superior characteristics, — characteristics which for ever remain dormant until this separation takes place. Like certain chemical separations and combinations, the improvement is not in the elements, but in the condition, in the association.

With respect to the duty to be performed, the Board says ;

" There is no difficulty in the service of fixed batteries. The militiaman has to be taught merely the service of a single gun, which is very simple. He must learn to use the rammer and the sponge, the handspike and the linstock, to load, to run to battery, to trail, and to fire ; these are all. Each of these operations is of the utmost simplicity, depending on individual action, and not on concert ; and they may be taught in a short time. There is no manœuvring, no marching, no wheeling. The squad of one gun may be marched to another ; but the service is the same. Even the art of pointing a cannon is, to an American militiaman, an art of easy attainment, from the skill all our countrymen acquire in the use of fire-arms.

" The mode of applying this force may be illustrated by the case of any of our cities on the sea-board. The forts and batteries, being put in perfect condition, should be garrisoned, (at least the more important ones,) by a small body of regular artillery, such as our present military force could supply, and sufficient for the preservation of the public property, and to afford indispensable daily guards. To these should be added two or three men of the ordnance department, especially charged with the condition of the armament and ammunition, and two or three engineer soldiers, whose sole duty should be to attend to the condition of the fortifications ; keeping every

part in a state of perfect repair. In certain important works, however, that would be exposed to siege, or to analogous operations, it would be prudent, especially in the beginning of a war, to keep up a more considerable body of regular troops."

The Board makes further suggestions, as, that this "volunteer force should be divided into detachments, without disturbing the company organization," and "assigned to the several works, according to the war garrisons of each, from four to six men, according to circumstances, being allowed to each gun."

We have not space to give even a condensed view of all parts of this most important plan of garrisoning, in time of war, our forts and batteries, without resorting to a burdensome augmentation of the regular army, and without relying upon any new mode of organizing the militia; merely depending upon means already, or readily, made fit for application to such a purpose, in every city that looks to such works for defence. This force is termed a *volunteer* force, because it is not anticipated that it will hesitate to come forward in time of need. A state of war throws the business of all maritime cities, more or less, into embarrassment, and greatly diminishes the demand it has upon the time of those who carry it on. Hence, their inhabitants can send out a quota for garrison service, at such times, without the usual inconvenience. But even if sacrifices were to be made, who will be found more ready to make them, than the members of the volunteer companies, which generally embrace, not only the sinew and much of the talent of the place, but those persons who have a large stake to defend, in "family, property, and social and civil relations"? Besides, they will be within reach of the resources of home.

Let us, by way of illustration, suppose that the city of New York were prepared, as she partly now is, and, we trust, in a few years will wholly be, for a state of war, and that she were fitted for its emergencies by having her many forts and batteries garrisoned after the manner proposed by the Board; that is, with a body of regular troops, combined with volunteer companies, drawn from the immediate neighbourhood; the volunteers, in such combination, being susceptible of fulfilling every required duty in a very short time, and leaving their homes and occupations with little comparative detriment to the latter. And what was the aspect of the same

place in 1814, when threatened by invasion? Her defences were few and imperfect; and, in default of ramparts of stone and brick, she believed she had no alternative but to heap up masses of men, which she did, until a wall of flesh and blood appeared to surround her. It is true, through the active use of the spade and mattock, lines of circumvallation were hastily thrown up in front of this living wall; which, however, could have stayed a disciplined and persevering enemy, probably, only a few hours. More than twenty-five thousand men were at one time, and for a considerable time, on duty on and around the island of Manhattan. Whole counties were drained of their population, all "occupations" being "gone" but that of war; farms were neglected, trades suspended, shops nearly all closed up; a wide-spread and distressing sacrifice was made for the security of the great mart of that region. No reluctance was manifested by those who felt the most severely the burden of this sacrifice. Every thing was apparently at stake, and still more intolerable burdens might have awaited any dereliction of duty. But such a state of things need not recur. With proper fortifications, New York could mainly defend herself. Her own population, aided by a suitable body of regular troops, — a small body compared with the garrison complement, — all being under the command of an army officer, (for such an officer would at all times be in command,) would effect this great object, with probably no calls upon the interior for support. Under such circumstances, war would be like a cutaneous disease, distressing the surface, but leaving nearly all within untroubled.

These brief statements and reflections must impress every man of common prudence with a sense of the bounden duty of government to avert, by timely preparations, the recurrence of such a state of things; a duty applicable to every portion of the United States. They show, also, that a system of fortifications, manned in the way proposed, would be an economy of men and money to an amount, that no calculation can ascertain. The cost of fortifications is of a definite character; great though it be, yet it has its bounds; while the cost of such a defence as the war of 1812 actually brought upon many portions, and might have brought upon every portion, of the maritime frontier, is illimitable, both as to life and treasure.

The Board concludes its able Report with the following

summary. We extract it entire, because it is pregnant with facts which every statesman and patriot should have ready at his command.

"The works which are likely to be erected on the Atlantic, within a reasonable time, and which are regarded as necessary to a good system of defence, will require war garrisons amounting to 28,720 men; and they will require a further expenditure of $9,176,767. Works called for in like manner upon the Gulf of Mexico coast, will need 4,420 men to garrison them, and a further expenditure of $516,780. Of the whole coast, therefore, the garrisons will amount to 33,140 men, and the expenditures to $9,993,547.

"The remaining works comprised in tables F, of both statements, will require 30,695 men, and cost $19,521,824.

"Making the grand total for the whole sea-coast of the United States, in garrisons for the works, 63,835 men, and in cost, $29,515,371.

"In addition to these statements as to the fortifications, there are corresponding statements of the cost of the ordnance, of the carriages, and of a certain supply of powder and shot, or shells, for each piece, — one statement relating to the Atlantic coast, and the other to the Gulf of Mexico coast. From these it appears, that for the works likely to be erected on the Atlantic coast, within a reasonable time, (that is to say, for the works comprised in the first five tables, A, B, C, D, and E,) there will be needed 2,483 pieces of ordnance, and 4,511 carriages, which will cost $2,252,290.

"For similar works on the Gulf of Mexico coast, there will be needed 296 pieces of ordnance, and 495 carriages, at a cost of $240,720.

"The remaining works named in tables F, of both statements, will require, in addition, 5,447 guns, and 5,554 carriages, which will cost $3,735,330.

"Making the grand total required for the whole sea-coast, 8,226 guns, and 10,560 carriages, at a cost of $6,228,340.

"The time required to construct and put in order the whole system must depend on the amount of the annual appropriation. All that need now be said on the subject is, that in an undertaking necessarily involving so much time, and of such vital importance, there should be no relaxation of diligence. With all diligence, many years must necessarily be consumed. But the work may be too much hurried, as well as too much delayed. There is a rate of progress at which it will be executed in the best manner, and at the minimum cost. If more hurried, it will be defective in quality, and more costly if delayed.

"France was at least fifty years in completing her maritime and interior defences.

"In the report presented by the Engineer Department, in March, 1836, (Senate Document, 1st Session, 24th Congress, Vol. 4, No. 293,) there is a demonstration of the actual economy that will result from an efficient system of sea-coast defence; which is to the following effect, referring to the document itself for details.

"There is first supposed to be an expedition of 20,000 men at Bermuda, or Halifax, ready to fall upon the coast. This will make it necessary, if there be no fortifications, to have ready a force, at least equal, at each of the following points, namely, 1st, Portsmouth and navy-yard; 2d, Boston and navy-yard; 3d, Narraganset roads; 4th, New York and navy-yard; 5th, Philadelphia and navy-yard; 6th, Baltimore; 7th, Norfolk and navy-yard; 8th, Charleston, S. C.; 9th, Savannah; and 10th, New Orleans; to say nothing of other important places.

"At each of these places, except the last, 10,000 men drawn from the interior and kept under pay, will suffice; the vicinity being relied on to supply the remainder. At New Orleans, 17,000 men must be drawn from a distance. In a campaign of six months, the whole force will cost at least $26,750,000.

"The garrisons necessary to be kept under pay for the fortifications in these places will cost for the same time $8,430,500. The difference ($18,319,500) will then be only $3,448,156 less than the whole expense of building these defences, viz., $21,767,656. Whence it follows, that the expense of these erections would be nearly compensated by the saving they would cause in a single campaign."

The same document, on parts of which we have thus far been commenting, contains a memorial from Major General E. P. Gaines, of the United States Army, which has attracted some attention, by the exalted military source whence it comes, and the extreme novelty of its general character. In the latter respect, it somewhat resembles the plan proposed by the War Department in 1836. Both propositions depart widely, — almost at a tangent, — from the experience and practice of previous times. This may not be a decisive objection, but it suggests the propriety of much consideration, and naturally leads to doubt and hesitation. The art of war has occasionally been subjected to great changes, but only when the means of carrying it on have been greatly changed.

The invention of gunpowder, and the introduction of fire-arms into use, produced one of these revolutions, — the principal one. But, for the last century and more, the course of military improvement has been gradual and accumulative. One step has been added to another, generally in the same onward line. All Europe has relied upon fortifications for coast defence, and no one, at least of note, until the idea occurred recently in this country, suggested a substitute. These aberrations do not find favor with the thinking part of civilized nations. It is ever regarded as safe, and as safest, to conform to well-tried customs, to be led by approved experience. Neither involves much risk or uncertainty, while all is committed to hazard by abrupt deviations into novelties.

Probably the sober calculations made by the Topographical Bureau, to which this memorial was referred, in order that its propositions might be subjected to some test, will satisfy the public mind, that they are uncertain in all respects, except the expense they involve, which cannot fall short of an enormous amount. It is well stated by the Topographical Bureau, that any plan of running rail-roads from a common centre to the periphery of the United States, which is not based on actual surveys, more or less approximating to the truth, is too undefined to be entertained, excepting as a suggestion. Calculations, resting on grounds so liable to variation, would be shadowy in the extreme, and become the merest hypotheses.

Besides, there are strong objections to the plan, even if it were practicable. One of the heavy items of expense in war is transportation; and a system that supposes the country, in seasons of danger, convulsed to the inmost interior, by a centrifugal rush, would swell this item to a startling magnitude. The true rule is, first to draw from supplies at hand, seeking the more remote only as necessity demands. Such a rule permits most of the interior to remain quietly engaged in its occupations, thus keeping in vigor many of the principal resources of war, and confining the heaviest sacrifices to a comparatively small portion of the body politic. These seasons of danger are in this way deprived of half their power to do harm.

All are aware that facilities of communication enter largely into the sum of military power, of national defence. Good roads, canals, and, above all, rail-roads, augment the capa-

bility of troops to defend a country many fold. One thousand men at the present day, in nearly any populous part of the United States, may safely be pronounced equal to many thousands in 1812. Our army can now be moved, with all its appointments, from one end of the Union to the other, and also from east to west, in time for most of the purposes of a sudden campaign. But these facilities are seldom part of the military system. They are the creations, the avenues, formed by the enterprise and wealth of States, corporations, or individuals, and follow the lead of trade, or pleasure, or the promise of interest. Accommodating the military demands of the country, in war as well as in peace, is a mere incident, a subsidiary benefit. No government, excepting a despotism, undertakes to construct roads, or canals, for military purposes merely, excepting in extreme cases. Such works are the result of causes which are expected to remunerate the cost. They, however, fulfil all military purposes nearly, or quite, as well as if constructed for those purposes alone. Trade and commerce instinctively seek the best routes. They shorten distances, remove obstacles, and in all respects facilitate transportation. With such facilities opening through the country in every direction, connecting its most remote parts together ; with our noble estuaries and rivers, courting navigation up to the very mountains of the interior, where the bellowing steam of boats, starting from opposite borders of the country, almost echo to each other ; with communications so easy, rapid, and economical, government need seek no other means of this kind for its great work of defence ; certainly would not be justified in substituting for them a gigantic system of internal improvement, that has rejected, or not regarded, commercial considerations, but looks to geographical features alone, as if mountains, valleys, rivers, and other topographical features, formed scarcely an element in the calculation.

We have named at the head of this article, besides the "Document" which has suggested the foregoing remarks, the "Annual Report of the Board of Visitors of the United States Military Academy, for the year 1840 ;" not, however, for the purpose of turning attention to the Report of the majority of the Board, (embracing fifteen out of nineteen of its members,) which is, as usual, highly commendatory of that institution, but to endeavour to meet some objections set

forth by the minority, which, "differing from the majority," felt called upon to submit "a separate Report." This minority Report is written with calmness and some liberality of spirit, and, coming from men who have been selected for the express purpose of forming and publishing opinions relative to the Academy, deserves a careful and respectful consideration. If the objections urged be well founded, they should prevail; if otherwise, their want of basis should be made manifest.

We would first notice the very brief and modest doubt of the Alabama member, (who otherwise concurs with the majority Report,) as to the constitutionality of the establishment. On this subject it may be summarily stated, that Congress, in the exercise of its legislative power "to raise and support armies," and "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces," has enacted that a number of cadets may be appointed as a part of the army, "at no time to exceed two hundred and fifty." It will undoubtedly be admitted, that these cadets, on receiving their warrants, could be arranged, as is the case in many services, in the companies, as a grade intermediate between those of the commissioned and the non-commissioned officers of the army; that they could there be instructed in such way as might be thought best fitted to qualify them for the duties of the commission for which they are candidates; and that the expense of this instruction could be provided for by Congress after the usual manner. This being admitted, (and we do not see how it can be gainsaid,) we will suppose that it may be thought advisable to collect the cadets of a regiment into a body for better improvement, thus to remain until entitled to a commission. This could be done either by enactment or by regulation. And the propriety of it is obvious upon slight consideration. Ten, or even twenty, cadets may be taught by the same instructors, as well as two. Economy, therefore, dictates that they should be embodied for this purpose. Besides, the instruction then becomes uniform, — an important gain.

The same power, which authorizes the embodying, for the purpose of instruction, of the cadets of a regiment, applies to those of a whole army. Congress, in 1812, deemed it expedient to direct, that the cadets then authorized to be raised or appointed, "may be attached, at the discretion of the

President of the United States, as students to the Military Academy," (before that time a school for the cadets of the engineers alone,) "and be subject to the established regulations thereof," &c. This course was taken by Congress to promote both improvement and economy, it being certain that the whole corps of cadets could be improved more highly and more economically, thus concentrated, than if separated among the companies, or even among the regiments. Attached at once to companies, these companies having only the ordinary means of instruction attached to them, the advancement of the cadet in science and the arts would probably be little or nothing. Embodied regimentally, the chances for advancement in these respects would be increased, provided the proper means were furnished, though subjected to liability to constant interruption by the vicissitudes of station and condition incident to such a body of troops. To constitute them a Military Academy, where all would be subjected to an uninterrupted and uniform course of instruction, was deemed the wisest measure. And probably no member of Congress, in authorizing these several steps to be taken, so obviously prudent and beneficial, for the advancement of the army in science, in practical arts, in habits of subordination, and in moral strength, saw any constitutional impediment in the way. And we are inclined to think, that those who now imagine they see them, have not duly considered the origin, progress, and design, of the institution.

The first objection of the minority Report is merely inferable from the manner in which the fact is stated, that "the officers of the army, with but few exceptions," have been selected, since the close of the "last war," "from the graduates of West Point." This "exclusive right," as the Report terms it, would seem to be so well founded, that we should hesitate to suppose the minority gentlemen regarded it as objectionable, if it were not remarked by them, that the graduates have occasionally made the departure from it "a subject of serious objection and complaint." That a graduate of West Point, who "receives a regular degree," (we are quoting the law of Congress, applicable to the case,) "from the Academical Staff, after going through all the classes," should consider himself as certain of being "among the candidates for a commission in any corps, according to the duties he may be judged competent to per-

form," is both natural and to be expected ; and if others, say citizens, who have not been thus graduated, not thus been qualified, were to supersede them, "objection and complaint" would be looked for from others besides the cadets, — from the public, who have provided for the education of those who are to fill up the army. It is not only proper that the government should thus fill it up, but it is its bounden duty to do so; — a duty as clear and imperative as that which refers to any other military promotion. This "exclusive right" is not, therefore, arrogated to themselves by the cadets ; it is secured to them by law and by custom, and by every consideration of the public good. As to the appointment of citizens to fill up vacancies which remain open at the end of the academic year, after the graduates are disposed of, we shall have occasion to speak shortly. The minority Report does not appear to allude to this exception from the general rule.

The Report next states the annual expense of the institution, and then asks, whether the benefits resulting from it have been commensurate. To prove that they have not, a further statement is made, showing the number of cadets who enter and who are graduated. That so many who enter are *not* graduated, is attributed, in the Report, rather to the "unsuitable character of the materials," than to the bad management of the "Academic Staff." Most persons, in comparing the matriculations with the graduations, would draw inferences highly favorable to the institution. It bespeaks a severity of ordeal, that equally bespeaks a high character in those who pass through it. We should bear in mind that the Military Academy differs in one essential respect from all other seminaries, academies, or colleges in our country. At all other institutions of this kind, the tuition is paid for by the student, and, as long as he submits to the rulers and the rules set over him, he takes his degree as a matter of course. There is no reason for expelling him for negligence or incapacity, except it be extreme. Cadets at West Point, however, enter upon a very different footing. Instead of paying, they are under pay ; and, unless they strictly fulfil their part, maintain a strict conformity with the course prescribed, both as to studies and conduct, they are dismissed. This is both just and proper. It is not intended to educate, at the public expense, any but those whose application and subordination

afford a reasonable promise that that expense will be remunerated in the form of beneficial services. To retain in the Academy any who fail in these respects, would be a palpable violation of duty on the part of its government.

The minority Report, regarding this decrease of numbers as the result of the "bad materials" of which the classes are first formed, suggests a new mode of selecting these materials. Before noticing this mode, it is proper to remark, on the subject of appointments to the Military Academy, that the mode of making them underwent many modifications before it took the present form. Previously to 1816–17, there was no competition for these appointments. The Secretary of War was rarely asked to make them, and most, if not nearly all, of them were the result of recommendations of the Superintendent, or of the officers of the army. Subsequently to that period, when the institution assumed a new character, and exhibited a standard of education, in many high branches of science, that attracted attention and respect from the country at large, the Secretary of War began to have demands upon him from all quarters. The task of deciding which application should succeed, and which fail, was both difficult and invidious. The applications greatly exceeding the number of appointments to be made, it became obviously necessary to adopt some general rule, which could be observed with justice to the public, and without injury to the Academy. The qualifications for admission were determined to be so low as to exclude none who had been within the reach of a common school. Such moderate requirements were found to open the door to ample talent, while it gave no preference to wealth or superior education. Every portion of the country, it was justly thought, should be entitled to its share of chances, and, the number of cadets being almost in proportion to the congressional delegation, it was decided to apportion the appointments accordingly. Such a distribution was recommended by every consideration of fairness, and opposed by no sound reason, as, after all the refinements that may be made upon the subject, every appointment is an experiment.

The next step was, to ascertain who should receive the apppointments thus due, or open, to so many and widespread portions of the United States. No President, no Secretary of War, could possess the knowledge requisite to

make a judicious choice among the candidates. Should the rule prevail, of "first come, first served," an impatient and jealous scramble would be likely to ensue. Looking at the whole ground, how natural and rational it was, to turn to the members of Congress, who were at the seat of government, and who knew well the persons and wishes of their respective districts, and to leave to them the recommendation of such candidates as belonged to their districts. This course has now been pursued for some years, and it has filled the Military Academy with young men, who have annually been graduated with honor to themselves, and benefit to their country. That it admits of favoritism, or selections made from partial, local, and even political feelings, is conceded; but when a rule can be proposed which *excludes* all feelings of this kind, which leads to an unerring, or even less erring, choice of "materials," — a choice that would silence all cavil, all objection, — then there will be just cause for change or modification.

In the change recommended by the minority Report, namely, that of leaving this selection to be made by "volunteer companies of the States and Territories," we see only a vagueness of suggestion, that presents scarcely a shadowy outline to the mind. In the first place, volunteer companies are the mere creatures of accident. They are not necessarily in existence anywhere, and might be found nowhere; though they happen to form a most important part of the coast defence, and we hope will be nourished into a more extended and certain existence. But, give them the best character of which they are susceptible, still we do not perceive that they would be the proper depositories of this power of providing candidates for commissions in the regular army. Let it once be determined, that these companies are to furnish the only passports to West Point, and the scramble will be for admission into *them*. And how is this initiation, involving such a desirable privilege, to be determined? And after the company has been formed, consistently with the common right of any member of the community to compose a part of it, how shall the fine gold be separated from the baser metal? The minority gentlemen seemed to apprehend, that "military aptitudes" would show themselves in a way not to be misunderstood, probably recollecting that Achilles, with a sword in his hand, could not be disguised

even by the drapery of a woman. They seem to believe, that these indications would be so manifest, that selections made under them would avert all abortive probations; would prevent all resignations and dismissions; that all Hannibals taken to this altar, would be able to conquer Rome. But, we fear, notwithstanding all these wise precautions, Cannæ might often become a Zama, or a Capua supersede both.

Many of the remarks of the minority Report on the subject of resignations are just. There cannot be a question, that the graduate is bound in duty to render services as an officer, that shall fully reimburse to the public the expense of his education. The obligation is specific as to four years, and should be enforced, as a general rule; especially if the relaxation produces a necessity of filling up vacancies from civil life, or from persons who have had no previous training for a commission. The inference, however, drawn from the fact stated in this Report, namely, "the resignation of one hundred and seventeen officers" in one year, during the Seminole war, is not altogether fair in its application to West Point, as very many of them were not graduates of that institution; and there were many causes, which it is unnecessary here to enumerate, at that time in active operation, to produce discouragement and disgust *in* the army, and to open attractive prospects *out* of it. The Florida war probably had little influence on most of the resignations. And it should be mentioned, by way of counterbalance of this imputation cast upon the graduates, that, in several instances, the graduating classes have been sent immediately into the field,—though the regulations allow them four months furlough after graduation, — where they have invariably performed their duty with cheerfulness, spirit, and often with much credit; while many older officers, those who had not been bred at West Point, were not present to give them the benefit of either precept or example.

The suggestion made by the Report, relative to a change in the age of admission, we only notice to observe, that we do not see how a minor at eighteen is more able "to assume the responsibilities of a contract to serve his country as a soldier," than at sixteen; unless the minority conceived that a cadet could enlist himself, like a soldier, under the act of Congress of December 10th, 1814. We apprehend,

however, that the "consent" to be obtained by a cadet has no bearing upon this act.

The last objection of this Report, which we will notice, is made to the present "course of instruction" at West Point. The following extract exhibits the opinion entertained by the minority on this subject.

"Attention to the intellectual manifestations of the cadets, and an adaptation of the course of instruction suitable to a full developement of their aptitudes should be regarded. Instead of attempting to impart a profound knowledge of the exact sciences to all, those only who evince a peculiar fitness for such studies should be trained to the utmost limits of their capacity; while those, in whom the martial spirit predominates, should not, with their opening years, have their ardor quenched by the cold process of mathematical demonstrations, nor the minute investigations of scientific studies."

This is not the first time such a suggestion has been made, many having believed, that a change, suited to a greater variety of intellects or dispositions, should be made. It is well known, that other countries have similar institutions, where cadets, or *élèves*, are trained up to different arms of service. This distribution may work beneficially when the institutions branch accordingly. But such is not the case with ours. We have but one military academy. Those, who propose this change of studies, should, at the same time, propose additional institutions, having distinct courses of instruction for engineering, artillery, horsemanship, &c. The minority Report, however, appears to contemplate only one distinction, that is, a separation of the scientific student from the martial aspirant; the Vaubans from the Turennes. It is not worth while to inquire whether this be practicable, nor whether phrenology might not aid in this work of discrimination.

At West Point, it is well known, there is no designation of *arm* in the outset, nor at any intermediate time of the course. The way is open to all, and a generous competition animates whole classes, who find that the highest honors are within reach of intelligent industry and good conduct. That the amount of talent developed, the amount of acquisition made, by the whole class, is far greater under this order of studies, than would result from any other, cannot be questioned. And who is to judge as to the "peculiar

fitness" for the more elevated studies, and as to the "martial spirit," that should not be "quenched by the cold process of mathematical demonstrations," or by "the exact sciences"? Little, we apprehend, needs be said, to convince those who are not misled by specious notions, or who are not prone to theorize themselves into fallacious novelties, that the present simple but thorough mode of instruction at the Military Academy, while it forms men for the highest walks of science, at the same time unfits no one for any military function. On the contrary, the purely military instruction at that school is continuous throughout the whole course. It mingles with the exercises of every day. There is a constant accumulation of knowledge, theoretical and practical, from the first position of the soldier up to the most complicated evolution of the battalion, embracing also suitable inquiries into the art of war, as developed in the history of generalship, strategy, &c., which fits the cadet for the field, or the garrison; while those sciences and arts, which have ever been deemed essential elements in the character of an accomplished officer, are implanted in the mind, with more or less promise of ripening into a harvest of usefulness and honor to the country.

It is satisfactory to find that this Report, which evidently embodies every objection that prejudice against the institution could suggest, concludes with a compliment to the "talents and industry" of the professors and teachers there, and a disclaimer of any intention to imply, by the objections made, "censure, or the slightest want of confidence, in any of the academic staff." Such a tribute from such a quarter speaks much in favor of the Academy, which, we predict, as long as it maintains its present standing, will continue to receive free-will support from its many friends, and to extort commendations from its few enemies.

Art. II. — 1. *A History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain, with a Notice of its Early History in the East, and in all Quarters of the Globe; a Description of the great Mechanical Inventions, which have caused its unexampled Extension in Britain; and a View of the Present State of the Manufacture, and the Condition of the Classes engaged in its several Departments.* By Edward Baines, Jun., Esq. London. H. Fisher, R. Fisher, & P. Jackson. 8vo. pp. 543.

2. *Memoir of Samuel Slater, the Father of American Manufactures; connected with a History of the Rise and Progress of the Cotton Manufacture in England and America; with Remarks on the Moral Influence of Manufactories in the United States.* By George S. White. Second Edition. Philadelphia. Printed at No. 46 Carpenter Street. 1836. 8vo. pp. 448.

The first of these works, we suspect, is not widely known in this country, though doubtless familiar to those who are personally interested in the branch of industry of which it so fully treats. To the general reader, perhaps, we shall be doing an acceptable service by introducing it to his notice. The second work, being of home manufacture, is, we suppose, better known. Both volumes contain curious and valuable information. The history of the cotton manufacture, beyond any thing else, illustrates the wonderful progress of invention, and the power of machinery. Within the last half-century it has advanced in a manner unparalleled in any other branch of industry whatever.

A considerable portion of the work of Mr. Baines is taken up in tracing the history of the cotton manufacture back to the earliest sources of information on the subject. But the materials for a history like this are scanty. The clothing of the ancients was mostly of wool and of flax. There are but few sentences in all the Greek and Latin, and not one, it is said, in the Hebrew, writers, that refer to garments made of cotton. The manufacture of cotton appears to have commenced in India. For many ages it was confined to that country. Cotton goods are first named as an article of trade among the Arabs, who, in the first or second century of the Christian era, brought them from

India to the ports of the Red Sea. The manufacture of them at this time was prosecuted, to a small extent, in Egypt and Persia. The art was carried by the Moors into Spain, where we have evidence of its existence in the tenth century. In the fourteenth century it was introduced into Italy. But throughout the Middle Ages, down even to the time of the revival of arts and letters, all writers, in describing the progress of commerce and the garments of both sexes, make mention of clothing of woollen, linen, and silk, while cotton was not extensively known. It was not until the invention of spinning machinery in England, that cotton goods, of European manufacture, were used as common articles of dress.

It is our intention to do no more than barely allude to the brilliant series of inventions, made during the last age, which have given such an astonishing impulse to the cotton manufacture, and have formed one of the most splendid triumphs of science, in its application to the useful arts. Only eighty years ago, the machines in general use for the manufacture of cotton were nearly as simple as those of India four thousand years before. That the perfection to which this art has been brought by mechanical inventions, has been attained within that brief period of time, seems, at first, an almost incredible statement. We doubt whether, in the whole compass of art, there is another fact which illustrates in so striking a manner the progress of modern improvement. The ancient method of spinning was by the distaff and spindle. The apparatus for weaving was the Indian loom, — an instrument used to this day in the East, where it is seen suspended between two tamarind trees, with its slovenly-made treadles, beam, and shuttle, — the rude types of the machines in use among us. As late as the middle of the last century, the only material improvement made in these arts was that of exchanging the distaff for the one-thread spinning-wheel, and of constructing the loom with greater firmness and compactness. The loom itself, however, was essentially the same as the ancient instrument of India.

The first improvement in these arts, of which Mr. Baines gives a detailed account, was the invention of the *fly-shuttle*. This was made in 1738. By this invention, the shuttle, which was formerly thrown with the hand, — a slow and laborious process, and, in weaving the widest cloth, requiring

the aid of two persons, — was made to play back and forth in the lathe, in which it runs simply by a sudden jerk upon a handle of wood, connected by two strings with each end of the lathe. A simple contrivance this, but it effected a great saving of labor and time ; and so much did it facilitate the process of weaving, as to occasion a demand for yarn which soon led to another step in the series of inventions. This was the machine for spinning yarn by *rollers*. Mr. Baines, contrary to the general opinion, which ascribes this invention to Sir Richard Arkwright, claims the honor of it for John Wyatt, of Birmingham, who, as he goes on to show, secured letters-patent for it thirty years before Arkwright. It is no part of our purpose to enter into this controversy, or to express any opinion as to its merits. It is certain, that this invention did not come into general notice until 1769, when Arkwright publicly claimed it as his own. By this invention, the one-thread spinning-wheel, which we well remember to have seen in our boyhood in many a rural cottage, was superseded. The cotton was passed through two sets of rollers, the second of which revolved with four or five times the velocity of the first. In this way the cotton was *drawn out*, after which it was caught by a spindle and fly, which, revolving rapidly, *twisted* it into a thread and wound it on a bobbin. These rollers and spindles could be multiplied to any number, so that many threads could be spun at once, and all with wonderful expedition and precision.

Something was now needed, to facilitate the process of *preparing* the cotton for the spinning frame. This had been hitherto done by hand cards. But the process was tediously slow. The application of rotary motion in carding accomplished the desired result. It would be uninteresting to detail the various hints and suggestions, offered by various individuals, which contributed to the perfection of the carding machine. It is sufficient for our purpose to notice the fact, that, in 1775, Sir Richard Arkwright secured a patent for this valuable and beautiful invention. "At one end of the machine," says our author, "the cotton was put in, an entangled and knotty mass, the fibres lying in every direction, at the other end it came out an even and delicate film, with the fibres straightened, and that film immediately com-

pressed into a uniform and continuous sliver, ready for the spinner." (p. 179.)

The next desideratum was, to invent a weaving-mill, as it was apprehended that hands could not be found to weave all the cotton that would be carded and spun. In 1787, the Rev. Dr. Edmund Cartwright took out a patent for a *power-loom.* It was not, however, until the beginning of the present century, that this machine received its present perfection, and came into general use.

Thus have we glanced at the most important steps in the inventions, which, almost within the last half-century, have revolutionized the manufacture of cotton, and proved most fruitful sources of individual and national wealth.

"When this admirable series of machines was made known, and by their means yarns were produced far superior in quality to any before spun in England, as well as lower in price, a mighty impulse was communicated to the cotton manufacture. Weavers could now obtain an unlimited quantity of yarn at a reasonable price ; manufacturers could use warps of cotton, which were much cheaper than the linen warps formerly used. Cotton fabrics could be sold lower than had ever before been known. The demand for them consequently increased. The shuttle flew with fresh energy, and the weavers earned immoderately high prices." — Baines, p. 183.

"The factory system of England takes its rise from this period. Hitherto the cotton manufacture had been carried on almost entirely in the houses of the workmen ; the hand or stock cards, the spinning-wheel, and the loom, required no larger apartment than that of a cottage. . . . . But the water frame, the carding engine, and the other machines which Arkwright brought out in a finished state, required both more space than could be found in a cottage, and more power than could be applied by the human arm. Their weight also rendered it necessary to place them in strong-built mills, and they could not be advantageously turned by any power then known but that of water." — *Ibid.*, p. 184.

"Such, without entering too much into minutiæ, are the processes by which the vegetable wool is converted into a woven fabric of great beauty and delicacy; and it will be perceived, that the operations are numerous, and every one of them is performed by machinery, without the help of human hands, except merely in transferring the material from one machine to another. It is by iron fingers, teeth, and wheels, moving with exhaustless energy and devouring speed, that the

cotton is opened, cleaned, spread, carded, drawn, roved, spun, wound, warped, dressed, and woven. The various machines are proportioned to each other in regard to their capability of work, and they are so placed in the mill as to allow the material to be carried from stage to stage with the least possible loss of time. All are moving at once, — the operations chasing each other; and all derive their motion from the mighty engine, which, firmly seated in the lower part of the building, and constantly fed with water and fuel, toils through the day with the strength of perhaps a hundred horses. Men, in the mean while, have only to attend on this wonderful series of mechanism, to supply it with work, to oil its joints, and to check its slight and infrequent irregularities; — each workman performing, or rather superintending, as much work as could have been done by *two or three hundred men* sixty years ago. At the approach of darkness, the building is illuminated by jets of flame, whose brilliance mimics the light of day, — the produce of an invisible vapor, generated on the spot. When it is remembered, that all these inventions have been made within the last seventy years, it must be acknowledged, that the cotton mill presents the most striking example of the dominion obtained by human science over the powers of nature, of which modern times can boast." — *Ibid.*, pp. 243, 244.

The effect of these inventions in extending the use of cotton goods, and upon the commerce of the world, will appear from a few statements, for which we are indebted, in part, to the book of Mr. Baines. The importations of cotton into the United Kingdom during the first half of the last century, averaged about 2,050,000 pounds per annum. The importation since 1820, is, on an average, not far from 300,000,000 pounds per annum. In fact, more cotton is imported now in one year into the United Kingdom, than was imported during the whole first three quarters of the last century. The official value of British cotton goods, of all sorts, exported from 1700 to 1764, was not £50,000 per annum. In 1833, the real or declared value of cotton manufactures exported was £18,486,400. The recent exportation of a single year is of greater value than the exportation of the whole of the eighteenth century. The annual value of the whole cotton manufacture for 1833, our author estimates at £31,338,693. The capital employed in the manufacture, he puts down at £34,000,000. The number of persons supported by the manufacture, he computes at 1,500,000.

"It may assist to form a conception of the immense extent of the British cotton manufacture, when it is stated, that the yarn spun in this country in a year would, in a single thread, pass round the globe's circumference 203,775 times; it would reach 51 times from the earth to the sun; and it would encircle the Earth's orbit *eight and a half* times!

"The wrought fabrics of cotton exported in one year would form a girdle for the Globe, passing *eleven* times round the Equator!

"This manufacture furnishes nearly one half of the exports of British produce and manufactures; it supports more than one eleventh part of the population of Great Britain; and it supplies almost every nation of the world with some portion of its clothing.

"None of the kingdoms of Hanover, Wirtemberg, or Saxony, has a population exceeding that engaged in the manufacture of cotton in this island.

"The receipts of our manufacturers and merchants, for this one production of the national industry, are equal to two thirds of the whole public revenue of the kingdom.

"To complete the wonder, this manufacture is the creation of the genius of a few humble mechanics; it has sprung up from insignificance to its present magnitude within little more than half a century; and it is still advancing with a rapidity of increase, that defies all calculation of what it shall be in future ages." — *Ibid.*, pp. 431, 432.

What a miracle of art and industry is here presented to the view! Our thinkers and scientific inventors are, after all, our true sovereigns. A hundred Georges, and Williams, and Victorias, — we crave her Majesty's pardon for saying it, — cannot do for Great Britain and the world, what these few humble mechanics have done. How many, with high-sounding titles, and with almost all power in their hands, have passed through life without performing one act of any service to mankind; while probably there is not a man, woman, or child, in the whole civilized world, that is not better clothed and better fed, by the labors of such men as Arkwright and Watt.

We must not forget, however, that this wonderful extension of the cotton manufacture has not been wholly unattended with evil. The factory system of Great Britain has been a subject of loud and general complaint. If it does so much to clothe the world, it enslaves and degrades, it has been affirmed, the million and a half of human beings that

are dependent on that system for support. The actual physical and moral condition of the operatives, in the factories of England, is an important subject of inquiry. But it is a subject on which it is extremely difficult for us to form a just opinion. The most contradictory statements have been put forth. By some the factory system is represented as overtasking the strength and corrupting the morals of the operatives, as destroying their health, reducing them to a state of the most abject dependence, and hurrying thousands into untimely graves. By others, the truth of all these statements is denied, and factory labor is pronounced to be no more unhealthy, and no more corrupting, than the labor of the same class of operatives in other branches of industry. Moreover, the evidence on this whole subject, which has been from time to time published by Parliament, is equally unsatisfactory. While the report of a committee of the House of Commons represents the factory system of England as being a most horrible system of slavery, that of the Factory Inspectors gives, as positively, an opposite view of the subject; and in such a conflict of testimony, given under such evident biasses of prejudice and interest, we hardly know what statements are worthy of reliance. We propose to express briefly the best opinion we have been able to form, and to state such facts as, from various quarters, we have gleaned.

We have no doubt, then, that there is evil, great and pressing evil, in the factory system of England. In the bringing of large numbers of the lowest and most ignorant laborers together; in the excessive toil to which children, especially, have been forced, while breathing the impure air and the cotton dust of imperfectly ventilated factories; in the absence of means of intellectual and religious instruction; and in that helpless dependence to which they are of necessity reduced, who are unfit for all other kinds of work but that to which from their childhood they are confined, so that they must submit to whatever exactions the cupidity of their taskmasters may impose; — in all these facts, it requires no great sagacity to see causes, which must inevitably operate to corrupt, degrade, and enslave. No doubt, they have heretofore worked to this end with terrible effect. No doubt, also, there are some of them still working together for evil. But it is equally clear, that the condition of the

English operatives has, within the last few years, greatly improved; and we must not suffer our impressions of what English factories have been, to prevent our seeing what English factories have become.

It was a great step, in improving the condition of the manufacturing operatives in England, to limit their work, as was done by the act of 1833, to sixty-nine hours per week; viz. twelve hours on the first five working days in the week, and nine on Saturday. This is a less number of hours than factory operatives in New England generally work, and, considering that factory labor, for the most part, is not hard, it secures the operative against excessive toil. Great attention has been paid of late to the ventilation* of factories. They are made larger and more airy. Pains are taken to confine the cotton dust, and to displace corrupt air, so that operatives are now far less exposed to these sources of disease. And, as to means of moral and intellectual instruction,

* "Our legislators, when bewailing, not long ago, the fate of their fellow creatures doomed to breathe the polluted air of a factory, were little aware how superior the system of ventilation adopted in many cotton mills was to that employed for their own comfort, in either house of Parliament. The engineers of Manchester do not, like those of the metropolis, trust for a sufficient supply of fresh air into any crowded hall, to currents physically created in the atmosphere by the difference of temperature excited by chimney draughts; because they know them to be ineffectual to remove, with requisite rapidity, the dense carbonic acid gas generated by many hundred powerful lungs. The factory plan is, to extract the foul air, in measurable volumes, by mechanical means of the simplest but most unfailing kind, especially by eccentric pans, made to revolve with the rapidity of nearly one hundred feet per second; and thereby to ensure a constant renewal of the atmosphere in any range of apartments, however large or closely pent they may be. The effect of one of Fairbairn & Lillie's four-guinea pans, upon a large factory, is truly admirable; it not only sweetens the interior space immediately, but renders the ingress of odorous nuisance from without altogether impossible. In a weaving mill near Manchester, where the ventilation was bad, being dependent on currrents of equilibration, as in the House of Lords, the proprietor lately caused the pan apparatus to be mounted. The consequence soon became apparent in a curious manner. The work-people, little remarkable for olfactory refinement, instead of thanking their master for his humane attention to their comfort and health, made a formal complaint to him, that the ventilator had increased their appetites, and therefore entitled them to a corresponding increase of wages! The weekly pay of these attendants on steam-going looms, being nearly double of that received by laborers on the breezy plains of Sussex and Kent, could admit of no augmentation under the low rate of profits of trade. But the master made an ingenious compromise with his servants; by stopping the fan during half of the day, he adjusted the ventilation and the voracity of his establishment to a medium standard, after which he heard no more complaint, either on the score of health or appetite." — Dr. Ure's *Philosophy of Manufactures*, pp. 380, 381.

Sunday schools, and associations for mental improvement, have been introduced into the manufacturing villages and cities of England with remarkable success. We believe, that by no class of English laborers have these institutions been more generally welcomed; nowhere have they awakened a more earnest spirit of improvement, or yielded more gratifying results.

We have no object to gain by defending the English factory system. But when we have heard so much said about the ignorance and degradation of the manufacturing operatives of England, we have asked, Does this charge rest any less lightly on any other class of English day-laborers? It would be difficult to prove, we apprehend, that the condition of the working class in the factories is in any degree below that of the same class of laborers in other occupations. One thing we suppose to be certain, that the manufacturing operatives have a greater command of the necessaries and comforts of life. By the report of the factory commissioners, the fact is incontestably established, that no large class of day-laborers in England receives better wages, than the operatives in the factory. As to the unhealthiness of their occupation, we must remember, that the question is not, whether it is of the most healthy and agreeable kind, but whether, on the whole, it is not as healthy as many other necessary branches of industry. "There is no trade," as Mr. Baines well suggests, "which might not be injurious to persons subject to one kind of weakness or another." "A physician might, if so disposed, get up a case against any employment of civilized life, sufficient to excite public sympathy and abhorrence; but so long as men cannot live without working, they must work in spite of inconvenience." And as to the effect of factory labor, we see no reason to dissent from the opinion of our author, who says, that

"It is much less arduous than that of the smith, less prejudicial to the lungs, the spine, and the limbs, than that of the shoemaker and the tailor. Colliers, miners, forgemen, cutlers, machine-makers, masons, bakers, corn-millers, painters, plumbers, letter-press printers, potters, and many other classes of artisans and laborers, have employments, which, in one way or another, are more inimical to health and longevity than the labor of cotton mills. Some classes of professional men, students, clerks in counting-houses, shop-keepers, milliners, &c.,

are subject to as great, and in many cases to much greater, confinement and exhaustion, than the mill operatives." — *Ibid.*, p. 454.

Indeed, there are some important circumstances attending the labor of factory operatives that are favorable to health. Among these may be named, the great regularity of their habits of exercise, sleeping, and eating, the uniform temperature of the air in which they work, the consequent diminished liability to disease from sudden changes of atmosphere, and the comparative lightness of their labor. All the hard work is done by the power that carries the machinery. The labor of the factory hand is confined to superintending the operations of the machine, and in keeping that constantly employed.

Still we know that the common impression is, that factory labor is exceedingly unhealthy. The existence of this impression has directed inquiry to the subject. Many facts and statistics have been collected. Our readers may not be unwilling to look a little further into this matter.

When the Factory Commissioners, before referred to, entered upon their duty, they sent a series of questions to the most experienced medical men in the chief manufacturing towns of England. From twenty-seven physicians they obtained written replies. Some of them are distinguished members of their profession. Their practice is among men of all occupations in life, which circumstance gives them a favorable opportunity for judging of the effect of different employments upon health. Some of them are superintendents of hospitals and infirmaries, where careful inquiries are made of patients into their previous business and habits of life. Their testimony is important. We propose to give our readers a few of the questions submitted to them, and to append thereto the abstract of the replies, which is given by Mr. Baines.

"'*Is the mortality among factory children greater than in other classes?*' To this question, nineteen of the medical witnesses reply in the negative; two speak with hesitation, but fear the mortality is greater; one only answers distinctly in the affirmative; five can give no opinion. Several of the witnesses consider the mortality among the factory, to be less than among other children. Dr. Shaw, physician to the Salford Dispensary, says; 'I think I might go further, and say

that the mortality among factory children is less than amongst other working classes. Factory labor is better remunerated than any other kind of labor, consequently the children generally are better fed and lodged ; they are less exposed to the vicissitudes of climate ; greater attention is paid to their comfort, at least in the silk and cotton factories of Manchester, many of which I have frequently inspected.' Mr. Holland, who has for forty years professionally attended the apprenticed children at Messrs. Gregs' factory at Styall, in Cheshire, says, that 'in the last twenty-two years, with an average of ninety children, there have been only seventeen deaths, of which three died from accidental causes, wholly unconnected with their work ;' thus reducing the deaths to fourteen, or about one in one hundred and forty, which could, by any possibility, be attributed to causes connected with factory labor. Nothing can be more satisfactory than the replies to the above question."

"'*Are there any diseases or accidents to which factory children are particularly subject ?*' Eight witnesses reply in the negative, as to diseases ; most of them state that children are liable to accidents from machinery, though not severe, and much less frequent now than formerly, owing to the general casing of the machinery. Several are of opinion, that children are subject to swelled ankles, from long standing, and in some instances to distortion of the knee-joint ; and that a scrofulous or consumptive tendency is increased by this occupation."

"'*Are the children of factory operatives inferior in stature to those of your other classes, and to those of the inhabitants of the rural districts in your neighbourhood ?*' The general tenor of the replies to this question is, that the children are less robust, and of somewhat lower stature, than children brought up in rural districts, but not inferior to those living in towns and differently employed."

"'*Are the factory operatives more or less attentive to cleanliness and ventilation in their dwellings, than other persons of similar means ?*' Eighteen of the medical men answer, that they are equally or more attentive to cleanliness than other operatives ; four, that they are less so. Dr. Charles Henry, of Manchester, remarks ; 'There is decidedly more comfort and cleanliness among those who work in the factories, than among that class who work in their own dwellings. I regard the factory operatives, as a body, as decidedly superior in their command of the comforts of life, and even of luxuries, to any part of our population.' Dr. Jarrold, on the other hand, says ; 'Women bred in factories can have no domestic habits, and

and are consequently inattentive to cleanliness. They make wretched wives.' "

Thus, among these practitioners, there was, as might have been expected, some diversity of opinion. Still, there is nothing here to justify the common impression, as to the great unhealthiness of factory labor. Nor is there any thing more said, in any of these returns, against this kind of work, than might be said against almost any other occupation in which the same class of laborers are employed.

The Factory Commissioners obtained a report of an inquiry, made by a committee of the master-spinners, into the state of the work-people in the principal mills in Manchester. The operative spinners themselves furnished answers to a series of questions sent to each mill, "which answers were collected, and the results drawn out, by a gentleman not engaged in manufactures, John Shuttleworth, Esq., Distributor of Stamps, who swore to the accuracy of his deductions."* The tables which this gentleman prepared, are interesting and important. We have space, however, only for the summary of them, which we give in the words of Mr. Baines.

"From these tables it appears, that eight hundred and thirty-seven spinners had worked in mills not less than twenty-two years and three fourths each, on the average; that seventy-four per cent. of them stated themselves to have good health, twenty and one half per cent. pretty good health, and only five and one half per cent. indifferent health; that of their wives ninety-six and one fourth per cent. were living, and only three and three fourths per cent. dead; that the average number of years they had been married was eleven and one fourth, and their average number of children in that time four and one half. The number of children distorted was only one in two hundred and fourteen."— *Ibid.*, p. 474.

We will only add, on this part of our subject, that the returns of the amount of sickness in the cotton mills of England, obtained by the Factory Commissioners, were submitted to Dr. Mitchell, of London, who compared them with the results of similar inquiries made among workmen in other occupations. The facts thus deduced, he presents in

* Baines, p. 473.

a tabular form, and then expresses the following opinion on the whole;

"Taking all in all, from the documents brought before me I have seen no grounds for warranting me in believing, that factory labor in any material degree differs, in its effects on health, from other labor; and at all events, the results ascertained from this long and laborious investigation appear to me to afford unanswerable evidence, that the laudatory and condemnatory exaggerations of both parties are alike unfounded in truth." — *Ibid.*, p. 466.

The returns, above alluded to, establish another fact of great importance on this point, which we find stated in the work of Dr. Ure on the "Philosophy of Manufactures." We present it in his own words.

"One of the most valuable accounts of general sickness among the poorer classes, is that contained in Mr. Finlaison's Report on Life Annuities, printed in 1829. It does not go below the age of twenty, and yet it shows, that seven days in the year is the average duration of sickness among the laboring classes in London, between the ages of twenty and thirty-five, implying, probably, such sickness as would entitle the invalid to receive sick pay from a benefit society. From the returns of the cotton mills it appears, that this amount exceeds very far any degree of sickness known in them, even during the fickle period of childhood. Out of three hundred and seventy-six persons employed in Messrs. Greenwood and Whittaker's cotton mill, the average time lost by sickness is only one third of a day per annum." — Ure, p. 398.

We should have been glad to see something more on a subject, which our author very briefly dismisses. We refer to the morals of the factory operatives of England. The common impression doubtless is, that great immorality prevails among them; and that where so many young people of both sexes are brought together, free from the oversight of their parents, and exposed to all the low and corrupting influences that are supposed to throng around a factory establishment, it is impossible but that a loose state of morals should exist, and vice to a great degree abound. A factory, it has been supposed, is a nursery of licentiousness and crime. Mr. Baines does not pretend to say, that there have not been factories which have corresponded to this description; he admits, also, that a great deal, not difficult to do, is yet to be

done, to elevate the moral condition of the operatives. But he undertakes to show, that a great improvement has already taken place in their character, and hints at one or two principles, which it is of importance, in forming an opinion on this subject, to bear in mind. One of these is, that the character of the operatives in any establishment depends upon the character of the master-manufacturer. By watchfulness and care, by wise and judicious rules, faithfully enforced, he may elevate the moral tone and character of all in his employ, and preserve as high a standard of morals as is to be found anywhere. Another principle is, that all experience has shown, that it is for the *interest* of the master-manufacturer to do this. Here is a great point. It would not require much experience, one would think, to demonstrate to any overseer the difference, in the order, comfort, and productiveness of his establishment, between a moral an immoral set of hands.

"The neglect of moral discipline," says Ure, "may be readily detected, in any establishment, by a practised eye, in the disorder of the general system, the irregularities of the individual machines, the waste of time and material from the broken and pieced yarns. . . . . It is, therefore, excessively the *interest* of every mill-owner to organize his moral machinery on equally sound principles with his mechanical, for otherwise he will never command the steady hands, watchful eyes, and prompt coöperation, essential to excellence of product." — *Philosophy of Manufactures*, p. 417.

Of late this is beginning to be understood ; and hence the great attention which is now paid to the moral education of the operatives. We see this especially in the noble institution of Sunday schools, which, as we remarked before, is nowhere received with more welcome, or cherished with better results, than among the factory operatives of England. There are some very gratifying facts connected with this subject. We will allude to but one of them, for the account of which we are again indebted to the work of Dr. Ure. The town of Stockport contains sixty-seven factories, in which 21,489 operatives of all ages are employed. In 1805, a large Sunday school was erected by voluntary contribution, chiefly of mill-owners, at a cost of £10,000. In the annual report of this institution, for 1833, the committee state ;

"Since its commencement the names of 40,850 scholars have been inscribed on our registers, a considerable part of whom have received a moral and religious education within our walls. Part of the fruit of these pious labors is already reaped, in a temporal point of view, in the general decorum that pervades this town and neighbourhood, and the regard for the liberties, lives, and properties of others, evinced by the Stockport population at a period of political excitement, in which they were too much disregarded at other places. The well-judged liberality of the public has now made Sunday schools so common in our borders, that it is hardly possible to approach the town of Stockport, in any direction, without encountering one or more of these quiet fortresses, which a wise benevolence has erected against the encroachments of vice and ignorance." — *Philosophy of Manufactures*, p. 410.

"When I visited this school," says Dr. Ure, "there were from four thousand to five thousand young people profiting by the instructions administered by four hundred teachers, distributed into proper classes, and arranged in upwards of forty school rooms, beside the grand hall in the top of the building. I witnessed the very gratifying sight of about fifteen hundred boys, and as many girls, regularly seated upon separate benches, the one set on the right side, the other on the left. They were becomingly attired, decorous in deportment, and of healthy, even blooming, complexions. Their hymn-singing thrilled through the heart like the festival chorus of Westminster. The organ, which was excellent, was well played by a young man, who had lately been a piecer in the spinning-factory of the gentleman who kindly attended me on the occasion." — *Ibid.*, p. 411.

Now this is encouraging; and to such a degree have these institutions actually elevated the character of the operatives, that several clergymen, on examination, certified to the Factory Commissioners, that they considered the morals of factory operatives to be quite as good as those of other work-people. The same opinion was expressed by Dr. Hunter, a celebrated physician of Leeds.

"I do not consider," said he, "the factory population in this town more immoral than the same class out of the mills. I have always found them, male and female, as modest in demeanor as any other class of working people." — *Ibid.*, p. 395.

On the whole, it appears evident, that the factory system of England has done something more than increased im-

mensely the industry and wealth of the kingdom. It has improved the condition of the poorer class of laborers. They are better clothed, better fed, better paid. The poor rate has diminished, in a series of years, in places where factories have been established. Less has been paid in manufacturing districts for the support of the poor, than has been paid in agricultural districts for the same object; while the spirit of intelligence, the institutions of learning and Sunday schools, which are beginning to distinguish the manufacturing operatives of England, all promise to elevate them much above the day-laborers employed in other branches of industry.

Of the second work named at the head of this article, we shall be able to give only a brief notice. Some facts, however, which it enables us to present, relative to the rise and progress of the cotton manufacture in this country, will interest our readers, and suggest a few remarks upon the condition and character of the factory operatives in New England.

It appears, that the first attempt to erect carding and spinning machinery in this country was made at East Bridgewater, in Massachusetts. This was as early as 1786. The enterprise was regarded with so great an interest, that the General Court, by a resolve passed November 16th, 1786, gave the machinists £200 to encourage their ingenuity. The year following, £20 were given to Mr. Orr, of East Bridgewater, under whose direction a model machine was constructed; and that gentleman was requested, in the resolve, to exhibit his machines, and to give all information in his possession respecting them.

In 1787, the proprietors of the Beverly Cotton Manufactory, in Beverly, Massachusetts, made an attempt to introduce the manufacture of cotton, by machinery, into this country, "in imitation," as they set forth in their petition to the General Court in 1790, "of the most useful and approved stuffs, which are formed of that material in Europe." The object of the petition referred to was to obtain aid from the General Court, "to indemnify them for extraordinary expenses and losses," and to promote the further advancement of their enterprise. The petition was referred to a committee, of which Nathaniel Gorham was chairman, who reported;

"From the best information we can obtain, we are of opinion, that the said manufactory is of great public utility. But, owing to the great expenses incurred in providing machines, and other incidents usually attending a new business, the said manufactory is upon the decline, and, unless some public assistance can be afforded, is in danger of failing. Your committee therefore report, as their opinion, that the petitioners have a grant of £ 1,000, to be raised in a lottery." — *Memoir of Slater*, p. 55.

The third attempt, in the order of time, to manufacture cotton by machinery, in this country, was made in 1788, at Providence, Rhode Island. Three enterprising citizens of that place entered into an agreement to manufacture what was then called "home-spun cloth." Draughts of the machines at East Bridgewater and at Beverly were procured, and carding and spinning and weaving machines were set up, in the chambers of the market-house at Providence, and were operated there.

Contemporaneously with this, an attempt was made in Philadelphia to manufacture cotton by machinery. This was attended with more success than any of the other experiments. In a report of a committee to the Board of Managers of the "Pennsylvania Society for Promoting Manufactures and the Useful Arts," it is stated, that up to August 23d, 1788, there had been manufactured of jeans, corduroys, cottons, flax-linens, tow-linens, &c., four thousand and sixteen yards.

"But, notwithstanding these laudable and persevering efforts made by the people of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and, soon after, of Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut, they entirely failed, and saw their hopes and prospects prostrate. In looking for the causes of such disasters, we find no deficiency of enterprise or exertion, none of funds, and none of men who were ready and willing to engage in the business, and no lack of patronage from the government, they having learned from experience the privations during the Revolutionary war. All must be attributed to the fact, that, during all the incipient struggles, Great Britain had in operation a series of superior machinery, which Massachusetts and Rhode Island had endeavoured to obtain in vain." — *Memoir of Slater*, pp. 61, 62.

It was at this critical period, that Samuel Slater arrived in this country from England. He had served a regular

apprenticeship in cotton-spinning, under Jedediah Strutt, a partner of Sir Richard Arkwright; and, tempted by a reward which he had heard had been offered by a Pennsylvania society for a machine to make cotton-rollers, he determined to push his fortune in this country. Bringing out nothing but his indenture of apprenticeship,* he arrived in New York in November, 1789. In January, 1790, he left New York for Providence, where he soon made arrangements, with Messrs. Almy and Brown, to set up the spinning of cotton at Pawtucket. With his own hands he commenced making machinery, working with indefatigable industry, night and day.

"On the 20th of December following, he started, as he says in an account written by himself just before his death, three cards, drawing and roving, and seventy spindles, which were worked by an old fulling-mill water-wheel, in a clothier's building, in which they continued spinning about twenty months; at the expiration of which time they had several thousand pounds of yarn on hand, notwithstanding every exertion was made to weave it up and to sell it. Early in the year 1793, Almy, Brown, and Slater built a small factory in that village, (known and called to this day 'the old factory,') in which they set in motion, July 12th, the *preparation* and seventy-two spindles, and slowly added to that number as the sales of the yarn appeared more promising, which induced the said Slater to be concerned in erecting a new mill, and to increase the machinery in the old mill." — *Ibid.*, p. 42.

The Arkwright inventions were now in successful operation in this country. We should be glad to give some account of the trials and perplexities through which Slater passed, of the gradual extension, by his labors, of the cotton manufacture, and of its final and permanent establishment, not only in the neighbourhood of his first experiments, but throughout the land. But our limits forbid. Through alternate periods of prosperity and great depression, the manufacture has most wonderfully increased. The little State of

* The stories often told of Mr. Slater's bringing out models of machinery, of a remarkable dream suggesting to him to supply a band upon one of the wheels, for want of which his machinery did not operate, and of secret attempts made upon his life by the connivance of the English Government, our author, on the authority of Mr. Slater himself, pronounces to be without foundation.

Rhode Island is literally dotted over with cotton mills. They are found every few miles on the whole length of the Blackstone river. They give industry and wealth to hundreds of flourishing villages in New England. They have built up large towns and cities, like Waltham, Fall River, Dover, Nashua, Lowell.

A few statistical facts * will give us the best idea of the vast extension of this business in this country, during the present century. In the "Memoir of Slater," it is stated, that in the year 1805, the total consumption of cotton by the manufactories of the United States was a little more than three hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds. The quantity now consumed is estimated at one hundred and fifty million pounds per annum. The value of cotton goods manufactured in the year 1815, is stated to have been twenty-four millions of dollars. The value of the annual manufacture is now estimated at sixty millions. The capital employed in manufacturing by machinery, in 1815, was forty millions of dollars. The capital now employed is estimated at one hundred and ten millions. The value of the exports of cotton goods from the United States, in 1826, is stated to have been one million one hundred thousand dollars. The value of exports in 1834, was two million two hundred thousand dollars. The number of persons at present employed in the manufacture of cotton we shall soon have means of knowing, by the recent census of the United States. We think it cannot be less than one hundred thousand.

What is the physical condition and moral character of this large class of our population? This is a question full of interest to the patriot and the philanthropist. We begin the few remarks we have to offer on this subject by observing, that the New England factory system is very different from that of Old England. The points of difference are important, and yield immense advantages to the New England operatives. In the first place, we have hardly such a thing as a fixed factory population. Four fifths of our factory opera-

* For these facts, we are indebted, when no other authority is named, to a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, dated February 29th, 1836, "On the Cultivation, Manufacture, and Foreign Trade of Cotton"; and to an article on the "Statistics of Cotton," which may be found in Hunt's "Merchants' Magazine," for September, 1839.

tives are young girls, who, leaving their homes in the country, work on an average from three to four years in the cotton mills, and then return to fill the stations in life of wives and mothers. The other fifth are young men, whose honorable ambition it is to become acquainted with the business of manufacturing, that they may rise to the situations of overseers, clerks, and superintendents. This class is of course more permanent. The other is continually fluctuating. Undoubtedly it is an evil to the manufacturer. He is continually losing experienced operatives, and receiving raw hands. But what he loses here, he more than gains in the better character of those he employs. The factory girl, whose intention it is to return, in a short time, to her native village, must carry back the unsullied reputation with which she left her father's house. Here is one of the strongest motives that can be felt to secure, not only the good morals, but the perfect decorum and propriety of conduct, of the operatives under his care. And it is felt by them all. There is no case of that self-abandonment, which we see in those who feel that they are doomed to be always just what they now are. And more than this, there is no such thing as a large, dependent class of people, hanging around our manufacturing villages, unfit for any thing but factory labor, subject, therefore, to the will of their employers, and in their helplessness and hopelessness growing more abandoned themselves, and tainting the whole neighbourhood with their corruption. This is, beyond all question, the greatest evil of the manufacturing system of England ; but a class of operatives like this cannot be found in any factory village of this country.

Another peculiarity of the New England factory system is the plan of corporation boarding-houses. This plan was first tried at Waltham, Massachusetts, and has gradually extended itself throughout New England, excepting in Rhode Island, where, under Slater, the English system was introduced. The boarding-houses are erected by the mill owners, and are let, at reduced rents, to the families that keep them. The advantages are obvious. The whole moral *régime* of these houses is under the sight and control of the master-manufacturer. Their neat, comfortable, and healthy state, the regularity and good order of their management, and the strictly moral conduct of their inmates, he can look

after, and it is his duty to secure. The deportment of his operatives, both while in the mill and out of it, is thus under his oversight and care. How admirably this system has worked, the good order of all our factory villages, and the healthy moral tone of feeling that prevails in them, abundantly prove.

Still another thing that distinguishes our factory system from that of England is, that we employ but few children. It is stated in the work of Baines, "that more than one third of the mill operatives in England are children, half of whom are under fourteen years of age."* In 1831, according to Pitkin's "Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States," there were 27,936 factory operatives in the New England States. Of these there were but 3,990 under twelve years of age. It is remarkable, that of that number Rhode Island alone had 3,472. This is more than fourteen fifteenths of the whole. It is in Rhode Island, as we remarked above, that the English factory system most prevails. The machinery there used is, for the most part, of a kind with which the labor of children is profitable. But throughout the New England factories generally, children are not wanted. They are "more plague than profit." Thus, of the 8,507 operatives employed in Lowell, there are not 150 under fifteen years of age. And, in respect to these, the law passed in the year 1837 is strictly enforced, which requires that no person, under fifteen years of age, shall be suffered to work more than nine months, in any year, in a factory, the remaining three to be passed at school. Nothing need be added, to show what a great advantage, to our manufacturing population, our factory system has, in this particular also, over that of England.

There is no class of laborers in New England, that is so well paid, clothed, and fed, as our factory operatives. Such care is taken of their health, both in the mills, and in the boarding-houses, that no more sickness of any kind prevails among them, as physicians of the most respectable attainments and character attest, than is found among laborers of the like class in any other employments of life. We know what declamatory assertions have been sometimes made, of the demoralizing effect of our factories, and of the infamy

* Page 380.

which cleaves to every young woman who has been a factory operative. But we know, also, that the least inquiry, in any well conducted manufacturing establishment in New England, will prove such assertions to be false. A greater slander was probably never proclaimed; not against the female operatives themselves, but against their fathers, their mothers, the guardians of their virtue and their honor. It is in the virtuous homes of our farmers and mechanics, that the young women are reared, who work their three or four years in the factories. That they are sent, year after year, to places where their morals are sure to be corrupted, and where an eternal reproach is fixed upon their names, is a charge against their parents, which the very men who bring it cannot themselves believe. In remarking upon the moral condition of our manufacturing establishments, those who have not carefully inquired into their practical operation overlook one fact, which it is very important should be kept in mind. It is the *interest* of the mill-owners to make the villages, which their establishments create, desirable places to live in. Not only must the accommodations for the operatives be comfortable and healthy, but the moral atmosphere which they breathe must be pure. If it is not, the manufacturer loses his hands. Let those who are continually returning from the factories to their fathers' houses, go back with a ruined reputation, or with a blot upon their fair names, and the only supply of operatives, which the manufacturer has, is cut off. If we had a fixed, dependent factory population, it would be different. Such a class of operatives must work, however unhealthy or however corrupting their labor may be, or they must starve. Free from the curse of such a population, the sure instinct of self-interest secures a high standard of morals in most of the manufacturing villages of New England.

As an illustration of these remarks, we would, in concluding this paper, refer to one of the largest manufacturing places in the country, and one in which the actual working of the New England factory system may be most fully seen. In the city of Lowell, there is a manufacturing capital invested of $10,500,000. There are 32 cotton mills in operation; running 166,044 spindles, and 5,183 looms; consuming 19,256,600 pounds of cotton, and manufacturing 58,263,400 yards of cloth, per annum; employing 6,430 female, and

2,077 male operatives. This city has grown up entirely within the last twenty years, and now has a population of over twenty thousand. A more orderly and moral city, we believe, can nowhere be found. Indeed, there are some facts pertaining to the character of this city, which are of a remarkable nature. There are in it sixteen organized religious societies, in which, it is ascertained, are enrolled about seven thousand Sunday school pupils and teachers, being one third part of the entire population of the city. The rule, here rigidly enforced by the manufacturers, of employing none who are addicted to the use of ardent spirits, has had the effect to make this city more free from the vice of intemperance, than any other city that can be named. And then, as to the sin of licentiousness, which is supposed to be the peculiar taint of factories, we would refer to the following statement, which we find quoted in the "Memoir of Slater," from Carey's "Essay on Wages." It is taken from an account, furnished five or six years ago, to the late Mr. Carey, by a gentleman of well-known character for integrity and philanthropy, who then had charge of one of the largest establishments in Lowell.

"There have only occurred three instances in which any apparently improper connexion or intimacy had taken place, and in all those cases the parties were married on the discovery, and several months prior to the birth of their children; so that, in a legal point of view, no illegitimate birth has taken place among the females employed in the mills under my direction. Nor have I known of but one case among all the females employed in Lowell, — I have said known, — I should say heard, of one case. I am just informed, that this was a case where the female had been employed but a few days in any mill, and was forthwith rejected from the corporation, and sent to her friends. In point of female chastity, I believe that Lowell is as free from reproach as any place of equal population in the United States, or the world." — *Memoir of Slater*, p. 168.

There are some facts, also, pertaining to the health of this population, which are exceedingly interesting. Bills of mortality have been kept for a considerable number of years, with great accuracy. These have been carefully collated, and from them the following facts have been derived, by a distinguished physician of Lowell, which we present in his own words.

"More than one half of our population are between the ages of fifteen and thirty years, and a great proportion of these are employed in the mills. In the year 1830, the population stood, by an actual census, at six thousand four hundred and seventy-seven; the number of deaths was one hundred and fourteen, and of this whole number only seven occurred among the persons employed in the mills. In the year 1828, the population, in round numbers, was three thousand five hundred. The number of girls employed in the mills was, also in round numbers, fifteen hundred. During that whole year, there was not a single death, in the city, among these fifteen hundred girls. I ask those who are versed in the lore of medical statistics, to match these two facts. Even if they were picked facts, they would be none the less extraordinary. But they are not picked facts. They are the only ones, and they are all of the kind which are contained in the tables before me. If, now, I am asked whether I consider these results as average results, — as safe *data* on which to rest our conclusions, as to the degree of health enjoyed by our other population, I frankly answer, No. I do not believe, that the other years would have given such results. They are too extraordinary to be looked for. But they are still of very great value. They show positively, absolutely, undeniably, a state of things wholly, irreconcilably, inconsistent with the existence of a feeble, deteriorated, and unhealthy population. I know that in 1828, and probably in 1830, girls, who had been here some time during the year, died during the year elsewhere. I know that, in making all these statements, we are constantly to bear in mind the circumstance, that a certain number of girls leave this city while sick, and die among their kindred. But the number is easily ascertained, and it is far from being large. Means are now in operation, by which the number of girls who leave the mills on account of any ill health, will be accurately ascertained. Until this work is finished, I can only say, that, so far as the investigation has been carried, it corresponds with all the other facts relating to this subject, in showing an average state of health, and freedom from disease, most satisfactory and gratifying.

"It may be objected, that the rate of mortality is not alone and in itself an infallible, or even a safe, standard of the general health; that the actual number of deaths in any given population, during a given year, may be small, while the standard of health is low, and the absolute amount of ill health is great. I admit that this is very possible, and that it sometimes occurs. But it can only be true under peculiar circumstances, and within certain very narrow limits. It cannot be true of a large population, through a series of years. It can

only form an apparent exception to the general law of relationship between disease and the rates of mortality; and careful observation will always enable us to detect these exceptions, and to make in their favor, or on their account, all necessary allowances.

"The general and comparative good health of the girls employed in the mills here, and their freedom from serious disease, have long been subjects of common remark among our most intelligent and experienced physicians. *The manufacturing population of this city is the healthiest portion of the population,* and there is no reason why this should not be the case. They are but little exposed to many of the strongest and most prolific causes of disease, and very many of the circumstances which surround and act upon them are of the most favorable hygienic character. They are regular in all their habits. They are early up in the morning, and are early in bed at night. Their fare is plain, substantial, and good, and their labor is sufficiently active and sufficiently light to avoid the evils arising from the two extremes of indolence and overexertion. They are but little exposed to the sudden vicissitudes, and to the excessive heats or colds of the seasons, and they are very generally free from anxious and depressing cares." *

The healthy condition and the correct deportment of the Lowell operatives, have been observed by every one, who has seen the long lines of them retiring, at the close of labor, from the mills. All are well dressed, and you behold no more impropriety of conduct, than you see in the most fashionable streets of any city. A distinguished Englishman, on seeing the throngs of operatives leaving the mills, could not but express his surprise, that every one of them had on *shoes*. His wonder would have ceased, had he known that each of these operatives was earning, on an average, two dollars per week, clear of her board; that the sum paid out for wages in Lowell is $160,000 per month; that out of 1,976 depositors in the Lowell Institutions for Savings, 978 are factory girls; and that of the $305,796 deposited on interest, $100,000 belongs to them. His wonder would have ceased, had he been told of the man, who, broken down by unfortunate speculations at the South, removed his wife and family of daughters to Lowell; and there, forgetting their former affluence, and relying hopefully upon their

* *Letters on Lowell and its Population*, Published in the "Lowell Courier," in 1839, by Elisha Bartlett, M. D.

own exertions, honestly paid off, in a few years, by the fruits of their labor, an old incumbrance of over two thousand dollars, and realized enough beside to give an enviable education to his children. He should have been told, also, of the poor widow, who, running in debt for every cent of the furniture of her boarding-house, paid for it all in a short time, and by eleven years of industry and economy, saved the snug sum of fourteen hundred dollars, with which she purchased a quiet retreat for her old age in the country.

We intended to have said a word or two upon the schools in Lowell, which will not suffer by comparison with any others in the Commonwealth; upon the spirit of intelligence there manifested, in the patronage extended to lyceums, libraries, and lectures; and upon the noble hospital recently established there by the owners of the mills, for the benefit of the operatives in their employ. But we have already exceeded our limits. We can only express the firm conviction, that the manufacturing population of New England, in intelligence, respectability, and good morals, is at this moment decidedly in advance of the same class of laborers in other branches of industry; and we have no doubt but that, by still greater improvements in machinery, by a reduction of the hours of labor, and by a more earnest attention to means of moral and intellectual training, they will lead the general progress in knowledge and in virtue.

Art. III. — *Two Years before the Mast. A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1840. 24mo. pp. 483.

This is, in many respects, a remarkable book. It is a successful attempt to describe a class of men, and a course of life, which, though familiarly spoken of by most people, and considered as within the limits of civilization, will appear to them now almost as just discovered. To find a new subject in so old a sphere of humanity is something; and scarcely second to this are the spirit and skill with which it is handled. It seems as if the writer must have been favored with

a special gift for his novel enterprise. It is a young sailor's narrative at the end of his only voyage. It is his first attempt as an author, and certainly the last which, considering his previous condition and pursuits, he could ever have dreamed of making. Though it was written from a desire and purpose to enlighten people as to the state and evils of a seafaring life, though it constantly offers matter for serious reflection, and is necessarily occupied, a large part of the time, with very humble materials, yet it is as entertaining as a well-contrived fiction, it is as luminous as poetry, and its interest never flags. Thus it is likely to be a standard work in its particular line, at least till it instructs some other adventurer to surpass it. We think we can see, in the good reception it has had, much more than sudden admiration of a novelty; and in the book itself, much more than the rapid fruit of youthful spirits and fancy. Hard labor is necessary to effect any thing considerable in literature; and probably few works ever cost more, if we may reckon the toils, sacrifices, and temptations of a common sailor, as a part of his preparation for a memorable narrative of sea life.

It is so unpretending in its purpose and tone, that, instead of setting out with commendation and prophecy, it would have been more natural to come at once to what it offers the reader. It may, then, be read with satisfaction by all who are curious to know what the sea really is; what the life of a mariner is in the merchant service; and the daily history of all that is going on in the little craft, or stately ship, which is holding its solitary course for months together, in search of commodities for landsmen. The voyage is not undertaken for discoveries, conquests, or any public object whatever. There is nothing grand or brilliant in the idea of a few officers and men in charge of a peaceful vessel, from port to port; with no further interest in the winds and waters than as they hasten or retard its course; and looking for nothing so eagerly, as to come to anchor and begin landing a cargo, or taking one on board, that they may make for home again. The writer has no liberty to select picturesque situations and aspects, invent interesting personages and incidents, that he may carry his reader into grand adventures of fictitious maritime life. Not that there will ordinarily be any want of facts or characters, to exercise his best talent for narrative and description; but these must come in their

order, and occupy no more than the place they hold in the series of daily affairs, and in the mind of the writer at the time. Exaggeration or disproportion is, of all things, the most to be shunned. For he is upon a matter of business, of experience; he is to make us see and feel what is passing. Needless repetition may be avoided, but nothing must be fabricated.

These may seem hard conditions, where a man is expected to make an entertaining book. So much the better, if he succeeds. But let us not undervalue realities. All sorts of facts may be so represented as to be dull and unaffecting, for the reason that they are not understood by the story-teller. They are not realities to him, nor yet the occasions of fancy. He tells every thing as if he were counting. His mind has not been active upon his experience; it makes use of nothing, has been called forth by nothing, and has clothed nothing with itself. On the other hand, any course of life may have its exciting history to one differently constituted. As to the work before us, it would perish but for its truth, and the truth might perish but for its vivacity. This is the secret, if there be one, of its attraction. Something, no doubt, is to be attributed to the idea one never wholly loses, of a young man, separated from an easy home and liberal studies, and subjecting himself, as a common sailor, to the hardships of a long voyage, and, as it turned out, of the worst sort, — in the hope that an entire change of employment might do something for removing what seemed an incurable weakness of the eyes. The contrast is not without effect upon the reader. The author, too, has not overlooked it.

"The change from the tight dress-coat, silk cap, and kid gloves of an undergraduate at Cambridge, to the loose duck trowsers, checked shirt, and tarpaulin hat of a sailor, though somewhat of a transformation, was soon made, and I supposed that I should pass very well for a jack-tar. But it is impossible to deceive the practised eye in these matters; and while I supposed myself to be looking as salt as Neptune himself, I was, no doubt, known for a landsman by every one on board as soon as I hove in sight. A sailor has a peculiar cut to his clothes, and a way of wearing them which a green hand can never get. The trowsers, tight round the hips, and thence hanging long and loose round the feet, a superabundance of checked shirt, a low-crowned, well-varnished black hat, worn

on the back of the head, with half a fathom of black ribbon hanging over the left eye, and a peculiar tie to the black silk neckerchief, with sundry other minutiæ, are signs, the want of which betray the beginner at once. Beside the points in my dress, which were out of the way, doubtless my complexion and hands were enough to distinguish me from the regular *salt*, who, with a sunburnt cheek, wide step, and rolling gait, swings his bronzed and toughened hands athwart-ships, half open, as though just ready to grasp a rope." — pp. 6, 7.

Besides the circumstances of the writer, the novelty, the originality of his subject is, as we have already remarked, a part of its attraction. Most readers have but a vague idea of life at sea, though every one has his dream, as he has about every strange thing that falls to another. A boy, born and bred in a seaport, especially if it be a small one, is for ever upon the wharves, or in a boat, wondering what is going on in some vessel riding at anchor, or just floating out of sight. If he is sent to school in the country, he feels for a time as if imprisoned and stifled; he longs for the free air, the sounds and moving objects, of the ocean. On his return, he greets with delight the scent of salt weeds and tarred rope, and even the fragrance of docks. No sound of pipe or shell can equal that of the waters. A sort of calenture is upon him. He has visions of far distant ships, of strange skies, people, and traffic, and home can bind him no longer. So of landsmen generally, if they think of the sea and of ships as something more than a field for labor or war, something more than to enrich merchants or vindicate national honor, the image of maritime life is accompanied with ideas of poetical inspiration, of religious feeling, of intrepidity and generosity, as growing naturally from a sense of peril and dependence, and the presence of grand or unusual phenomena. By the aid of mystery, which even the little they know, and especially the more they are ignorant of, throws over the adventurers upon the sea, a degree of dignity, or, it may be, of undefined but not painful terror, is attached to the very word, *voyage*. They have heard, too, of a sailor's humor, so characteristic for its composition of stoicism and drollery. Every thing assures them, that his state and influences are peculiar. He is a privileged person. He has dared what they tremble merely to hear of. He has a right to despise people who live all the time ashore. — Fan-

cies like these possess landsmen in full force, when they read the narratives of discoverers and great admirals, or the reports of wrecked sailors, and above all, when a man of genius, who has himself known the sea, invents a story of a ship's fortunes.

It is not disputed, that much truth is obtained by the inexperienced from sources like these. The imagination probably forms many adequate conceptions. It is no discredit to other sea-stories to say, that this has points in which it differs from them. We have here not only a real voyage, but, what we never had before, the whole history of a long trading voyage, told by a sailor, who was able to compare his early visions of the sea with the facts as he found them; who went out to work, not to speculate or describe; who gave himself up to the service as devotedly, as he would do and bear all things in any other line of duty; who was resolved to enter heartily into his new mode of life, to see all its fair sides, and make the best of its annoyances; and whose narrative is the simple expression of his experience and prudent observation, — a narrative of things as they happened, of impressions as they were made, of convictions as they grew and settled upon his mind during a pretty patient trial of a wholly new line of life. Such is the view that will be taken of the writer and his book, by those who know nothing of the sea, and those who know every thing. The truth speaks out everywhere. We should say, that it was all over with dreaming now, except in some few incurable cases. But it would be juster to say, that we have surrendered our false fancies, and with full compensation, so much more animating and productive is the truth, as here set forth, than our former guesses.

The author has evidently made use of a copious journal, or drawn upon a very faithful memory; for the succession of things is in perfect order of time, and, if any part of the voyage is omitted, we are not aware of it from the want of minute details. Still, there is very little appearance of the mechanical keeping of a journal. Notes of the ship's place, of winds, of bells more or less, come in as they are needed; that is, as they will make a statement more distinct, by placing us near to what is going on. But it is the well sustained spirit of a strictly personal narrative, which animates and defines every thing. The presence of the writer, his interest

in affairs, his hopes, anxieties, and vexations, his natural reflections, his temper of mind, his character, are perceived and felt throughout; not, however, because the voyage is made an occasion for exhibiting the author, but because his purpose is to describe it as it came under his own eye, and specially affected himself. The effect is, that a narrative of no small variety, and embracing many persons and transactions, is bound together by a principle of unity, which could scarcely be more perfect and operative if he had been at liberty, like Defoe, to invent his facts, and group them at his pleasure. The whole economy of the ship, in all sorts of weather, and even the mystery of hide-droghing, hide-curing, and hide-loading, with their humble details, and, sometimes, obscure nomenclature, partake of the interest which belongs to matters of more obvious and natural attraction in themselves. The reader would no sooner pass over the most ordinary particulars, than he would the "slipping for a southeaster," or the perils of doubling the Cape.

The style we had never thought of as a distinct thing, till we began to prepare this notice; and, no doubt, because it calls for no separate remark, and is content with doing its work. It is plain, straight-forward, and manly, never swollen for effect, or kept down from apprehension. There is no appearance of seeking for words; but those that will best answer the purpose, come and fall into their proper places of their own will; so that, whatever the transitions may be, the composition flows on with natural, stream-like varieties, while we partake of the changing influences without a word of comment and probably with little consciousness. This we suppose is the perfection of style, so far as impression is concerned; and to some extent it will always be found in an intelligent writer, who, without thinking much of himself, or of making a sensation, says honestly how things were, and how they affected him. We must not, however, attribute too much to sincerity, or even to intelligence. Where language is employed with singular fitness and ease, a writer must be deep in the secret of its power, though at little trouble in managing it.

It would be easy to cite short passages, that have a defined beauty of some kind; those, for example, in which a few lively words are rapidly thrown together, as if a thing must be told at once or never, for nothing can be suffered to delay

the course of the story, any more than of the ship. Some instances of such brisk and effective description may be observed in the few passages which we select for a more general purpose.

We begin with the preparations for flying before a southeaster, in the Bay of Santa Barbara, on the coast of California.

"This night, after sundown, it looked black at the southward and eastward, and we were told to keep a bright lookout. Expecting to be called up, we turned in early. Waking up about midnight, I found a man who had just come down from his watch, striking a light. He said that it was beginning to puff up from the southeast, and that the sea was rolling in, and he had called the captain; and as he threw himself down on his chest, with all his clothes on, I knew that he expected to be called. I felt the vessel pitching at her anchor, and the chain surging and snapping, and lay awake, expecting an instant summons. In a few minutes it came, — three knocks on the scuttle, and 'All hands ahoy! bear-a-hand up and make sail.' We sprang up for our clothes, and were about halfway dressed, when the mate called out, down the scuttle, 'Tumble up here, men! tumble up! before she drags her anchor.' We were on deck in an instant. 'Lay aloft and loose the topsails!' shouted the captain, as soon as the first man showed himself. Springing into the rigging, I saw that the *Ayacucho's* topsails were loosed, and heard her crew singing out at the sheets as they were hauling them home. This had probably started our captain; as 'old Wilson' (the captain of the *Ayacucho*) had been many years on the coast, and knew the signs of the weather. We soon had the topsails loosed; and one hand remaining, as usual, in each top, to overhaul the rigging and light the sail out, the rest of us laid down to man the sheets. While sheeting home, we saw the *Ayacucho* standing athwart our bows, sharp upon the wind, cutting through the head sea like a knife, with her raking masts and sharp bows running up like the head of a greyhound. It was a beautiful sight. She was like a bird which had been frightened, and had spread her wings in flight. After the topsails had been sheeted home, the head yards braced aback, the fore-top-mast staysail hoisted, and the buoys streamed, and all ready forward for slipping, we went aft and manned the slip-rope, which came through the stern port, with a turn round the timber-heads. 'All ready forward?' asked the captain. 'Ay, ay, sir; all ready,' answered the mate. 'Let go!' 'All gone, sir;' and the iron cable grated over the windlass

and through the hawse-hole, and the little vessel's head swinging off from the wind under the force of her backed head sails, brought the strain upon the slip-rope. 'Let go aft!' Instantly all was gone, and we were under weigh. As soon as she was well off from the wind, we filled away the head yards, braced all up sharp, set the foresail and trysail, and left our anchorage well astern, giving the point a good berth. 'Nye 's off too,' said the captain to the mate; and, looking astern, we could just see the little hermaphrodite brig under sail, standing after us." — pp. 77–79.

The accounts of ships in different points of view will be understood by the least initiated readers, — for example, that of a vessel under full sail.

"Notwithstanding all that has been said about the beauty of a ship under full sail, there are very few who have ever seen a ship, literally, under all her sail. A ship coming in or going out of port, with her ordinary sails, and perhaps two or three studding-sails, is commonly said to be under full sail; but a ship never has all her sail upon her, except when she has a light, steady breeze, very nearly, but not quite, dead aft, and so regular that it can be trusted, and is likely to last for some time. Then, with all her sails, light and heavy, and studding-sails, on each side, alow and aloft, she is the most glorious moving object in the world. Such a sight, very few, even some who have been at sea a good deal, have ever beheld; for from the deck of your own vessel you cannot see her, as you would a separate object.

"One night, while we were in these tropics, I went out to the end of the flying-jib-boom, upon some duty, and, having finished it, turned round, and lay over the boom for a long time, admiring the beauty of the sight before me. Being so far out from the deck, I could look at the ship, as at a separate vessel; — and, there, rose up from the water, supported only by the small black hull, a pyramid of canvass, spreading out far beyond the hull, and towering up almost, as it seemed in the indistinct night air, to the clouds. The sea was as still as an inland lake; the light trade-wind was gently and steadily breathing from astern; the dark blue sky was studded with the tropical stars; there was no sound but the rippling of the water under the stem; and the sails were spread out, wide and high; — the two lower studding-sails stretching, on each side, far beyond the deck; the top-mast studding-sails, like wings to the top-sails; the top-gallant studding-sails spreading fearlessly out above them; still higher, the two royal studding-sails, looking like two kites flying from the

same string; and, highest of all, the little sky-sail, the apex of the pyramid, seeming actually to touch the stars, and to be out of reach of human hand. So quiet, too, was the sea, and so steady the breeze, that, if these sails had been sculptured marble, they could not have been more motionless. Not a ripple upon the surface of the canvass; not even a quivering of the extreme edges of the sail, — so perfectly were they distended by the breeze. I was so lost in the sight, that I forgot the presence of the man who came out with me, until he said, (for he, too, rough old man-of-war's man as he was, had been gazing at the show,) half to himself, still looking at the marble sails, 'How quietly they do their work!'" — pp. 421 – 423.

One peril at least must be given. We take the description of a gale encountered near Cape Horn, on the outward voyage.

"A true specimen of Cape Horn was coming upon us. A great cloud of a dark slate-color was driving on us from the southwest; and we did our best to take in sail, (for the light sails had been set during the first part of the day,) before we were in the midst of it. We had got the light sails furled, the courses hauled up, and the topsail reef-tackles hauled out, and were just mounting the fore-rigging, when the storm struck us. In an instant the sea, which had been comparatively quiet, was running higher and higher; and it became almost as dark as night. The hail and sleet were harder than I had yet felt them; seeming almost to *pin us down* to the rigging. We were longer taking in sail than ever before; for the sails were stiff and wet, the ropes and rigging covered with snow and sleet, and we ourselves cold and nearly blinded with the violence of the storm. By the time we had got down upon deck again, the little brig was plunging madly into a tremendous head sea, which at every drive rushed in through the bow-ports and over the bows, and buried all the forward part of the vessel. At this instant the chief mate, who was standing on the top of the windlass, at the foot of the spenser mast, called out, 'Lay out there and furl the jib!' This was no agreeable or safe duty, yet it must be done. An old Swede, (the best sailor on board,) who belonged on the forecastle, sprang out upon the bowsprit. Another one must go; I was near the mate, and sprang forward, threw the downhaul over the windlass, and jumped between the knight-heads out upon the bow-sprit. The crew stood abaft the windlass and hauled the jib down, while we got out upon the weather side of the jib-boom, our feet on the foot-ropes, holding on by the

spar, the great jib flying off to leeward and *slatting* so as almost to throw us off of the boom. For some time we could do nothing but hold on, and the vessel diving into two huge seas, one after the other, plunged us twice into the water up to our chins. We hardly knew whether we were on or off; when coming up, dripping from the water, we were raised high into the air. John (that was the sailor's name) thought the boom would go, every moment, and called out to the mate to keep the vessel off, and haul down the staysail; but the fury of the wind and the breaking of the seas against the bows defied every attempt to make ourselves heard, and we were obliged to do the best we could in our situation. Fortunately, no other seas so heavy struck her, and we succeeded in furling the jib 'after a fashion'; and, coming in over the staysail nettings, were not a little pleased to find that all was snug, and the watch gone below; for we were soaked through, and it was very cold. The weather continued nearly the same through the night." — pp. 37 – 39.

Of the comic adventures, we select a single example, with some doubt, however, whether it is half as laughable as the account of shipping a sea, on a later page.

"We had now got hardened to Cape weather, the vessel was under reduced sail, and every thing secured on deck and below, so that we had little to do but to steer and to stand our watch. Our clothes were all wet through, and the only change was from wet to more wet. It was in vain to think of reading or working below, for we were too tired, the hatchways were closed down, and every thing was wet and uncomfortable, black and dirty, heaving and pitching. We had only to come below when the watch was out, wring out our wet clothes, hang them up, and turn in and sleep as soundly as we could, until the watch was called again. A sailor can sleep anywhere, — no sound of wind, water, wood, or iron can keep him awake, — and we were always fast asleep when three blows on the hatchway, and the unwelcome cry of 'All starbowlines ahoy! Eight bells there below! Do you hear the news?' (the usual formula of calling the watch,) roused us up from our berths upon the cold, wet decks. The only time when we could be said to take any pleasure was at night and morning, when we were allowed a pint pot full of hot tea, (or, as the sailors significantly call it, 'water bewitched,') sweetened with molasses. This, bad as it was, was still warm and comforting, and, together with our sea biscuit and cold salt beef, made quite a meal. Yet even this meal was attended with some uncertainty. We had to go ourselves to the galley

and take our kid of beef and tin pots of tea, and run the risk of losing them before we could get below. Many a kid of beef have I seen rolling in the scuppers, and the bearer lying at his length on the decks. I remember an English lad, who was always the life of the crew, but whom we afterwards lost overboard, standing for nearly ten minutes at the galley, with his pot of tea in his hand, waiting for a chance to get down into the forecastle ; and seeing what he thought was a 'smooth spell,' started to go forward. He had just got to the end of the windlass, when a great sea broke over the bows, and for a moment I saw nothing of him but his head and shoulders ; and at the next instant, being taken off of his legs, he was carried aft with the sea, until her stern lifting up and sending the water forward, he was left high and dry at the side of the long-boat, still holding on to his tin pot, which had now nothing in it but salt water. But nothing could ever daunt him, or overcome, for a moment, his habitual good humor. Regaining his legs, and shaking his fist at the man at the wheel, he rolled below, saying, as he passed, 'A man 's no sailor, if he can't take a joke.' The ducking was not the worst of such an affair, for, as there was an allowance of tea, you could get no more from the galley ; and though the sailors would never suffer a man to go without, but would always turn in a little from their own pots to fill up his, yet this was at best but dividing the loss among all hands.

"Something of the same kind befell me a few days after. The cook had just made for us a mess of hot 'scouse,' — that is, biscuit pounded fine, salt beef cut into small pieces, and a few potatoes, boiled up together and seasoned with pepper. This was a rare treat, and I, being the last at the galley, had it put in my charge to carry down to the mess. I got along very well as far as the hatchway, and was just getting down the steps, when a heavy sea, lifting the stern out of water, and passing forward, dropping it down again, threw the steps from their place, and I came down into the steerage a little faster than I meant to do, with the kid on top of me, and the whole precious mess scattered over the floor. Whatever your feelings may be, you must make a joke of every thing at sea ; and if you were to fall from aloft and be caught in the belly of a sail, and thus saved from instant death, it would not do to look at all disturbed, or to make a serious matter of it." — pp. 39 – 41.

What can be brighter, than these contrasts of the latitudes of Cape Horn in winter, and the luxury of the Atlantic tropics three or four weeks later ?

"For eight days we lay drifting about in this manner. Sometimes, — generally towards noon, — it fell calm; once or twice a round copper ball showed itself for a few moments in the place where the sun ought to have been; and a puff or two came from the westward, giving some hope that a fair wind had come at last. During the first two days, we made sail for these puffs, shaking the reefs out of the topsails and boarding the tacks of the courses; but, finding that it only made work for us when the gale set in again, it was soon given up, and we lay to under close-reefs. We had less snow and hail than when we were farther to the westward, but we had an abundance of what is worse to a sailor in cold weather, — drenching rain. Snow is blinding, and very bad when coming upon a coast, but, for genuine discomfort, give me rain with freezing weather. A snow-storm is exciting, and it does not wet through the clothes (which is important to a sailor); but a constant rain there is no escaping from. It wets to the skin, and makes all protection vain. We had long ago run through all our dry clothes, and, as sailors have no other way of drying them than by the sun, we had nothing to do but put on those which were the least wet. At the end of each watch, when we came below, we took off our clothes and wrung them out; two taking hold of a pair of trowsers, — one at each end, — and jackets in the same way. Stockings, mittens, and all, were wrung out also, and then hung up to drain and chafe dry against the bulk-heads. Then, feeling of all our clothes, we picked out those which were the least wet, and put them on, so as to be ready for a call, and turned-in, covered ourselves up with blankets, and slept until three knocks on the scuttle, and the dismal sound of 'All starbowlines ahoy! Eight bells, there below! Do you hear the news?' drawled out from on deck, and the sulky answer of 'Ay, ay!' from below, sent us up again.

"On deck, all was as dark as a pocket, and either a dead calm, with the rain pouring steadily down, or, more generally, a violent gale dead ahead, with rain pelting horizontally, and occasional variations of hail and sleet; — decks afloat with water swashing from side to side, and constantly wet feet; for boots could not be wrung out like drawers, and no composition could stand the constant soaking. In fact, wet and cold feet are inevitable in such weather, and are not the least of those little items which go to make up the grand total of the discomforts of a winter passage round the Cape. Few words were spoken between the watches as they shifted, the wheel was relieved, the mate took his place on the quarter-deck, the look-outs in the bows; and each man had his narrow space to

walk fore and aft in, or, rather, to swing himself forward and back in, from one belaying pin to another, — for the decks were too slippery with ice and water to allow of much walking. To make a walk, which is absolutely necessary to pass away the time, one of us hit upon the expedient of sanding the deck; and afterwards, whenever the rain was not so violent as to wash it off, the weather-side of the quarter-deck, and a part of the waist and forecastle, were sprinkled with the sand which we had on board for holystoning; and thus we made a good promenade, where we walked fore and aft, two and two, hour after hour, in our long, dull, and comfortless watches. The bells seemed an hour or two apart, instead of half an hour, and an age to elapse before the welcome sound of eight bells. The sole object was to make the time pass on. Any change was sought for, which would break the monotony of the time; and even the two hours' trick at the wheel, which came round to each of us, in turn, once in every other watch, was looked upon as a relief. Even the never-failing resource of long yarns, which eke out many a watch, seemed to have failed us now; for we had been so long together that we had heard each other's stories told over and over again, till we had them by heart; each one knew the whole history of each of the others, and we were fairly and literally talked out. Singing and joking, we were in no humor for, and, in fact, any sound of mirth or laughter would have struck strangely upon our ears, and would not have been tolerated, any more than whistling, or a wind instrument. The last resort, that of speculating upon the future, seemed now to fail us, for our discouraging situation, and the danger we were really in, (as we expected every day to find ourselves drifted back among the ice,) 'clapped a stopper' upon all that. From saying, '*when* we get home,' — we began insensibly to alter it to '*if* we get home,' — and at last the subject was dropped by a tacit consent." — pp. 403 – 405.

"Our watches below were no more varied than the watch on deck. All washing, sewing, and reading was given up; and we did nothing but eat, sleep, and stand our watch, leading what might be called a Cape Horn life. The forecastle was too uncomfortable to sit up in; and, whenever we were below, we were in our berths. To prevent the rain, and the sea-water which broke over the bows, from washing down, we were obliged to keep the scuttle closed, so that the forecastle was nearly air-tight. In this little, wet, leaky hole, we were all quartered, in an atmosphere so bad, that our lamp, which swung in the middle from the beams, sometimes actually burned blue, with a large circle of foul air about it. Still, I was

never in better health than after three weeks of this life. I gained a great deal of flesh, and we all ate like horses. At every watch, when we came below, before turning-in, the bread barge and beef kid were overhauled. Each man drank his quart of hot tea, night and morning; and glad enough we were to get it, for no nectar and ambrosia were sweeter to the lazy immortals, than was a pot of hot tea, a hard biscuit, and a slice of cold salt beef to us, after a watch on deck. To be sure, we were mere animals, and, had this life lasted a year instead of a month, we should have been little better than the ropes in the ship. Not a razor, nor a brush, nor a drop of water, except the rain and spray, had come near us all the time; for we were on an allowance of fresh water; and who would strip and wash himself in salt water on deck, in the snow and ice, with the thermometer at zero?" — pp. 407, 408.

Now we come at once to the tropics, for never was there a finer wind, or a ship more alive, than when she turned northward.

"We were now to the northward of the line, and every day added to our latitude The Magellan Clouds, the last sign of south latitude, were sunk in the horizon, and the north star, the Great Bear, and the familiar signs of northern latitudes, were rising in the heavens. Next to seeing land, there is no sight which makes one realize more that he is drawing near home, than to see the same heavens, under which he was born, shining at night over his head. The weather was extremely hot, with the usual tropical alternations of a scorching sun and squalls of rain; yet not a word was said in complaint of the heat, for we all remembered that only three or four weeks before we would have given nearly our all to have been where we now were. We had a plenty of water, too, which we caught by spreading an awning, with shot thrown in to make hollows. These rain squalls came up in the manner usual between the tropics. — A clear sky; burning, vertical sun; work going lazily on, and men about decks with nothing but duck trowsers, checked shirts, and straw hats; the ship moving as lazily through the water; the man at the helm resting against the wheel, with his hat drawn over his eyes; the captain below, taking an afternoon nap; the passenger leaning over the taffrail, watching a dolphin following slowly in our wake; the sailmaker mending an old top-sail on the lee side of the quarter-deck; the carpenter working at his bench, in the waist; the boys making sinnet; the spun-yarn winch whizzing round and round, and the men walking slowly fore and aft with the yarns.

— A cloud rises to windward, looking a little black ; the sky-sails are brailed down ; the captain puts his head out of the companion-way, looks at the cloud, comes up, and begins to walk the deck. — The cloud spreads and comes on ; — the tub of yarns, the sail, and other matters, are thrown below, and the sky-light and booby-hatch put on, and the slide drawn over the forecastle. — ' Stand by the royal halyards ;' — the man at the wheel keeps a good weather helm, so as not to be taken aback. — The squall strikes her. If it is light, the royal yards are clewed down, and the ship keeps on her way; but if the squall takes strong hold, the royals are clewed up, fore and aft ; light hands lay aloft and furl them ; top-gallant yards clewed down, flying-jib hauled down, and the ship kept off before it, — the man at the helm laying out his strength to heave the wheel up to windward. At the same time a drenching rain, which soaks one through in an instant. Yet no one puts on a jacket or cap ; for if it is only warm, a sailor does not mind a ducking ; and the sun will soon be out again. As soon as the force of the squall has passed, though to a common eye the ship would seem to be in the midst of it, — ' Keep her up to her course again ! ' — ' Keep her up, sir,' (answer); — ' Hoist away the top-gallant yards ! ' — ' Run up the flying-jib ! ' — ' Lay aloft, you boys, and loose the royals ! ' — and all sail is on her again before she is fairly out of the squall ; and she is going on in her course. The sun comes out once more, hotter than ever, dries up the decks and the sailors' clothes ; the hatches are taken off ; the sail got up and spread on the quarter-deck ; spun-yarn winch set a whirling again ; rigging coiled up ; captain goes below ; and every sign of an interruption is removed." — pp. 429 - 431.

But it is time to speak of this volume as something more than an agreeable narrative or description. It abounds in matter for serious reflection. When a reader, who has known little of a sailor's life, finishes the book, (with gratitude, it may be, that the young adventurer is safe home again,) the thought most likely to spring up is, — what a dreadful doom is this of the common mariner, trained as he must be to habits which he can never hope to change, and reduced to a degradation which we must hope he has lost the sense of. He is a slave of the worst kind, for his toil is a peril, — industry and exposure go hand in hand. Even the apathy of habit is degrading as well as useful ; for, if dangers have lost their power to intimidate, they have also lost their power to excite. Deeds worthy of the highest

chivalry are done without the spirit of chivalry. The man has become a machine. If he perishes, why, danger is his element, as he and his comrades know, and death or an escape must be looked on with an equal eye. His fare is wretched while it lasts, and famine or scarcity is not unlikely to follow. He has hardly any indulgence of leisure or play-time, for he must work upon nothing rather than not appear to be doing something for the ship. His sleep is broken; his day-time monotonous. Hard masters are over him, and ill-usage the probable recompense of so much suffering for others. Hunger and stripes, wet and cold, — this is his portion at sea. On shore, he is confounded by the contrast of his situation; he is at the mercy of sharpers; he soon makes a beast of himself, and poverty or crime, probably both, drive him again to the forecastle. Let the hot-headed boy read this book before he makes up his mind to run away from home and follow the seas. Let parents read it, before they suffer a child of delicate training and unformed character to enter this den of horrors.

Such may be the reader's first thoughts on closing the book, and they are well accounted for by some statements in relation to this particular voyage, and, perhaps, warranted by the experience of many voyages. But we should not exaggerate real miseries, though universal, on ship-board. They are enough of themselves, and should be looked at truly, if we would learn how far they are necessary, and whether they may not be mitigated. The spirit of the book we have just read teaches us no lesson of sweeping condemnation, but is as judicious as it is honest. We have no right to hold any course of life to be inevitably an evil and a shame, which Heaven has opened to human labor, and which our tastes, wants, or avarice have invited and encouraged multitudes to follow. Hardship, surely, is not the ground on which any human condition is to be condemned or shunned, even though it be of man's inflicting. How few of us have it in our power to choose our course of life, and how few would be the better for having the decision left to themselves. If we take into view those hardships only of a sea-life which are obviously unavoidable, and compare them with the common lot of men, we shall not pronounce the sailor to be the only one whom his condition has made a great sufferer. Such comparisons are apt to be carried to extremes,

by those who would reconcile the poor to their privations, and apprize them of their privileges; but they are certainly useful when they lead the considerate to deduct something from the palpable ills of one station, by measuring them with the less notable, but not less certain, trials and exposures of another.

As to the discipline of a ship, we do not learn, however strict it may be, however despotic the authority of the master, however unequal the comforts of officers and men, that these are subjects of complaint among good sailors. They may require, as any inferior would do, that the ordinary discipline should be uniform, intelligible, and, perhaps, reasonable; and, in doing so, the appeal would be direct to the interest of their superiors, for in no other way can the heart be brought to act with the law, and the best part of human agency be secured. The important question is, whether nothing can be done for seamen generally, as for other classes of laborers who are subjected to overseers, which may act upon them as moral beings, and give them just notions of their duties and rights. Their worst hardships are owing to the degraded character of the class. The impression is against them at the outset. They feel that the commander looks to his power for their fidelity; and probably many of them know, that he can depend on nothing else for his security. What a miserable relation is this between men, who are to live together for months or years, within narrow walls, so far from the restraints and supports of social life. Our author has attempted, in his closing chapter, to show what may be done to improve the condition of a sailor, to strip it of its accidental evils, and bring it to a level, in point of moral influences at least, with that of other laborers. His calm and reasonable statement, sustained by the authority of experience and his later reflections, recommends itself to the notice of owners and masters, and of those benevolent institutions and individuals, who are trying to effect reforms by investigating the evils incident to particular occupations and classes, and applying a remedy, as far as possible, to individual cases. It was after witnessing the infliction of punishment upon two of the sailors, under circumstances of brutal ferocity, that his mind was turned seriously to the purpose of doing something in behalf of this suffering class.

"After the day's work was done, we went down into the forecastle, and ate our plain supper; but not a word was spoken. It was Saturday night; but there was no song, no 'sweethearts and wives.' A gloom was over every thing. The two men lay in their berths, groaning with pain, and we all turned in, but for myself, not to sleep. A sound coming now and then from the berths of the two men showed that they were awake, as awake they must have been, for they could hardly lie in one posture a moment; the dim, swinging lamp of the forecastle shed its light over the dark hole in which we lived; and many and various reflections and purposes coursed through my mind. I thought of our situation, living under a tyranny; of the character of the country we were in; of the length of the voyage, and of the uncertainty attending our return to America; and then, if we should return, of the prospect of obtaining justice and satisfaction for these poor men; and vowed that, if God should ever give me the means, I would do something to redress the grievances and relieve the sufferings of that poor class of beings, of whom I then was one." — pp. 129, 130.*

Hard as the life may have been, which he has recorded in these pages, he would have no cause to regret it, if the only fruit were, that it has enabled him to do a good office for his former brethren. We may add to this, that he has supplied a want of the common reader. Another field of industrious and painful life is here brought to our knowledge, with the real hardships of the case exposed, and with the genuine alleviations and sources of improvement that belong to it. It is good to see the spirit of man in his deeds and endurance, as well as in his meditations and poetical visions. It is one way of invigorating literature, of giving definiteness to speculation, and bringing prudent sympathy and charity to the study of our nature, capacities, and wants. "We must come down from our heights," says our author, "and leave our straight paths, for the by-ways and low places of life, if we would learn truths by strong contrasts; and in hovels, in forecastles, and among our own outcasts in foreign lands, see what has been wrought upon our fellow-creatures by accident, hardship, or vice."

In looking back upon what we have written, we see that

* The shipmaster, here in question, was a thorough seaman; but the distinguished house, for which he made the voyage, being informed, on his return, of his treatment of his men, found no further occasion for his services.

we owe it to the author to commend yet more distinctly than we have done, an excellent trait of his work. It is plain, that he saw and experienced enough to irritate sorely a man of the calmest temper. On one occasion, that to which the last extract relates, he was witness to an abominably cruel exercise of a shipmaster's power, and at other times suffered from it himself, in less aggravated forms. But his tone is throughout dispassionate and reasonable. Bad as he has had cause to know a despotism on board ship to be, in hands unfit to be trusted with it, he is not at all blinded to those exigencies of the case, which admit of no other government.

"I have no fancies about equality on board ship. It is a thing out of the question, and certainly, in the present state of mankind, not to be desired. I never knew a sailor who found fault with the orders and ranks of the service; and, if I expected to pass the rest of my life before the mast, I would not wish to have the power of the captain diminished an iota. It is absolutely necessary that there should be one head and one voice, to control every thing, and be responsible for every thing. There are emergencies, which require the instant exercise of extreme power. These emergencies do not allow of consultation; and they who would be the captain's constituted advisers might be the very men over whom he would be called upon to exert his authority. It has been found necessary to vest in every government, even the most democratic, some extraordinary and, at first sight, alarming powers; trusting in public opinion, and subsequent accountability, to modify the exercise of them. These are provided to meet exigencies, which all hope may never occur, but which yet by possibility may occur, and, if they should, and there were no power to meet them instantly, there would be an end put to the government at once. So it is with the authority of the shipmaster. It will not answer to say, that he shall never do this and that thing, because it does not seem always necessary and advisable that it should be done. He has great cares and responsibilities; is answerable for every thing; and is subject to emergencies which perhaps no other man exercising authority among civilized people is subject to. Let him, then, have powers commensurate with his utmost possible need; only let him be held strictly responsible for the exercise of them. Any other course would be injustice, as well as bad policy." — pp. 461, 462.

The author, while he urges the importance of a fair consideration of the testimony of common sailors in courts of

justice, asks for no new legislation on the relations of officers and crews. He does not even propose the abolition of corporal chastisement. He would have officers compelled to be reasonable and humane, by a sense of responsibility to their owners, and to a strict administration of existing laws at home; but there is not a word in his volume tending to loose the bonds of a salutary discipline. In short, he has laid readers under obligation for a fund of instruction and amusement; sailors, for impressively pleading their cause; and owners and officers, quite as much as either, for maintaining their just authority.

Art. IV. — *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent.* By George Bancroft. Vol. III. Boston. Charles C. Little and James Brown. 8vo. pp. 468.

The celebrated line of Bishop Berkeley,

"Westward the course of empire takes its way,"

is too gratifying to national vanity, not to be often quoted, (though not always quoted right); and, if we look on it in the nature of a prediction, the completion of it not being limited to any particular time, it will not be easy to disprove it. Had the Bishop substituted "freedom" for "empire" it would be already fully justified by experience. It is indeed curious to observe, how steadily the progress of freedom, civil and religious, — of the enjoyment of those rights, which may be called the natural rights of humanity, — has gone on from east to west; and how precisely the more or less liberal character of the social institutions of a country may be determined by its geographical position, as falling within the limits of one of the three quarters of the globe occupied wholly or in part by members of the great Caucasian family.

Thus, in Asia we find only far extended despotisms, in which but two relations are recognised, those of master and slave; a solitary master, and a nation of slaves. No constitution exists there to limit his authority; no intermediate body to counterbalance, or, at least, shield the people from its exercise. The people have no political existence. The monarch is literally the state. The religion of such countries

is of the same complexion with their government. The free spirit of Christianity, quickening and elevating the soul by the consciousness of its glorious destiny, made few proselytes there. But Mahometanism, with its doctrines of blind fatality, found ready favor with those who had already surrendered their wills, — their responsibility, — to an earthly master. In such countries, of course, there has been little progress in science. Ornamental arts, and even the literature of imagination, have been cultivated with various success ; but little has been done in those pursuits which depend on freedom of inquiry, and are connected with the best interests of humanity. The few monuments, of an architectural kind, that strike the traveller's eye, are the cold memorials of pomp and selfish vanity, not those of public spirit directed to enlarge the resources and civilization of an empire.

As we cross the boundaries into Europe, among the people of the same primitive stock, and under the same parallels, we may imagine ourselves transplanted to another planet. Man no longer grovels in the dust beneath a master's frown. He walks erect, as lord of the creation, his eyes raised to that heaven, to which his destinies call him. He is a free agent ; thinks, speaks, acts for himself ; enjoys the fruits of his own industry ; follows the career suited to his own genius and taste ; explores fearlessly the secrets of time and nature ; lives under laws which he has assisted in framing ; demands justice as his right, when those laws are invaded. In his freedom of speculation and action he has devised various forms of government. In most of them the monarchical principle is recognised ; but the power of the monarch is limited by written or customary rules. The people at large enter more or less into the exercise of government ; and a numerous aristocracy, interposed between them and the crown, secures them from the oppression of Eastern tyranny ; while this body itself is so far an improvement in the social organization, that the power instead of being concentrated in a single person, — plaintiff, judge, and executioner, — is distributed among a large number of different individuals and interests. This is a great advance, in itself, towards popular freedom.

The tendency, almost universal, is to advance still further. It is this war of opinion, — this contest between light and darkness, now going forward in most of the countries of Europe, — which furnishes the point of view from which their history is to be studied in the present, and, it may be, the fol-

lowing centuries. For, revolutions in society, when founded on opinion, — the only stable foundation, — the only foundation at which the friend of humanity does not shudder, — must be the slow work of time. And, who would wish the good cause to be so precipitated, that, in eradicating the old abuses which have interwoven themselves with every stone and pillar of the building, the noble building itself, which has so long afforded security to its inmates, should be laid in ruins? What is the best, what the worst form of government, in the abstract, may be matter of debate. But there can be no doubt, that the best will become the worst, to a people who blindly rush into it, without the preliminary training for comprehending and conducting it. Such transitions must, at least, cost the sacrifice of generations. And the patriotism must be singularly pure and abstract, which, at such cost, would purchase the possible, or even probable, good of a remote posterity. Various have been the efforts in the Old World at popular forms of government. But from some cause or other they have failed. And, however time, a wider intercourse, a greater familiarity with the practical duties of representation, and, not least of all, our own auspicious example, may prepare the European mind for the possession of republican freedom, it is very certain, that, at the present moment, Europe is not the place for republics.

The true soil for these is our own continent; the New World, the last of the three great geographical divisions, of which we have spoken. This is the spot on which the beautiful theories of the European philosopher, — who had risen to the full freedom of speculation, while action was controlled, — have been reduced to practice. The atmosphere here seems as fatal to the arbitrary institutions of the Old World, as that has been to the democratic forms of our own. It seems scarcely possible, that any other organization than these latter should exist here. In three centuries from the discovery of the country, the various races by which it is tenanted, some of them from the least liberal of the European monarchies, have, with few exceptions, come into the adoption of institutions of a republican character. Toleration, civil and religious, has been proclaimed, and enjoyed to an extent unknown since the world began, throughout the wide borders of this vast continent. Alas! for those portions which have assumed the exercise of these rights without fully compre-

hending their import; who have been intoxicated with the fumes of freedom, instead of drawing nourishment from its living principle.

It was a fortunate, or, to speak more properly, a providential thing, that the discovery of the New World was postponed to the precise period when it occurred. Had it taken place at an earlier time, — during the flourishing period of the feudal ages, for example, — the old institutions of Europe, with their hallowed abuses, might have been ingrafted on this new stock, and, instead of the fruit of the tree of life, we should have furnished only varieties of a kind already far exhausted, and hastening to decay. But happily, some important discoveries in science, and, above all, the glorious Reformation, gave an electric shock to the intellect, long benumbed under the influence of a tyrannical priesthood. It taught men to distrust authority, to trace effects back to their causes, to search for themselves, and to take no guide but the reason which God had given them. It taught them to claim the right of free inquiry, as their inalienable birthright, and, with free inquiry, freedom of action. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the period of the mighty struggle between the conflicting elements of religion, as the eighteenth and nineteenth have been that of the great contest for civil liberty.

It was in the midst of this universal ferment, and in consequence of it, that these shores were first peopled by our Puritan ancestors. Here they found a world where they might verify the value of those theories, which had been derided as visionary, or denounced as dangerous, in their own land. All around was free, free as nature herself. The mighty streams rolling on in their majesty, as they had continued to flow from the creation; the forests, which no hand had violated, flourishing in primeval grandeur and beauty; their only tenants the wild animals, or the Indians nearly as wild, scarcely held together by any tie of social polity. Nowhere was the trace of civilized man, or of his curious contrivances. Here was no Star-Chamber, nor Court of High Commission; no racks, nor jails, nor gibbets; no feudal tyrant to grind the poor man to the dust on which he toiled; no Inquisition, to pierce into the thought, and to make thought a crime. The only eye that was upon them was the eye of Heaven.

True, indeed, in the first heats of suffering enthusiasm they did not extend that charity to others, which they claimed for

themselves. It was a blot on their characters, but one which they share in common with most reformers. The zeal requisite for great revolutions, whether in church or state, is rarely attended by charity for difference of opinion. Those, who are willing to do and to suffer bravely for their own doctrines, attach a value to them which makes them impatient of opposition from others. The martyr for conscience' sake cannot comprehend the necessity of leniency to those who denounce those truths for which he is prepared to lay down his own life. If he set so little value on his own, is it natural he should set more on that of others? The Dominican, who dragged his victims to the fires of the Inquisition in Spain, freely gave up his ease and his life to the duties of a missionary among the heathen. The Jesuits, who suffered martyrdom among the American savages in the propagation of their faith, stimulated those very savages in their horrid massacres of the Protestant settlements of New England. God has not often combined charity with enthusiasm. When he has done so, he has produced his noblest work; — a More, or a Fenelon.

But, if the first settlers were intolerant in practice, they brought with them the living principle of freedom, which would survive, when their generation had passed away. They could not avoid it. For their coming here was, in itself, an assertion of that principle. They came for conscience' sake; to worship God in their own way. Freedom of political institutions they at once avowed. Every citizen took his part in the political scheme, and enjoyed all the consideration of an equal participation in civil privileges; and liberty in political matters gradually brought with it a corresponding liberty in religious concerns. In their subsequent contest with the mother country they learned a reason for their faith, and the best manner of defending it. Their liberties struck a deep root in the soil amidst storms, which shook, but could not prostrate them. It is this struggle with the mother country, this constant assertion of the right of self-government, this tendency, — feeble in its beginning, increasing with increasing age, — towards republican institutions, which connects the Colonial history with that of the Union, and forms the true point of view, from which it is to be regarded.

The history of this country naturally divides itself into three great periods; the Colonial, when the idea of independence

was slowly and gradually ripening in the American mind ; the Revolutionary, when this idea was maintained by arms ; and that of the Union, when it was reduced to practice. The two first heads are now ready for the historian. The last is not yet ripe for him. Important contributions may be made to it, in the form of local narratives, personal biographies, political discussions, subsidiary documents, and *mémoires pour servir ;* but we are too near the strife, too much in the dust and mist of the parties, to have reached a point sufficiently distant and elevated to embrace the whole field of operations in one view, and paint it in its true colors and proportions, for the eye of posterity. We are, besides, too new as an independent nation, our existence has been too short, to satisfy the skepticism of those who distrust the perpetuity of our political institutions. They do not consider the problem, so important to humanity, as yet solved. Such skeptics are found, not only abroad, but at home. Not that the latter suppose the possibility of again returning to those forms of arbitrary government, which belong to the Old World. It would not be more chimerical to suspect the Emperor Nicholas, or Prince Metternich, or the citizen-king Louis-Philippe, of being republicans at heart, and sighing for a democracy, than to suspect the people of this country, (above all, of New England, the most thorough democracy in existence), — who have inherited republican principles and feelings from their ancestors, drawn them in with their mothers' milk, breathed the atmosphere of them from their cradle, participated in their equal rights and glorious privileges, — of foregoing their birthright, and falsifying their nature, so far as to acquiesce in any other than a popular form of government. But there are some skeptics, who, when they reflect on the fate of similar institutions in other countries ; when they see our sister states of South America, after nobly winning their independence, split up into insignificant fractions ; when they see the abuses, which, from time to time, have crept into our own administration, and the violence offered, in manifold ways, to the constitution ; when they see ambitious and able statesmen in one section of the country proclaiming principles, which must palsy the arm of the federal government, and urging the people of their own quarter to efforts for securing their independence of every other quarter ; — there are, we say, some wise and benevolent minds among us, who, seeing all this, feel

a natural distrust as to the stability of the federal compact, and consider the experiment as still in progress.

We, indeed, are not of that number, while we respect and feel the weight of their scruples. We sympathize fully in those feelings, those hopes, it may be, which animate the great mass of our countrymen. Hope is the attribute of republics. It should be peculiarly so of ours. Our fortune is all in the advance. We have no past, as compared with the nations of the Old World. Our existence is but a couple of centuries, dating from our embryo state ; our real existence as an independent people, little more than half a century. We are to look forward, then, and go forward ; not with vainglorious boasting, but with resolution and honest confidence. Boasting, indecorous in all, is peculiarly so in those, who take credit for the great things they are going to do, not those they have done. The glorification of an Englishman, or a Frenchman, with a long line of annals in his rear, may be offensive ; that of an American is ridiculous. But we may feel a just confidence from the past, that we shall be true to ourselves for the future ; that, to borrow a cant phrase of the day, we shall be true to our *mission*, — the most momentous ever intrusted to a nation ; that there is sufficient intelligence and moral principle in the people, if not always to choose the best rulers, at least, to right themselves by the ejection of bad ones, when they find they have been abused ; that they have intelligence enough to understand that their only consideration, their security as a nation, is in union ; that separation into smaller communities is the creation of so many hostile states ; that a large extent of empire, instead of being an evil, from embracing regions of irreconcilable local interests, is a benefit, since it affords the means of that commercial reciprocity, which makes the country, by its own resources, independent of every other ; and that the representatives drawn from these "magnificent distances," will, on the whole, be apt to legislate more independently, and on broader principles, than if occupied with the concerns of a petty state, where each legislator is swayed by the paltry factions of his own village. In all this we may honestly confide ; but our confidence will not pass for argument, will not be accepted as a solution of the problem. Time only can solve it ; and until the period has elapsed, which shall have fairly tested the strength of our institutions, through peace and

through war, through adversity and more trying prosperity, the time will not have come to write the history of the Union.

But still, results have been obtained sufficiently glorious to give great consideration to the two preliminary narratives, namely, of the Colonies, and the Revolution, which prepared the way for the Union. Indeed, without these results, they would both, however important in themselves, have lost much of their dignity and interest. Of these two narratives, the former, although less momentous than the latter, is most difficult to treat.

It is not that the historian is called on to pry into the dark recesses of antiquity, the twilight of civilization, mystifying and magnifying every object to the senses; nor to unravel some poetical mythology, hanging its metaphorical illusions around every thing in nature, mingling fact with fiction, the material with the spiritual, until the honest inquirer after truth may fold his arms in despair, before he can cry εὕρηκα; nor is he compelled to unroll musty, worm-eaten parchments, and dusty tomes in venerable black letter, of the good times of honest Caxton and Winken de Worde; nor to go about gleaning traditionary tales and ballads in some obsolete provincial *patois*. The record is plain and legible, and he need never go behind it. The antiquity of his story goes but little more than two centuries back; a very modern antiquity. The commencement of it was not in the dark ages, but in a period of illumination; an age yet glowing with the imagination of Shakspeare and Spenser, the philosophy of Bacon, the learning of Coke and of Hooker. The early passages of his story, — coeval with Hampden, and Milton, and Sydney, — belong to the times, in which the same struggle for the rights of conscience was going on in the land of our fathers, as in our own. There was no danger that the light of the Pilgrim should be hid under a bushel, or that there should be any dearth of chronicler or bard, — such as they were, — to record his sacrifice. And fortunate for us that it was so; since, in this way, every part of this great enterprise, from its conception to its consummation, is brought into the light of day. We are put in possession, not merely of the action, but of the motives which led to it, and, as to the character of the actors, are enabled to do justice to those, who, if we pronounce from their actions only, would seem not always careful to do justice to themselves.

The embarrassment of the Colonial history arises from the difficulty of obtaining a central point of interest, among so many petty states, each independent of the others ; and all, at the same time, so dependent on a foreign one, as to impair the historic dignity which attaches to great, powerful, and self-regulated communities. This embarrassment must be overcome by the author's detecting, and skilfully keeping before the reader, some great principle of action, if such exist, that may give unity and, at the same time, importance to the theme. Such a principle did exist in that tendency to independence, which, however feeble, till fanned by the breath of persecution into a blaze, was nevertheless the vivifying principle, as before remarked, of our ante-revolutionary annals.

Whoever has dipped much into historical reading is aware how few have succeeded in weaving an harmonious tissue from the motley and tangled skein of general history. The most fortunate illustration of this, within our recollection, is Sismondi's *Républiques Italiennes*, a work in sixteen volumes, in which the author has brought on the stage all the various governments of Italy for a thousand years, and in almost every variety of combination. Yet there is a pervading principle in this great mass of apparently discordant interests. That principle was the rise and decline of liberty. It is the key note to every revolution that occurs. It gives an harmonious tone to the many-colored canvass, which would else have offended by its glaring contrasts, and the startling violence of its transitions. The reader is interested, in spite of the transitions, but knows not the cause. This is the skill of a great artist. So true is this, that the same author has been able to concentrate what may be called the essence of his bulky history into a single volume, in which he confines himself to the developement of the animating principle of his narrative, stripped of all the superfluous accessories, under the significant title of "Rise, Progress, and Decline of Italian Freedom."

This embarrassment has not been easy to overcome by the writers of our Colonial annals. The first volume of Marshall's "Life of Washington" has great merit as a wise and comprehensive survey of this early period. But the plan is too limited to afford room for any thing like a satisfactory fulness of detail. The most thorough work, and incomparably the best on the subject, previous to the appearance of Mr.

Bancroft's, is the well-known history by Mr. Grahame, a truly valuable book, in which the author, though a foreigner, has shown himself capable of appreciating the motives, and comprehending the institutions, of our Puritan ancestors. He has spared no pains in the investigation of such original sources as were at his command; and has conducted his inquiries with much candor, manifesting throughout the spirit of a scholar and a gentleman. It is not very creditable to his countrymen, that they should have received his labors with the apathy which he tells us they have, amidst the ocean of contemptible trash, with which their press is daily deluged. But, in truth, the Colonial and Revolutionary story of this country are themes too ungrateful to British ears, for us to be astonished at any insensibility on this score.

Mr. Grahame's work, however, with all its merit, is the work of a *foreigner*. And that word comprehends much that cannot be overcome by the best writer. He may produce a beautiful composition, faultless in style, accurate in the delineation of prominent events, full of sound logic, and most wise conclusions. But he cannot enter into the sympathies, comprehend all the minute feelings, prejudices, and peculiar ways of thinking, which form the idiosyncrasy of the nation. What can he know of these, who has never been warmed by the same sun, lingered among the same scenes, listened to the same tales in childhood, been pledged to the same interests in manhood, by which these fancies are nourished, — the loves, the hates, the hopes, the fears, that go to form national character? Write as he will, he is still an alien, speaking a tongue, in which the nation will detect the foreign accent. He may produce a book without a blemish in the eyes of foreigners. It may even contain much for the instruction of the native, that he would not be likely to find in his own literature. But it will afford evidence, on every page, of its exotic origin. Botta's "History of the War of the Revolution," is the best treatise yet compiled of that event. It is, as every one knows, a most classical and able work, doing justice to the great heroes and actions of the period. But, we will venture to say, no well-informed American ever turned over its leaves, without feeling that the writer was not nourished among the men and the scenes he is painting. With all its great merits, it cannot be, — at least for Americans, — *the* history of the Revolution.

It is the same as in portrait-painting. The artist may catch the prominent lineaments, the complexion, the general air, the peculiar costume of his subject; all that a stranger's eye will demand. But he must not hope, unless he has had much previous intimacy with the sitter, to transfer those fleeting shades of expression, the almost imperceptible play of features, which are revealed to the eye of his own family.

Who would think of looking to a Frenchman for a history of England; to an Englishman for the best history of France? Ill fares it with the nation that cannot find writers of genius to tell its own story. What foreign hand could have painted, like Herodotus and Thucydides, the achievements of the Greeks? Who, like Livy and Tacitus, have portrayed the shifting character of the Roman, in his rise, meridian, and decline? Had the Greeks trusted their story to these same Romans, what would have been their fate with posterity? Let the Carthaginians tell. All that remains of this nation, the proud rival of Rome, who once divided with her the empire of the Mediterranean, and surpassed her in commerce and civilization, — nearly all that now remains, to indicate her character, is a poor proverb, — *Punica fides*, a brand of infamy given by the Roman historian; and one which the Romans merited probably as richly as the Carthaginians. Yet America, it is too true, must go to Italy for the best history of the Revolution, and to Scotland for the best history of the Colonies. Happily, the work before us bids fair, when completed, to supply this deficiency. And it is quite time we should turn to it.

Mr. Bancroft's first two volumes have been too long before the public to require any thing to be now said of them. Indeed, the first has already been the subject of a particular notice in this Journal.* These volumes are mainly occupied with the settlement of the country by the different colonies, and the institutions gradually established among them, with a more particular illustration of the remarkable features in their character or policy.

In the present volume the immediate point of view is somewhat changed. It was no longer necessary to treat each of the colonies separately, and a manifest advantage in respect to unity is gained by their being brought more under one aspect.

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* See *North American Review*, Vol. XL. pp. 99 *et seq.*

A more prominent feature is gradually developed by the relations with the mother country. This is the mercantile system, as it is called by economical writers, which distinguishes the colonial policy of modern Europe from that of ancient. The great object of this system was to get as much profit from the colonies, with as little cost to the mother country, as possible. The former, instead of being regarded as an integral part of the empire, were held as property ; to be dealt with for the benefit of the proprietors. This was the great object of legislation, almost the sole one. The system, so different from any thing known in antiquity, was introduced by the Spaniards and Portuguese, and by them carried to an extent, which no other nation has cared to follow. By the most cruel and absurd system of prohibitory legislation, their colonies were cut off from intercourse with all but the parent country. And as the latter was unable to supply their demands for even the necessaries of life, an extensive contraband trade was introduced, which, without satisfying the wants of the colonies, corrupted their morals. It is an old story, and the present generation has witnessed the results, in the ruin of those fine countries, and the final assertion of their independence, which the degraded condition, in which they had been held, has wholly unfitted them to enjoy.

The English government was too wise and liberal to press thus heavily on its transatlantic subjects. But the policy was similar, consisting, as is well known, and is ably delineated in these volumes, of a long series of restrictive measures, tending to cramp their free trade, manufactures, and agriculture, and to secure the commercial monopoly of Great Britain. This is the point, from which events in the present volume are to be more immediately contemplated, all subordinate, like those in the preceding, to that leading principle of a republican tendency, — the centre of attraction, controlling the movements of the numerous satellites in our colonial system.

The introductory chapter in the volume opens with a view of the English Revolution in 1688, which, though not popular, is rightly characterized as leading the way to popular liberty. Its great object was the security of property ; and our author has traced its operation, in connexion with the gradual progress of commercial wealth, to give greater authority to the mercantile system. We select the following original sketch of the character of William the Third.

"The character of the new monarch of Great Britain could mould its policy, but not its constitution. True to his purposes, he yet wins no sympathy. In political sagacity, in force of will, far superior to the English statesmen who environed him ; more tolerant than his ministers or his parliaments, the childless man seems like the unknown character in algebra, which is introduced to form the equation, and dismissed when the problem is solved. In his person thin and feeble, with eyes of a hectic lustre, of a temperament inclining to the melancholic, in conduct cautious, of a self-relying humor, with abiding impressions respecting men, he sought no favor, and relied for success on his own inflexibility and the greatness and maturity of his designs. Too wise to be cajoled, too firm to be complaisant, no address could sway his resolve. In Holland, he had not scrupled to derive an increased power from the crimes of rioters and assassins ; in England, no filial respect diminished the energy of his ambition. His exterior was chilling ; yet he had a passionate delight in horses and the chase. In conversation he was abrupt, speaking little and slowly, and with repulsive dryness ; in the day of battle, he was all activity, and the highest energy of life, without kindling his passions, animated his frame. His trust in Providence was so connected with faith in general laws, that, in every action, he sought the principle which should range it on an absolute decree. Thus, unconscious to himself, he had sympathy with the people, who always have faith in Providence. 'Do you dread death in my company ? ' he cried to the anxious sailors, when the ice on the coast of Holland had almost crushed the boat that was bearing him to the shore. Courage and pride pervaded the reserve of the prince, who, spurning an alliance with a bastard daughter of Louis XIV., had made himself the centre of a gigantic opposition to France. For England, for the English people, for English liberties, he had no affection, indifferently employing the Whigs, who found their pride in the Revolution, and the Tories, who had opposed his elevation, and who yet were the fittest instruments 'to carry the prerogative high.' One great passion had absorbed his breast, — the independence of his native country. The harsh encroachments of Louis XIV., which, in 1672, had made William of Orange a revolutionary stadtholder, now assisted to constitute him a revolutionary king, transforming the impassive champion of Dutch independence into the defender of the liberties of Europe." — Vol. III. pp. 2 – 4.

The chapter proceeds to examine the relations, not always of the most friendly aspect, between England and the

Colonies, in which Mr. Bancroft pays a well-merited tribute to the enlightened policy of Penn, and the tranquillity he secured to his settlement. At the close of the chapter is an account of that lamentable, — farce, we should have called it, had it not had so tragic a conclusion, — the Salem witchcraft.

Our author has presented some very striking sketches of these deplorable scenes, in which poor human nature appears in as humiliating a plight as would be possible in a civilized country. The Inquisition, fierce as it was, and most unrelenting in its persecutions, had something in it respectable in comparison with this wretched and imbecile self-delusion. The historian does not shrink from distributing his censure, in full measure, to those, to whom he thinks it belongs. The erudite divine, Cotton Mather, in particular, would feel little pleasure in the contemplation of the portrait sketched for him on this occasion. Vanity, according to Mr. Bancroft, was quite as active an incentive to his movements, as religious zeal. And, if he began with the latter, there seems no reason to doubt, that pride of opinion, an unwillingness to expose his error, so humiliating, to the world, perhaps even to his own heart, were powerful stimulants to his continuing the course he had begun, though others faltered in it.

Mr. Bancroft has taken some pains to show, that the prosecutions were conducted before magistrates not appointed by the people, but the crown ; and that a stop was not put to them till after the meeting of the representatives of the people. This, in our view, is a distinction somewhat fanciful. The judges held their commissions from the governor ; and, if he was appointed by the crown, it was, as our author admits, at the suggestion of Increase Mather, a minister of the people. The accusers, the witnesses, the jurors were all taken from the people. And, when a stop was put to further proceedings by the seasonable delay interposed by the General Court, before the assembling of the "legal Colonial" tribunal (thus giving time for the illusion to subside), it was, in part, from the apprehension that, in the rising tide of accusation, no man, however elevated might be his character or condition, would be safe.

In the following chapter, after a full exposition of the prominent features in the system of commercial monopoly, which controlled the affairs of the colonies, we are introduced

to the great discoveries in the northern and western regions of the continent, made by the Jesuit missionaries of France. Nothing is more extraordinary in the history of this remarkable order, than their bold enterprise in spreading their faith over this boundless wilderness, in defiance of the most appalling obstacles which man and nature could present. Faith and zeal triumphed over all; and, combined with science and the spirit of adventure, laid open unknown regions in the heart of this vast continent, then roamed over by the buffalo and the savage, and now alive with the busy hum of an industrious and civilized population.

The historian has diligently traced the progress of the missionaries in their journeys into the western territory of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, down the deep basin of the Mississippi, to its mouth. He has identified the scenes of some striking events in the history of discovery, as, among others, the place where Marquette first met the Illinois tribe, at Iowa. No preceding writer has brought into view the results of these labors in a compass which may be embraced, as it were, in a single glance. The character of this order, and their fortune, form one of the most remarkable objects for contemplation in the history of man. Springing up, as it were, to prop the crumbling edifice of Catholicism, when it was reeling under the first shock of the Reformation, it took up its residence, indifferently, within the precincts of palaces, or in the boundless plains and forests of the wilderness; held the consciences of civilized monarchs in its keeping, and directed their counsels, while, at the same time, it was gathering barbarian nations under its banners, and pouring the light of civilization into the furthest and darkest quarters of the globe.

"The establishment of 'the Society of Jesus,'" says Mr. Bancroft, "by Loyola had been contemporary with the Reformation, of which it was designed to arrest the progress; and its complete organization belongs to the period when the first full edition of Calvin's 'Institutes' saw the light. Its members were, by its rules, never to become prelates, and could gain power and distinction only by influence over mind. Their vows were, poverty, chastity, absolute obedience, and a constant readiness to go on missions against heresy or heathenism. Their cloisters became the best schools in the world. Emancipated, in a great degree, from the forms of piety, separated

from domestic ties, constituting a community essentially intellectual as well as essentially plebeian, bound together by the most perfect organization, and having for their end a control over opinion among the scholars and courts of Europe and throughout the habitable globe, the order of the Jesuits held, as its ruling maxims, the widest diffusion of its influence, and the closest internal unity. Immediately on its institution, their missionaries, kindling with a heroism that defied every danger and endured every toil, made their way to the ends of the earth; they raised the emblem of man's salvation on the Moluccas, in Japan, in India, in Thibet, in Cochin-China, and in China; they penetrated Ethiopia, and reached the Abyssinians; they planted missions among the Caffres: in California, on the banks of the Marañhon, in the plains of Paraguay, they invited the wildest of barbarians to the civilization of Christianity."

"Religious enthusiasm," he adds, "colonized New England; and religious enthusiasm founded Montreal, made a conquest of the wilderness on the upper Lakes, and explored the Mississippi. Puritanism gave New England its worship, and its schools; the Roman church created for Canada its altars, its hospitals, and its seminaries. The influence of Calvin can be traced to every New England village; in Canada, the monuments of feudalism and the Catholic church stand side by side; and the names of Montmorenci and Bourbon, of Levi and Conde, are mingled with memorials of St. Athanasius and Augustin, of St. Francis of Assisi, and Ignatius Loyola." — *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 121.

We hardly know which to select from the many brilliant and spirited sketches, in which this part of the story abounds. None has more interest, on the whole, than the discovery of the Mississippi by Marquette and his companions, and the first voyage of the white men down its majestic waters.

"Behold, then, in 1673, on the tenth day of June, the meek, single-hearted, unpretending, illustrious Marquette, with Joliet for his associate, five Frenchmen as his companions, and two Algonquins as guides, lifting their two canoes on their backs, and walking across the narrow portage that divides the Fox River from the Winconsin. They reach the water-shed; uttering a special prayer to the immaculate Virgin, they leave the streams that, flowing onwards, could have borne their greetings to the castle of Quebec; — already they stand by the Wisconsin. 'The guides returned,' says the gentle Marquette, 'leaving us alone, in this unknown land, in the hands of Providence.' France and Christianity stood in the valley of

the Mississippi. Embarking on the broad Wisconsin, the discoverers, as they sailed west, went solitarily down the stream, between alternate prairies and hill-sides, beholding neither man nor the wonted beasts of the forest : no sound broke the appalling silence, but the ripple of their canoe, and the lowing of the buffalo. In seven days, 'they entered happily the Great River, with a joy that could not be expressed' ; and the two birch-bark canoes, raising their happy sails under new skies and to unknown breezes, floated gently down the calm magnificence of the ocean stream, over the broad, clear sand-bars, the resort of innumerable waterfowl, — gliding past islands that swelled from the bosom of the stream, with their tufts of massive thickets, and between the wide plains of Illinois and Iowa, all garlanded as they were with majestic forests, or checkered by island grove and the open vastness of the prairie.

"About sixty leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin, the western bank of the Mississippi bore on its sands the trail of men ; a little foot-path was discerned leading into a beautiful prairie ; and, leaving the canoes, Joliet and Marquette resolved alone to brave a meeting with the savages. After walking six miles, they beheld a village on the banks of a river, and two others on a slope, at a distance of a mile and a half from the first. The river was the Mou-in-gou-e-na, or Moingona, of which we have corrupted the name into Des Moines. Marquette and Joliet were the first white men who trod the soil of Iowa. Commending themselves to God, they uttered a loud cry. The Indians hear ; four old men advance slowly to meet them, bearing the peace-pipe brilliant with many-colored plumes. 'We are Illinois,' said they ; that is, when translated, 'We are men' ; and they offered the calumet. An aged chief received them at his cabin with upraised hands, exclaiming, 'How beautiful is the sun, Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us ! Our whole village awaits thee ; thou shalt enter in peace into all our dwellings.' And the pilgrims were followed by the devouring gaze of an astonished crowd.

"At the great council, Marquette published to them the one true God, their Creator. He spoke, also, of the great captain of the French, the Governor of Canada, who had chastised the Five Nations and commanded peace ; and he questioned them respecting the Mississippi and the tribes that possessed its banks. For the messengers, who announced the subjection of the Iroquois, a magnificent festival was prepared of hominy, and fish, and the choicest viands from the prairies.

"After six days' delay, and invitations to new visits, the chieftain of the tribe, with hundreds of warriors, attended the strangers to their canoes ; and, selecting a peace-pipe embel-

lished with the head and neck of brilliant birds, and all feathered over with plumage of various hues, they hung round Marquette the mysterious arbiter of peace and war, the sacred calumet, a safeguard among the nations.

"The little group proceeded onwards. 'I did not fear death,' says Marquette; 'I should have esteemed it the greatest happiness to have died for the glory of God.' They passed the perpendicular rocks, which wore the appearance of monsters; they heard at a distance the noise of the waters of the Missouri, known to them by the Algonquin name of Pekitanoni; and, when they came to the most beautiful confluence of waters in the world, — where the swifter Missouri rushes like a conqueror into the calmer Mississippi, dragging it, as it were, hastily to the sea, — the good Marquette resolved in his heart, anticipating Lewis and Clarke, one day to ascend the mighty river to its source; to cross the ridge that divides the oceans, and, descending a westerly flowing stream, to publish the gospel to all the people of this New World.

"In a little less than forty leagues, the canoes floated past the Ohio, which was then, and long afterwards, called the Wabash. Its banks were tenanted by numerous villages of the peaceful Shawnees, who quailed under the incursions of the Iroquois.

"The thick canes begin to appear so close and strong, that the buffalo could not break through them; the insects become intolerable; as a shelter against the suns of July, the sails are folded into an awning. The prairies vanish; thick forests of whitewood, admirable for their vastness and height, crowd even to the skirts of the pebbly shore. It is also observed, that, in the land of the Chickasas, the Indians have guns.

"Near the latitude of thirty-three degrees, on the western bank of the Mississippi, stood the village of Mitchigamea, in a region that had not been visited by Europeans since the days of De Soto. 'Now,' thought Marquette, 'we must, indeed, ask the aid of the Virgin.' Armed with bows and arrows, with clubs, axes, and bucklers, amidst continual whoops, the natives, bent on war, embark in vast canoes made out of the trunks of hollow trees; but, at the sight of the mysterious peace-pipe held aloft, God touched the hearts of the old men, who checked the impetuosity of the young; and, throwing their bows and quivers into the canoes, as a token of peace, they prepared a hospitable welcome.

"The next day, a long, wooden canoe, containing ten men, escorted the discoverers, for eight or ten leagues, to the village of Akansea, the limit of their voyage. They had left the region of the Algonquins, and, in the midst of the Sioux and

Chickasas, could speak only by an interpreter. A half league above Akansea, they were met by two boats, in one of which stood the commander, holding in his hand the peace-pipe, and singing as he drew near. After offering the pipe, he gave bread of maize. The wealth of his tribe consisted in buffalo skins ; their weapons were axes of steel, — a proof of commerce with Europeans.

"Thus had our travellers descended below the entrance of the Arkansas, to the genial climes that have almost no winter but rains, beyond the bound of the Huron and Algonquin languages, to the vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico, and to tribes of Indians that had obtained European arms by traffic with Spaniards or with Virginia.

"So, having spoken of God, and the mysteries of the Catholic faith; having become certain that the Father of Rivers went not to the ocean east of Florida, nor yet to the Gulf of California, Marquette and Joliet left Akansea, and ascended the Mississippi.

"At the thirty eighth degree of latitude, they entered the River Illinois, and discovered a country without its paragon for the fertility of its beautiful prairies, covered with buffaloes and stags, — for the loveliness of its rivulets, and the prodigal abundance of wild duck and swans, and of a species of parrots and wild turkeys. The tribe of Illinois, that tenanted its banks, entreated Marquette to come and reside among them. One of their chiefs, with their young men, conducted the party, by way of Chicago, to Lake Michigan ; and, before the end of September, all were safe in Green Bay

"Joliet returned to Quebec to announce the discovery, of which the fame, through Talon, quickened the ambition of Colbert ; the unaspiring Marquette remained to preach the gospel to the Miamis, who dwelt in the north of Illinois, round Chicago. Two years afterwards, sailing from Chicago to Mackinaw, he entered a little river in Michigan. Erecting an altar, he said mass after the rites of the Catholic church ; then, begging the men who conducted his canoe to leave him alone for a half hour,

> 'in the darkling wood,
> Amidst the cool and silence, he knelt down,
> And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks
> And supplication.'

At the end of the half hour, they went to seek him, and he was no more. The good missionary, discoverer of a world, had fallen asleep on the margin of the stream that bears his name. Near its mouth, the canoemen dug his grave in the sand. Ever after, the forest rangers, if in danger on Lake

Michigan, would invoke his name. The people of the west will build his monument." — *Ibid.*, pp. 157 – 162.

The list of heroic adventurers in the path of discovery is closed by La Salle, the chivalrous Frenchman, of whom we have made particular record in a previous number of this Journal ; * and whose tremendous journey from the Illinois to the French settlements in Canada, a distance of fifteen hundred miles, is also noticed by Mr. Bancroft. His was the first European bark that emerged from the mouth of the Mississippi, and Mr. Bancroft, as he notices the event, and the feelings it gave rise to in the mind of the discoverer, gives utterance to his own, in language truly sublime.

"As he raised the cross by the Arkansas ; as he planted the arms of France near the Gulf of Mexico ; — he anticipated the future affluence of emigrants, and heard in the distance the footsteps of the advancing multitude that were coming to take possession of the valley." — *Ibid.*, p. 168.

This descent of the Great River, our author places, without hesitation, in 1682, being a year earlier than the one assigned by us in the article referred to.† Mr. Bancroft is so familiar with the whole ground, and has studied the subject so carefully, that great weight is due to his opinions. But he has not explained the precise authority for his conclusions in this particular.

This leads us to enlarge on what we consider a defect in our author's present plan. His notes are discarded altogether, and his references transferred from the bottom of the page to the side margin. This is very objectionable, not merely on account of the disagreeable effect produced on the eye, but from the more serious inconvenience of want of room for very frequent and accurate reference. Titles are necessarily much abridged, sometimes at the expense of perspicuity. The first reference in this volume is "Hallam, IV. 374." The second is "Archdale." Now Hallam has written several works, published in various forms and editions. As to the second authority, we have no means of identifying the passage at all. This, however, is not the habit of Mr. Bancroft where the fact is of any great moment ; and his references throughout are abundant. But the practice of references in the side margin, though warranted by high authority, is unfavorable, from want of room, for very frequent or very minute specification.

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. pp. 69 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 85.

The omission of notes we consider a still greater evil. It is true they lead to great abuses, are often the vehicle of matter which should have been incorporated in the text, more frequently of irrelevant matter, which should not have been admitted anywhere; and thus exhaust the reader's patience, while they spoil the effect of the work by drawing the attention from the continuous flow of the narrative, checking the heat that is raised by it in the reader's mind, and not unfrequently jarring on his feelings by some misplaced witticism, or smart attempt at one. For these and the like reasons, many competent critics have pronounced against the use of notes, considering that a writer, who could not bring all he had to say into the compass of his text, was a bungler. Gibbon, who practised the contrary, intimates a regret in one of his letters, that he had been overruled so far as to allow his notes to be printed at the bottom of the page, instead of being removed to the end of the volume. But from all this we dissent, especially in reference to a work of research like the present History. We are often desirous here to have the assertion of the author, or the sentiment quoted by him, if important, verified by the original extract, especially when this is in a foreign language; we want to see the grounds of his conclusions, the scaffolding by which he has raised his structure; to estimate the true value of his authorities; to know something of their characters, positions in society, and the probable influences to which they were exposed. Where there is contradiction, we want to see it stated; the *pros* and the *cons*, and the grounds for rejecting this, and admitting that. We want to have a reason for our faith. Otherwise, we are merely led blindfold. Our guide may be an excellent guide; he may have travelled over the path till it has become a beaten track to him; but, we like to use our own eyesight too, to observe somewhat for ourselves, and to know, if possible, why he has taken this particular road, in preference to that which his predecessors have travelled.

The objections made to notes are founded rather on the abuse, than the proper use of them. Gibbon only wished to remove his own to the end of his volume. Though in this we think he erred, from the difficulty and frequent disappointment which the reader must have experienced in consulting them; a disappointment of little moment when unattended by difficulty. But Gibbon knew too well the worth of this

part of his labors to him, to wish to discard them altogether. He knew his reputation stood on them as intimately as on his narrative. Indeed, they supply a body of criticism and well selected, well digested learning, which, of itself, would make the reputation of any scholar. Many accomplished writers, however, and Mr. Bancroft among the number, have come to a different conclusion. And he has formed his, probably, with deliberation, having made the experiment in both forms.

Indeed, the fulness of the extracts from original sources, with which his text is inlaid, giving such life and presence to it, and the frequency of his references, supersede much of the necessity of notes. We should have been very glad of one, however, of the kind we are speaking of, at the close of his expedition of La Salle.

We have no room for the discussion of the topics in the next chapter, relating to the hostilities for the acquisition of colonial territory between France and England, each of them pledged to the same system of commercial monopoly ; but must pass to the author's account of the Aborigines east of the Mississippi. In this division of his subject, he brings into view the geographical positions of the numerous tribes ; their languages, social institutions, religious faith, and probable origin. All these copious topics are brought within the compass of a hundred pages ; arranged with great harmony, and exhibited with perspicuity and singular richness of expression. It is, on the whole, the most elaborate and finished portion of the volume.

His remarks on the localities of the tribes, instead of a barren muster-roll of names, are constantly enlivened by picturesque details connected with their situation. His strictures on their various languages are conceived in a philosophical spirit. The subject is one that has already employed the pens of the ablest philologists in this country, among whom it is only necessary to mention the names of Du Ponceau, Pickering, and Gallatin. Our author has evidently bestowed much labor and thought on the topic. He examines the peculiar structure of the languages, which, though radically different, bear a common resemblance in their compounded and synthetic organization. He has omitted to notice the singular exception to the polysynthetic formation of the Indian languages presented by the Otomie, which has afforded a Mexican philologist so ingenious a parallel, in its structure, with the

Chinese. Mr. Bancroft concludes his review of them by admitting the copiousness of their combinations, and by inferring that this copiousness is no evidence of care and cultivation, but the elementary form of expression of a rude and uncivilized people ; in proof of which, he cites the example of the partially civilized Indian in accommodating his idiom gradually to the analytic structure of the European languages. May not this be explained by the circumstance, that the influence under which he makes this, like his other changes, is itself European ? But we pass to a more popular theme, the religious faith of the red man, whose fanciful superstitions are depicted by our author with highly poetical coloring.

"The red man, unaccustomed to generalization, obtained no conception of an absolute substance, of a self-existent being, but saw a divinity in every power. Wherever there was being, motion, or action, there to him was a spirit ; and, in a special manner, wherever there appeared singular excellence among beasts, or birds, or in the creation, there to him was the presence of a divinity. When he feels his pulse throb, or his heart beat, he knows that it is a spirit. A god resides in the flint, to give forth the kindling, cheering fire ; a spirit resides in the mountain cliff ; a spirit makes its abode in the cool recesses of the grottoes which nature has adorned ; a god dwells in each 'little grass' that springs miraculously from the earth. 'The woods, the wilds, and the waters, respond to savage intelligence ; the stars and the mountains live ; the river, and the lake, and the waves, have a spirit.' Every hidden agency, every mysterious influence, is personified. A god dwells in the sun, and in the moon, and in the firmament ; the spirit of the morning reddens in the eastern sky ; a deity is present in the ocean and in the fire ; the crag that overhangs the river has its genius ; there is a spirit to the waterfall ; a household god dwells in the Indian's wigwam, and consecrates his home ; spirits climb upon the forehead, to weigh down the eyelids in sleep. Not the heavenly bodies only, the sky is filled with spirits that minister to man. To the savage, divinity, broken, as it were, into an infinite number of fragments, fills all place and all being. The idea of unity in the creation may exist contemporaneously ; but it existed only in the germ, or as a vague belief derived from the harmony of the universe. Yet faith in the Great Spirit, when once presented, was promptly seized and appropriated, and so infused itself into the heart of remotest tribes, that it came to be often considered as a portion of their original faith. Their shadowy aspirations and creeds

assumed, through the reports of missionaries, a more complete developement ; and a religious system was elicited from the pregnant but rude materials." —*Ibid.*, pp. 285, 286.

The following pictures of the fate of the Indian infant, and the shadowy pleasures of the land of spirits, have, also, much tenderness and beauty.

"The same motive prompted them to bury with the warrior his pipe and his manitou, his tomahawk, quiver, and bow ready bent for action, and his most splendid apparel ; to place by his side his bowl, his maize, and his venison, for the long journey to the country of his ancestors. Festivals in honor of the dead were also frequent, when a part of the food was given to the flames, that so it might serve to nourish the departed. The traveller would find in the forests a dead body placed on a scaffold erected upon piles, carefully wrapped in bark for its shroud, and attired in warmest furs. If a mother lost her babe, she would cover it with bark, and envelope it anxiously in the softest beaver-skins ; at the burial-place, she would put by its side its cradle, its beads, and its rattles ; and, as a last service of maternal love, would draw milk from her bosom in a cup of bark, and burn it in the fire, that her infant might still find nourishment on its solitary journey to the land of shades. Yet the new-born babe would be buried, not, as usual, on a scaffold, but by the wayside, that so its spirit might secretly steal into the bosom of some passing matron, and be born again under happier auspices. On burying her daughter, the Chippewa mother adds, not snow-shoes, and beads, and moccasons, only, but (sad emblem of woman's lot in the wilderness !) the carrying-belt and the paddle. 'I know my daughter will be restored to me,' she once said, as she clipped a lock of hair as a memorial ; 'by this lock of hair I shall discover her, for I shall take it with me,' — alluding to the day when she, too, with her carrying-belt and paddle, and the little relic of her child, should pass through the grave to the dwelling-place of her ancestors."

"The faith, as well as the sympathies, of the savage descended also to inferior things. Of each kind of animal they say there exists one, the source and origin of all, of a vast size, the type and original of the whole class. From the immense invisible beaver come all the beavers, by whatever run of water they are found ; the same is true of the elk and buffalo, of the eagle and robin, of the meanest quadruped of the forest, of the smallest insect that buzzes in the air. There lives for each class of animals this invisible, vast type, or elder brother. Thus the savage established his right to be classed by philoso-

phers in the rank of realists ; and his chief effort at generalization was a reverent exercise of the religious sentiment. Where these older brothers dwell, they do not exactly know ; yet it may be that the giant manitous, which are brothers to beasts, are hid beneath the waters, and that those of the birds make their homes in the blue sky. But the Indian believes also, of each individual animal, that it possesses the mysterious, the indestructible principle of life ; there is not a breathing thing but has its shade, which never can perish. Regarding himself, in comparison with other animals, but as the first among coördinate existences, he respects the brute creation, and assigns to it, as to himself, a perpetuity of being. 'The ancients of these lands' believed that the warrior, when released from life, renews the passions and activity of this world; is seated once more among his friends ; shares again the joyous feast ; walks through shadowy forests, that are alive with the spirits of birds ; and there, in his paradise,

> "'By midnight moons, o'er moistening dews,
> In vestments for the chase arrayed,
> The hunter still the deer pursues, —
> The hunter and the deer a shade.'"

Ibid., pp. 295, 298.

At the close of this chapter, the historian grapples with the much-vexed question respecting the origin of the Aborigines, — that *pons asinorum*, which has called forth so much sense, and nonsense, on both sides of the water ; and will continue to do so, as long as a new relic, or unknown hieroglyphic, shall turn up, to irritate the nerves of the antiquary.

Mr. Bancroft passes briefly in review the several arguments adduced in favor of the connexion with Eastern Asia. He lays no stress on the affinity of languages, or of customs and religious notions ; considering these as spontaneous expressions of similar ideas and wants, in similar conditions of society. He attaches as little value to the resemblance established by Humboldt, between the signs of the Mexican calendar, and those of the signs of the zodiac in Thibet and Tartary ; and, as for the far-famed Dighton Rock, and the learned lucubrations thereon, he sets them down as so much moonshine, pronouncing the characters Algonquin. The *tumuli*, — the great tumuli of the West, — he regards as the work of no mortal hand, except so far as they have been excavated for a sepulchral purpose. He admits, however, vestiges of a migratory movement on our continent, from the northeast to the southwest ; shows very satisfactorily, by es-

timating the distances of the intervening islands, the practicability of a passage, in the most ordinary sea-boat, from the Asiatic to the American shores, in the high latitudes ; and, by a comparison of the Indian and Mongolian skulls, comes to the conclusion that the two races are probably identical in origin. But the epoch of their divergence he places at so remote a period, that the peculiar habits, institutions, and culture of the Aborigines must be regarded as all their own, — as indigenous. This is the outline of his theory.

By this hypothesis he extricates the question from the embarrassment caused by the ignorance which the Aborigines have manifested in the use of iron, milk, &c., known to the Mongol hordes, but which he, of course, supposes were not known, at the time of the migration. This is carrying the exodus back to a far period. But the real objection seems to be, that, by thus rejecting all evidence of communication but that founded on anatomical resemblance, he has unnecessarily narrowed the basis on which it rests. The resemblance between a few specimens of Mongolian and American skulls is a narrow basis, indeed, taken as the only one, for so momentous a theory.

In fact, this particular point of analogy does not strike us as, by any means, the most powerful of the arguments in favor of a communication with the East ; when we consider the small number of the specimens, on which it is founded, the great variety of formation in individuals of the same family,— some of the specimens approaching even nearer to the Caucasian than the Mongolian, — and the very uniform deviation from the latter, in the prominence, and the greater angularity, of the features.

This connexion with the East derives, in our judgment, some support, feeble though it be, from affinities of language ; but this is a field which remains to be much more fully explored. The analogy is much more striking of certain usages and institutions, particularly of a religious character, and, above all, the mythological traditions, which those who have had occasion to look into the Aztec antiquities cannot fail to be struck with. This resemblance is oftentimes in matters so purely arbitrary, that it can hardly be regarded as founded in the constitution of man ; so very exact that it can scarcely be considered as accidental. We give up the Dighton Rock, that rock of offence to so many antiquaries, who

may read in it the hand-writing of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, or Scandinavians, quite as well as any thing else. Indeed, the various *fac-similes* of it, made for the benefit of the learned, are so different from one another, that, like Sir Hudibras, one may find in it

"A leash of languages, at once."

We are agreed with our author, that it is very good Algonquin. But the zodiac, the Tartar zodiac, which M. de Humboldt has so well shown to resemble, in its terms, those of the Aztec calendar, we cannot so easily surrender. The striking coincidence established by his investigations between the astronomical signs of the two nations,— in a similar corresponding series, moreover, although applied to different uses,— is, in our opinion, one of the most powerful arguments yet adduced for the affinity of the two races. Nor is Mr. Bancroft wholly right in supposing that the Asiatic hieroglyphics referred only to the zodiac. Like the Mexican, they also presided over the years, days, and even hours. The strength of evidence, founded on numerous analogies, cannot be shown, without going into details, for which there is scarce room in the compass of a separate article, much less in the heel of one. Whichever way we turn, the subject is full of perplexity. It is the sphinx's riddle, and the Œdipus must be called from the grave who is to solve it.

In closing our remarks, we must express our satisfaction, that the favorable notice we took of Mr. Bancroft's labors, on his first appearance, has been fully ratified by his countrymen, and that his Colonial History establishes his title to a place among the great historical writers of the age. The reader will find the pages of the present volume filled with matter not less interesting and important than the preceding. He will meet with the same brilliant and daring style, the same picturesque sketches of character and incident, the same acute reasoning, and compass of erudition.

In the delineation of events, Mr. Bancroft has been guided by the spirit of historic faith. Not that it would be difficult to discern the color of his politics ; nor, indeed, would it be possible for any one strongly pledged to any set of principles, whether in politics or religion, to disguise them in the discussion of abstract topics, without being false to himself, and giving a false tone to the picture. But, while he is true to himself, he has an equally imperative

duty to perform, — to be true to others, to those on whose characters and conduct he sits in judgment as an historian. No pet theory, nor party predilections, can justify him in swerving one hair's breadth from truth in his delineation of the mighty dead, whose portraits he is exhibiting to us on the canvass of history.

Whenever religion is introduced, Mr. Bancroft has shown a commendable spirit of liberality. Catholics and Calvinists, Jesuits, Quakers, and Church-of-England men, are all judged according to their deeds, and not their speculative tenets. And, even in the latter particular, he generally contrives to find something deserving of admiration, some commendable doctrine or aspiration, in most of them. And what Christian sect, we might add, what sect of any denomination is there, which has not some beauty of doctrine to admire? Religion is the homage of man to his Creator. The forms in which it is expressed are infinitely various; but they flow from the same source, are directed to the same end, and all claim from the historian the benefit of toleration.

What Mr. Bancroft has done for the Colonial history is, after all, but preparation for a richer theme, the history of the War of Independence; a subject which finds its origin in the remote past, its results in the infinite future; which finds a central point of unity in the ennobling principle of independence, that gives dignity and grandeur to the most petty details of the conflict; and which has its foreground occupied by a single character, to which all others converge, as to a centre, — the character of Washington, in war, in peace, and in private life, the most sublime on historical record. Happy the writer who shall exhibit this theme worthily to the eyes of his countrymen!

The subject, it is understood, is to engage the attention, also, of Mr. Sparks, whose honorable labors have already associated his name imperishably with our Revolutionary period. Let it not be feared, that there is not compass enough in the subject for two minds so gifted. The field is too rich to be exhausted by a single crop, and will yield fresh laurels to the skilful hand that shall toil for them. The labors of Hume did not supersede those of Lingard, or Turner, or Mackintosh, or Hallam. The history of the English Revolution has called forth, in our own time, the admirable essays of Mackintosh and Guizot; and the palm of excellence, after the libraries that have been written on the French Rev-

olution, has just been assigned to the dissimilar histories of Mignet and Thiers. The points of view, under which a thing may be contemplated, are as diversified as mind itself. The most honest inquirers after truth rarely come to precisely the same results, such is the influence of education, prejudice, principle. Truth, indeed, is single, but opinions are infinitely various ; and it is only by comparing these opinions together, that we can hope to ascertain what is truth.

Art. V. — *Elementary Geology.* By Edward Hitchcock, Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College, and Geologist to the State of Massachusetts. Amherst : J. S. &. C. Adams. 1840. 12mo. pp. 320.

An extract from the Preface of the work before us, will best show the objects which its author proposes to accomplish.

" 1. It is arranged in the form of distinct propositions or principles, with definitions and proofs ; and the inferences follow those principles on which they are mainly dependent. 2. An attempt has been made to present the whole subject in its proper proportions, viz. its facts, theories, and hypotheses, with their historical and religious relations, and a sketch of the geology of all the countries of the globe that have been explored. 3. It is made more American than republications from European writers, by introducing a greater amount of our geology. 4. It contains copious references to writers, where the different points, here briefly discussed, may be found amply treated. 5. It contains a *Palæontological Chart*, whose object is to bring under a glance of the eye the leading facts respecting organic remains."

These are excellent traits in an elementary treatise on geology ; and, however slightly acquainted with the science, a reader cannot fail to perceive that it is here presented not only in a new but in a very attractive form, enabling the author to condense into a convenient compass, the vast amount of facts accumulated by his own personal observation, or derived from an extensive and minute knowledge of the labors

of distinguished geologists. Professor Hitchcock has been too long and favorably known to scientific men, both of the new world and of the old, to make it necessary for us to say, with what ample qualifications he undertakes the task before him. His work is no "secondary formation," based on the published works of European writers, but in every part bears the impress of acute and original observation, and happy tact in presenting the immense variety of subjects treated in the following sections, into which the book is divided.

"Section I. A general account of the constitution and structure of the earth, and of the principles on which rocks are classified. Section II. The chemistry and mineralogy of geology. Section III. Lithological characters of the stratified rocks. Section IV. Lithological characters and relative age of the unstratified rocks. Section V. Palæontology, or the science of organic remains. Section VI. Operation of aqueous and atmospheric agencies in producing geological changes. Section VII. Operation of organic agencies in producing geological changes. Section VIII. Operation of igneous agencies in producing geological changes. Section IX. Connexion between geology and natural and revealed religion. Section X. The history of geology. Section XI. Geographical geology."

The work is illustrated with numerous wood-cuts, which, though substantially they answer the purpose intended, must be owned to be generally of a very inferior description. Indeed we cannot but say, that the whole mechanical execution of the work is altogether beneath the importance of the matter contained in its pages. Many of the cuts resemble the first rude essays in the art of wood engraving; and, in too many places, the typography is equalled only by some bad impressions of a penny paper. We consider excellence in these things of the highest importance in a work intended, like the present, for an elementary class-book. We shall regret it as much as the author himself, if his second edition comes not to us clothed in the best style of the American press. We ask for no more, and the intrinsic merit of the work demands no less.

But to return to its contents. The first section closes with a tabular view of all the systems of classification of rocks, which have been prepared by the great lights of modern geology. This table cannot fail to be of especial use to the student.

It is a thread, guiding him out of a labyrinth. Professor Hitchcock does not implicitly follow any one system, but he arranges the stratified rocks into groups or systems, nearly corresponding to those of Professor John Phillips. These systems he disposes under the terms Alluvian, Diluvian, Tertiary, Secondary, and Primary, not because he "feels satisfied with these terms; but chiefly because they have become so incorporated with geological descriptions, that their use is still convenient, and but little liable to lead the learner astray; especially if he be forewarned against the hypothetical intimations which they contain." Yet another reason for using them is, that "there does exist in nature a ground for grouping together the rocks in some analogous manner."

Passing over the second, third, and fourth sections, all of which are executed in a manner to interest the general reader, and reward the diligent student, we arrive at the fifth, which is devoted to the science of Organic Remains. It occupies one fourth of the whole work, and is illustrated with the best cuts in the book. We venture to say, that there is not in our language so neat and compressed, yet so clear and correct, an account of the "wonders of geology." From its nature, Palæontology will ever be, as it has always been, the most popular and attractive portion of geology. We walk with our author in the Zoological Garden founded ages before the creation of man. He points out the gigantic plants of other days, uncages the great beasts, and "draws out with a hook the great leviathans." We almost hear their deep expirations, and witness the flapping of tails and fins in the "death flurry" of huge Saurians. We walk on the shore of an ancient ocean, collecting shells in countless variety. We bend our course inland, and are awed by the stupendous deposits of the siliceous shields of microscopic animalcula, or lost in admiration at foot-prints of gigantic birds. The American student, in this department of geology, has too long been referred to foreign localities for examples of these lost tribes. Professor Hitchcock has peculiarly "Americanized" this part of his subject. His own labors and discoveries in this department of geology mark an epoch in the science, though his modesty does not allow him to put forth that claim to merit, which all true sons of science willingly accord to his labors. He has not permitted himself to state, with its true fulness and force, a claim to the original invention

of the ingenious and interesting "*Palæontological Chart*," which accompanies this portion of his work. But the merit of original conception is not the less his, because he happened subsequently to learn that something akin to it was contained in Professor Brown's "*Lethea Geognostica*," a work which he received after the account of his own chart was in type. We hope, that among the many works devoted to science, which issue from the Amherst Press, under his eye, we shall soon see, not only the chart of Professor Brown, but also the five folio colored lithographs of the Structure of the Earth, by Professors Noeggerath and Burkart.

We must refer our readers to the "Elementary Geology," not only for a "Synoptical View of the Fossil Footmarks," which are classed under the name of ICHNOLITES, and divided into several orders by our author, but also for information, as full and satisfactory as the present state of knowledge permits, on the character of organic remains; the nature and process of petrifaction; the means of determining the nature of organic remains, and their classification; their amount in the earth's crust; their distribution; and the account of the periods when different animals and plants began to appear, or when they became extinct. These, and their various allied subjects are discussed with a fulness which leaves the general student nothing to desire, and are followed by a series of inferences from the mass of facts, equally interesting and logical. It is here that we feel how truly Baconian, how full of fruit and progress, is the philosophy of modern Geology.

We cannot, however, agree with our author in the proof of his thirteenth inference, stated on page 161. We coincide wholly with the conclusion, "that the greater part of the accessible crust of the globe may once have constituted portions of the animal frame." In proof of this, Professor Hitchcock says, "In respect to limestone, which has been thought to constitute about one-seventh of the earth's crust, the presumption in favor of its animal origin seems quite probable." We were disposed, on the first reading, to understand that "animal origin" referred to animal secretion, or, in the words of Mantell, lime "had passed through the complex and wonderful laboratory of life." The idea, however, of Professor Hitchcock seems to be, that animals have the power of *forming lime*. It is repeated on page

245, where "the cause why less lime is found in the older rocks" is said to be, that "probably it was then less in quantity, since it would seem to be derived in part, at least, from organic beings, which did not then exist." Again, on page 263, speaking of the soil in the earliest habitable state of the earth, our author pronounces it almost "destitute of calcareous matter." The inference here is in keeping with the "animal origin" to which we have referred. This "origin," then, is creation. Now we do not believe that the author intends to convey any such impression; yet his language conveys no other. And this is a doctrine at variance with all sound science. Whatever lime existed at the creation, exists now. "What was in the beginning" of elementary substances, exists now; as much now as then, neither more nor less; having the same properties and relations, obeying the same immutable laws of chemical combination. Its *form* only has changed. Animals have the power of changing these forms, of selecting and rearranging the primitive elements, but no power of producing them. We trust, that in a new edition the words "animal origin," and the other passages to which we have referred, will be so qualified as not to be subject to be understood as conveying ideas opposed to experience and to sound philosophy.

The sixth section is to us, who are dwellers upon diluvial drift, even more interesting than that at which we have last glanced. It is also still more "Americanized" than the preceding one, by the description and discussion of diluvial agency, and the vast amount of facts in our own geology, which our author here presents. This chapter will command the attention of foreign geologists, and for some time to come, we venture to predict, will form their text-book on this new and interesting department of inquiry; and American geologists are under the greatest obligations to our author for this succinct statement of his views upon a subject, to which we believe he first called their attention, and which he has done so much to elucidate. It is this section, more than any other, which impresses us with the necessity of original American works like the present; and, though it be "elementary," it contains a full account of all that is yet known of diluvial agency. We cannot present to our readers the author's account of the theories upon this subject; our limits preclude this specimen of his matter and manner.

The causes of diluvial agency are wrapped in mystery. On no subject in geology is there such a diversity of opinion. No theory is perfectly satisfactory ; all are partial in their application. The theories, and the arguments for and against them, are stated with great candor ; and we perfectly agree with the author in his conclusion, "that the philosophical and unprejudiced mind will infer that the time has not yet arrived for forming a complete theory on this subject ; and, therefore, that it is best to keep the mind open to the facts and reasonings from all quarters." — p. 202.

We are truly glad to find that Professor Hitchcock has incorporated, in his eighth section, the doctrines respecting Geine and Geates, first published by him in his "Report on the Reëxamination of the Geology of Massachusetts." It shows how firm is his conviction of the correctness of his Report, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made to discredit the existence of any such proximate principle as geine, and, of course, the fallacy of all doctrines relating to it. With a mind ever open to conviction, in that happy "philosophical and unprejudiced" state to which he refers, we doubt not our author will be ever among the first to relinquish doctrines which appear to him unstable ; but till then, we quote for the benefit of our readers who may not have seen his longer "Report," the following account of geine and geates. Speaking of the agency of plants, he observes ;

"When a complete decomposition takes place, a compound called *geine* is the result. If acted upon by an alkali, it assumes acid properties ; and then combines with earths, alkalies, and oxides, forming neutral salts, which may be called *geates*. And, in fact, most of the geine in soils exists as geate of alumina, of lime, of magnesia, of iron, and manganese. It is these geates, with some geine, in an uncombined state, mixed with the detritus derived from the disintegration of rocks, and which are mostly silicates, that form soils, and especially vegetable mould. These geates and geine are more or less soluble in water, and in that condition are taken up by the rootlets of plants, and form a large part of their nourishment." — p. 206.

The remaining sections sketch, with the hand of a master, the more general questions of geological dynamics. We cannot forbear quoting the remark which follows the results of the experiments and reasoning of Fourier, on the tempera-

ture of the earth and planetary space. It is a new epitaph, chiselled on the monument of Bowditch.

"These results of Fourier require the application of very profound mathematical investigations. And it may not be amiss to mention, that the late lamented Dr. Bowditch informed me, that he had followed Fourier, through all his intricate analyses of the subject, and that the reasoning was entirely conclusive." — p. 236.

ART. VI.—1. *Speech of* Mr. H. S. LEGARÉ, of South Carolina, *on the Bill imposing Additional Duties as Depositaries, in certain Cases, on Public Officers*, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, October, 1837. Washington: Office of "The Madisonian." 8vo. pp. 32.

2. *Speech of* Mr. WISE, of Virginia, *on the Subject of the Late Defalcations*, delivered in the House of Representatives, Dec. 21, 1838. Washington: Office of "The Intelligencer." 8vo. pp. 32.

3. *Speech of* Mr. DUNCAN, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, April 10, 1840, *on the Bill making Appropriations for the Civil and Diplomatic Expenses of the Government, for the Year* 1840. Washington: "Globe" Office. 8vo. pp. 20.

THERE are few things in this age and country of reform, more urgently demanding correction than the style of our *Congressional* debates. In the American halls of legislation, it is not unnatural to expect to find eloquence of a high character. No stimulus to the power of speech could well be greater than is furnished to him, who discusses the interests of a great people, for the conviction of those whose votes are to be decisive of its policy. A perfectly unrestricted freedom of deliberation exists. The body is, or ought to be, select, both branches numbering together less than three hundred members; most of whom, also, must needs have had abundant previous practice, as, in consequence of the electioneering usages of the greater portion of the country, its representatives must have spoken their way to their seats.

There has been, and is, much good speaking in the Congress of the United States. With the best disposition for an impartial judgment, we cannot see reason to allow, that any deliberative orations of the day take precedence of the best American specimens, in the highest attributes of the art. But waving this, there is one remarkable difference, not disclosed in the printed reports, which is perceived on the first opportunity of actual comparison between the debates of the United States' Congress and of the British Parliament. In respect to ease and propriety in the mere expression of his thoughts, the English debater is generally far inferior to the American. He makes up for this, no doubt, by a far more indispensable merit. He talks no nonsense. He speaks to the point. He has thoroughly considered the subject. His mind is full of the needful facts. His argument is an effective, business-like piece of work. But it is astonishing how men of the highest culture, used to the best society from their birth, and with a position and an experience which one would think might give them confidence, — how the Great Duke, for instance, how Earl Spencer, how Lord Melbourne, to say nothing of names of less note, — will stammer and boggle through a speech, finishing one half of their sentences improperly, and leaving a good portion of the other half not finished at all. And this is the more surprising, when one considers that the speakers in the English House of Commons are still, even since the passage of the Reform Bill, a comparatively select corps. Until lately, five or six leading men on each side were about as many as ever took part in a debate. When an ambitious young member stepped into the ring, his first essay received a respectful attention. If he succeeded, he settled his right to speak for the future. If he failed, he doomed himself to be coughed down on any subsequent attempt. The number of speakers, though larger than under the old dispensation, is still small. But, of this small number, a large portion utter their weighty thoughts, and various and exact information, with a difficulty and clumsiness, affording a striking contrast to the full, unembarrassed, self-satisfied flow of almost any honorable gentleman, who for a week on a stretch addresses posterity* on the floor of Congress.

* The versatile General Alexander Smyth, of Virginia, — now legislator, now soldier, now commentator on the Apocalyse, — in the course of a two

"A week," we say; and we scarcely exaggerate; for their length is one of the crying sins of our orators. A day's session of the House of Representatives, costs the country nearly five thousand dollars. What an enormity is it, that one, two, three days should be taken up even with a sensible argument, which properly treated might be compressed into half as many hours, to say nothing of the too frequent harangues, which, for the honor of the country, it would be worth twice the money to suppress. Before the Reform Bill, there were very few instances, — we believe only one or two, — of a debate in the British Parliament running into the second night. With us, they continue an indefinite time during all the early part of the session, the really important business, for which the legislature is convened, being generally pushed to the very close, and huddled up in the two or three last days and nights without debate, and very often without consideration or knowledge. Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, spoke four days in committee of the whole, on a motion to strike out an appropriation for the Portsmouth Navy Yard. Mr. Bond, of Ohio, in his speech on Retrenchment, kept possession of the morning hour appropriated to resolutions, for no less than six successive weeks. Mr. Adams held it once, if we remember right, two months; so that, at the present rate of steam navigation, a person leaving Washington after hearing the exordium, might conveniently have made two voyages to Europe, and on his second return have found the honorable member on his legs, and been in good season for his peroration.

This, we are bound to add, — and it illustrates another fact of the same class, — was not Mr. Adams' fault. No man speaks more concisely and to the point, when he can secure the privilege of being let alone. He is one of two members of the present Congress, whose arguments and expressions are so orderly and exact, that the Washington reporters say their words can be taken down and printed without compression or alteration. On the occasion just referred to, Mr. Adams was annoyed with all sorts of interruptions,

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days' speech upon nothing in Committee of the Whole, was called to order by Arthur Livermore, of New Hampshire, for irrelevancy of matter. "Mr. Chairman," said Smyth, "I am not speaking for the member from New Hampshire, but to posterity." "The gentleman," rejoined Livermore, "is in a fair way, before he finishes, to have his audience before him."

which the ingenuity of parliamentary tactics could suggest, — the House being so little sensible, through long use, to any inconvenience from long speeches, as often to forget the unquestionable advantage of the course of hearing an argument out at once, and then answering it, over that of keeping it on hand, week after week, by embarrassing it as it proceeds; and the members, who, for the time being, have not the floor, exciting, by the interruptions of their own impatient loquacity, the loquacity of the member who is up.

There is generally a marked difference, in this respect of *long-windedness*, between members from different portions of the country, though the constant force of example tends to assimilate them. Not that, in our opinion, there is much sense in what has been so often and so knowingly said about the contrast between Southern frankness, fancifulness, and passion, and Northern reasonableness, costiveness, correctness, and frost. We think the less of this philosophy, when we remember that the orator, who now-a-days most amazes and overwhelms with his torrent of words and figures, — Mr. Prentiss, of Mississippi, — is of New England birth and rearing, and that all the animation of the Southern speakers of the last three Congresses, if they were to club their ardors together, would not equal that of a septuagenarian of the old Bay State. But though there is no want of imagination or enthusiasm in the northern latitudes, nor of logic or far-sightedness in the southern, still the members from different parts naturally bring to their meeting more of the habits of their respective constituencies, than is easily overcome by any influences of the new association to which they are introduced. Mr. Webster, Mr. Davis, Mr. Tillinghast, — these gentlemen, coming from the midst of an industrious, business-like, reality-loving community, in which the combination expressed in the saw, "Much cry, and little wool," is esteemed at once natural and undesirable, are generally terse and brief in comparison with their Southern and Western associates of like eminence. The population of the South and South-west can spare more time from action for speech, and, besides, it has taken Virginia for its model; — Virginia, which dearly loves to talk, passionately loves to talk politics. Combining the leisure with the independence of agricultural pursuits, — the oldest of the American commonwealths, — the traditionary head of the

Southern interest, — the prescriptive head of the country, to which it gave Presidents for more than three quarters of the first forty years, — it is natural that the position of this distinguished commonwealth should at once create in its citizens an aptitude for discourse, — for political discourse, in particular, — and inspire them with the idea, that their political sayings and doings can scarcely have too great a share in the movements of the republic. The true Virginian has a grand largeness of heart ; but his very liberality, operating under a partial misconception, tends to a degree of obtrusiveness and overaction. To him, his State is the world's rudder ; the centre of this visible diurnal sphere is a point somewhere near to the door of Albemarle Court House ; the odd-looking little sentry-box on a platform, in which the taste of the House of Burgesses has thought meet to ensconce its Speaker, is the very seat on which the genius of Liberty reposes, and says,

"Here is my throne ; let kings come bow to it."

With his generous tastes, what shall the Virginia proprietor do with the time, of which, looking out on his solitary expanse of wheat and tobacco, he sees there is such great plenty on his hands ? Read, to be sure. And read what ? Doubtless politics and political history ; for what would become of the world without the United States ? and how could the United States get on without Virginia for a regulator ? and to him individually, with others, it belongs, or may belong, to utter the Virginian oracles. So he reads all his life long in this department, while he is without visiters ; and talks over and over with his family what he has read, in that plantation retirement where there is so little else to talk of ; and disputes about it with his neighbours when they meet, with discourse the more voluble for having been so long pent up ; and selects and repeats the available parts at the hustings, as soon and as long as he is a candidate for office ; and then takes his seat in Congress under a sense of responsibility which forbids silence, with an affluence of matter, such as it may be, which will not be restrained and cannot be exhausted, and with a practice in the use of the organ of speech which ensures, that, in its longest exercise, he will make a pleasure of a toil. He has no notion that anybody ought to be *delivered from the Greeks and Romans ;* no, nor from the Goths and Vandals either. All his remembrances of ancient

and modern lore, of classical and feudal story, are subject to be brought out on a question of renewing the upholstery of the Representatives' Chamber, or paying the Sergeant-at-Arms.

So it is with excellent Virginia ; and, with a large portion of the Union, Virginia is the pattern state, and its statesmen the pattern orators. But since in this, as in other cases, the homely maxim holds good, that "he that follows must go behind," that imitation of Virginia eloquence, which if exact, would not be irreproachable, is often exaggerated and ungraceful to an extreme degree. Many a Western member, raised to his present eminent station by the merit of energy and talent, without the advantage of early culture, feels bound to emulate or surpass in length his "eloquent friend from the Ancient Dominion" ; and with arguments less rich, and illustrations less apt and weighty, the length of speeches, which for their length alone would be vexatious, becomes oppressive and — intolerable, we would say, were it not that the notorious experience of session after session proves too certainly that they can be borne.*

By a concise and careful speaker a great deal will be said in a little time. Demosthenes could not, for his life, have made a speech on a given subject, a quarter as long as Mr. Bynum. In the old Greek's way of weaving, the stock would not hold out. Hesiod's maxim is in such cases beautifully true ; *Πλέον ἥμισυ πάντος.* A long speech may be made long by interruptions, which turn the speaker out of his self-prescribed course ; but, barring this, it must owe part of its length to impertinences. And what impertinences are our Congress speeches often made up of ! When the lucky member, among fifty who spring to their feet at once, catches Mr. Speaker's eye, what experienced person, from knowing the bill or resolution that has just been read from the chair, would hazard the remotest guess at the subject of the outpouring which is to follow ? On one occasion we heard Mr.

* The forensic eloquence of the Federal City, though that is not our theme, of course partakes of the same character. A Western advocate, already prominent in the Legislature, had begun somewhere near to the origin of things, and the first principles of society, and was working his way down through Bracton and Coke to the case in hand, in argument before the late Chief Justice Marshall. The magnificent old gentleman was seldom weary, and never impatient; but he thought that, on this occasion, some time might be saved. "Brother H——," said he, "there are some things which a Chief Justice of the United States may be presumed to know."

Storer, of Ohio, deliver a set biography of General Harrison. One of Herodotus' recitations at the Olympic games, oddly as it would have sounded, if pronounced before the Senate of five hundred, was not more properly an historical composition. We do not remember, — how should we? — what motion was before the House ; but we remember so much as that it had no more to do with General Harrison than it had with Julius Cæsar. In such cases, it may be said, that the discourse may have connexion in itself, though it wants connexion with its text, and that, if a subject concerns the nation, there is some excuse for making an opportunity to discuss it, when no opportunity fairly occurs. But very often a member will make up a long speech of what has not only no relation to the matter in hand, but what has no interest out of his own district. His vehement utterance, and the expression of satisfaction that inspires his features, show that he feels himself to be doing something effective, while the representatives around him from other parts of the country are quite in the dark respecting the relations of what he labors with so much fervor. The truth is, that he is haranguing his constituents respecting his claim to their suffrages at the coming election ; and his argument, already in type, and now delivering at the Treasury's cost, will to-morrow morning go flying all abroad on the wings of the mail, to blast the schemes of his competitor for office in distant Alabama or Illinois. This is called, in Congressional phrase, speaking *for Bunkum.** In other cases, which the presiding officer, if there is a call to order, is in the habit of licensing, under the courteous descriptions of "a wide range of debate," "using latitude of discussion," and the like, the orator, enamoured of his own voice, and tenacious of a position, which, once surrendered, he well knows he may be long in regaining, gives the freest reins to imagination, and makes

* The following account of this familiar phrase is from the "Richmond Compiler" ; "A grave member of the Lower House of Congress, from the venerable State of North Carolina, and from a district which included the county of *Buncombe*, in which county he resided, whose style of speaking produced a very common effect of driving the members from the Hall, and all that, was one day addressing the House, when as usual, the coughing and sneezing commenced, and the members began leaving. He paused awhile, and assured the House that there need be no uneasiness on their part, and that for himself it mattered not how many left, for he was not speaking to the House, but to 'Bunkum.' It is now understood to mean the *constituent* body, in Congressional parlance."

the most unsparing drafts on the treasures of reflection and memory. It is melancholy to think, how many speeches are made in both houses of Congress, which would furnish examples of this vice. Let two or three suffice. They will, at the same time, illustrate some other remarks, which we have already made, or to which we shall presently proceed. We take the following from the speech of Mr. Wise, of Virginia, of which we have given the title above.

"Mr. Wise rose to address the House on Mr. Cambreleng's motion for a select committee to investigate the defalcation of Samuel Swartwout, late Collector at New York. Several gentlemen solicited him to defer his remarks until to-morrow. Mr. Wise declined, and said;

"'Mr. Speaker, — After once losing the floor in the manner I did, by complying with such requests the other day, and by your decision yesterday, that petitions had precedence for thirty days over this motion, I feel very timid of Locofocoism in yielding it again. I see, Sir, gentlemen desire that this discussion should not proceed, at least, not yet. They are afraid that public sentiment will be forestalled. They are heartily sick of this subject already, and would gladly get rid of it altogether. For their sakes, then, I shall go on; let them be patient under the operation; if they are hungry, let them go home and get their dinner; I shall not have concluded before their return, for, by refusing me leave to proceed yesterday, they have only given me more time to provide more materials; they have only laid up for themselves wrath against the day of wrath. I feel better prepared, much better, in body and mind, than I was before; and, with this bank of documents before me, I could rain forty days and forty nights upon their sins and iniquities.

"'Sir, in my rambling remarks the other day, I *said* many things which I will *prove* now. I said the proposition of the gentleman (Mr. Cambreleng) did not go far enough. Instead of inquiring only into the manner and extent of Swartwout's defalcation, it should propose an investigation *of the official conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury, with a view to his impeachment*, if sufficient be found on which to base the articles of specification.

"'Let gentlemen understand me. I measure my terms. I speak in no spirit of bravado. I *declaim* not when I say, that if a majority of this House would do their duty without fear, favor, or affection, the Secretary of the Treasury would, before this House adjourns, be impeached. If ever a felon de-

served the hangman's knot, the Secretary of the Treasury, Levi Woodbury, deserves impeachment. That is the proposition which I will now proceed to demonstrate.

" ' This is a bold declaration ; I know the weight of its responsibility ; it requires some exertion to prove it, and I must be permitted to go back a little, to take a review of the past from the beginning, and to gather, and group, and array all my exhibits and proofs.' " — p. 1.

Such was the comprehensive exordium of a speech on a motion for raising a committee to attend to Mr. Swartwout. The peroration was as follows ;

" Sir, ' In the piping times of peace,' the greatest service a representative can render, is to save the public money. I have faithfully endeavoured to discharge this duty ; to save the public money from wicked rulers, and to preserve the purity and virtue of both the people and their servants from the temptations of a splendid government and a wicked administration. If I have done nothing towards this end, it is not my fault. The task has been a hard one ; I have had to labor at the oar against wind and tide, against a most powerful and popular President and party, against *you*, Sir, your committees, and this House. But the blaze of glorification is espied. Thank God, the day-star dawns from on high. There is now hope of salvation ; an hour of retributive justice is coming ; Truth, though slow, is coming gradually along with her torches. I have been waiting for her long, but never without hope. I have had to carry my life itself in my hand, the harness of deer-skin, and cold steel and iron, has often galled my shoulders, an armed arsenal against the king's forces, — they are dangerous when there are such rich spoils ; but I have escaped unscathed, thank God ! though my slanderers, and persecutors, and revilers would have the world believe that my war upon corruption has not been bloodless.

" I care not for these aspersions, they pass me as the idle wind. Much less have I regarded some good, honest friends, who have assisted to ' damn me with the faint praise ' of doing, or trying to do, some good, notwithstanding my faults and indiscretion ! Sir, what other course could I pursue but that of fearless boldness, ay, apparent recklessness ? But this is egotism. I know who will defend me, who do back me. I have my reward, — the only reward I ever looked for, — at home, in the affections of my people ! Yes, Sir, my people. They are mine, because I am theirs, — in devotion, in sacrifice, in service ; in good report, in evil report ; theirs po-

litically, personally theirs ! And all your party, and all its power, cannot separate me from my people, or shake me in their confidence. I must myself first forfeit it, before I am ever by them distrusted, or proscribed. They will pardon my infirmities, and indulge my weaknesses, provided I remain true to them and their country. May Heaven reward them and their children's children, as they reward me ! But, Sir, I had rather have been fighting for them in the Florida swamps, with blade against tomahawk, than to have been warring, as I have, upon this almost overwhelming power of corruption. Dangers beset you in every path in this war ; dangers of life and limb, dangers to character, dangers, in fact, to your own virtue. No man can oppose himself to universal corruption here, without having all his virtues tempted and tried, as in a fiery furnace. My hope is in a majority of the next House of Commons. The Empire State has declared for the People, against the President.

" That now is the issue ; Shall the people, or the President, prevail ? The contest is no longer about measures. The sub-treasury may be proved to be the best system which the wisdom of man could devise ; but, Sir, the President and his minions have dared to *force* it upon us, have arrogantly proclaimed, it shall be the law, ' notwithstanding the lamentations here or elsewhere.' The measure has been thrice rejected ; it is again presented, and, if passed, will prove that the President is too strong for the people. In this issue, I can no longer debate its policy or expediency. Another consideration is paramount. I oppose it now, because it is an executive measure. Prove it to be the best, I would have my arm chopped off, my tongue pulled out, before I will be forced to vote for it by the will of one man. I will not have ' pudding itself stuffed down my throat ' ! There was a majority of fourteen against it last winter ; now, I fear, a much smaller majority. Some have *gone over*. No wonder. The President, notwithstanding the manifestations of public sentiment, has all the odds against the people. He has one hundred thousand office-holders to do his bidding, stationed at every outpost ; spies, informers, throughout the country. He has the press. He has the public money, wherewith to pay ' the bounty,' unprotected by law, in the hands of partisans, placed where he pleases, distributed as he pleases. He has the public lands. This is the great source of patronage and power.

" Sir, how can State-rights men support this mammoth executive ? How expect a large portion of the States to be free and independent, and to stand upon their reserved rights against power consolidated in the hands of the executive of

the Federal Government ; when every new State is raised, nurtured into very being and existence, upon executive pap and patronage ? Look at every new State on your frontier, and count their executive force in the Senate ! This is the domain corruption, which buys and secures States ; the other sources of patronage, offices and money, retain men. Men and States will render the President omnipotent ! I call on all the patriotic of this land to drop currency, banks, finance, — every minor consideration and topic, and to devote themselves wholly to the great work of resisting and reducing this dagon executive, to come up to our help, to come soon, or we will be powerless to resist. May an overruling Providence prevent the reduction of our strength to a weak minority before this very session expires ! The President has but a short time to ' fatigue us into compliance ' ; but, if the ' favorite measure ' be passed, no tongue can tell the horrible results to this nation. It will surely reëlect him to a second term ; and who will succeed him ? That is the last great question. Let me tell certain gentlemen of the South particularly, no matter what may be their hopes, and their calculations, for their man, there is one, whom I cannot call a man, who is as sure of the succession, as he surely deserves nothing but ignominy and disgrace, — that monster is Thomas H. Benton.

" *The Speaker.* Not in order.

" *Mr. Wise.* ' The man ' of Missouri, then ; and who can bear the thought ? I hold the horrible result up to the American people as the last, worst result ; the climax of horror, of the present corrupt dynasty ! When that happens, I will follow the examples of Swartwout and Price, and take passage for England." — pp. 31, 32.

And here are some gems from other parts of the same oration.

" Sir, the President, in this letter, prated about the records of the Government and the public documents, as if he had read and examined them. I doubt whether he ever examined, or read to examine, any one subject thoroughly whilst he was in office. No, Sir, I venture to guess that Amos Kendall, — ' honest Iago,' — whose official misconduct was most likely to be exposed, was the infamous author of this daring outrage ; he was a tool fit to be its author, of every word, and letter, and doctrine of it ; he was the President's thinking machine, and his writing machine, ay, and his lying machine ! Sir, if General Jackson had been elected for the third term, one great good would have come of the evil ; Amos Kendall would have been worked to death ! Poor wretch, as he rode his Rosinante down Pennsylvania Avenue, he looked like death on the

pale horse ; he was chief overseer, chief reporter, amanuensis, scribe, accountant-general, man of all work ; nothing was well done without the aid of his diabolical genius. Since Jackson's 'retirement,' he has assumed to be obeyed himself, instead of being a slave. He has worked hard for his lever of mischief. God send the country may not suffer for his pains in obtaining the supremacy which he now holds." — p. 5.

"He [Watkins] was born and bred a gentleman ; dazzled by the tinsel glare of this metropolis of 'splendid misery and shabby splendor,' (as it was once, with equal force, truth, and beauty, described by that unequalled orator of Virginia, John Randolph,) of liberal mind and habits, too, he lavished some three thousand improvidently, thinking in his heart that he should be able to replace that sum and more, and 'make all straight,' and he was imprisoned for his imprudence for nearly four years, and made to bear a felon's brand ! Ah ! Sir, but he was a gentleman, he belonged to 'all the decency,' to the 'silk-stocking gentry' ; he was not one of your Locofoco defaulters, he was not *unfortunate* to the amount of millions, he was no robber on a large scale, he was not one too full-handed to be touched by the rude hands of the tipstaff, he was not a defaulter of the great democracy ; and, poor fellow, he suffered for being a gentleman ! By the by, Sir, that word reminds me of the fact, that it was during, or not until, the past summer, your party first discovered that your President was a gentleman ! The discovery was made first, I think, by Granny Ritchie. That venerable gentleman took me to task for finding some gentlemen in Petersburg, and, as a set-off, it seemed, boasted that President Van Buren, too, was actually a gentleman ! Very strange ! that a man whom they made President, the successor of the 'illustrious' in 1837, they did not find out to be a gentleman, until the summer of 1838 ! They must surely have been trying to make him out a Whig. For myself, I always knew he was, in the ordinary sense, a gentleman ; and it was mortifying for me to see, that the 'Enquirer,' by implication at least, had supposed until lately that the President of the United States could be other than a gentleman ; judging, I mean, from its boast of the sudden discovery; but my colleague, there, [Mr. Dromgoole,] will not, however, recognise Mr. Ritchie as a genuine Locofoco editor. [Mr. Dromgoole said, "No, no, he is a Conservative."] There is a cheering consideration connected with this disvovery, though by the administration press ; it is the brightest omen which has occurred for years, of Mr. Van Buren's downfall. Yes, Sir, that cry of 'gentleman' upon him by his friends will finish him; with the party which supports him, they might as well have

cried 'mad dog.' It is a certain prognostic, that he is going down. From the hour that Father Ritchie made that fatal discovery, the man's doom was sealed. But, Sir, the gentleman defaulter, Watkins, as I was saying, met his fate; and now that he has been purified by the fires of the law, we may be permitted to do him justice, and to make him the instrument of retribution. I call him up; I invoke his wrongs, his sufferings, his injuries, his expiation, to rise in judgment against his persecutors, to condemn them. Where is he now? In a station where he is, no doubt, far happier than in his day of precarious and terror-haunted show, when he toiled as a poor slave, in one of the stalls of your document factories, called Departments. He is now an humble apothecary; and here I will say, for the benefit of all who would be honest, and who wish to be clean, that he keeps for sale the very best of 'palm soap' and chloride of lime, and other chemical compositions, to take off the spots of Locofocoism, and to cleanse from all corruption! I recommend to certain sub-treasury gentlemen to go and buy; but what if they be once washed white as snow, they will, like the hog, return to their wallowing in the mire." — pp. 7, 8.

And here is more from the same gentleman's "Speech on the Causes of the Loss of the Fortification Bill of the last Session, delivered in the House of Representatives, January 22, 1836."

"Sir, my distinguished friend from South Carolina (Mr. Thompson) told the gentleman from New York (Mr. Cambreleng) the other day, that 'it is the fashion of "the party" not to shrink from responsibility.' My honorable friend has convinced me, that he is a most excellent judge of men and things, but he was mistaken that time. No, Sir; General Jackson, in accordance with his high-toned independence of mind and action, assumes responsibility; but 'the party' shrinks, and skulks, and dodges, in fear and trembling. When Jupiter shakes the empyrean heights, all the gods tremble! When Jackson frowns and stamps his foot, rises in his majesty, and says, 'I take the responsibility!' all the sycophants of 'the party' quake with fear. Witness the deposite question. When the President went forth in doubtful contest against the bank, there was a 'little man,' who trembled from his hair to his heels, — [here some one said he had no hair,] — right, Sir, his head is bald; from the crown, then, of his head to the sole of his foot. His knees smote together with fright during the battle; but, the moment the victory was achieved, out sprang the Lilliputian from behind the 'Old Hero,' and strutted, hec-

toring over the dead body of the monster monopoly. So it was, Sir, with that very three millions amendment. I have no doubt the President was independent and honest enough to have recommended it boldly ; but 'the party' leaders kept the recommendation secret. And when the sum was reduced so low as to disappoint the 'Old Hero,' and to rouse his wrath to veto the bill, 'the party' were manœuvring, and dodging, and whispering, and cutting, and shuffling through the Capitol, and sending billets to change the responsibility of the failure of the 'fortification bill' from the President to the Senate ! That is the secret. Sir, when it is found that any measure will succeed and aggrandize the 'little man,' then 'the party' will take the responsibility ; not before. So it was this very session, with this same Secretary of our Navy. If there had been no responsibility, no popularity to risk in recommending six millions for the increase of the Navy, the service would not now be suffering for appropriations. But, Mr. Speaker, there is a certain class of men, who, put them where you will, in any situation in life, will *piddle*, — I mean old bachelors ! I never will henceforth support any man for the presidency, who will appoint a bachelor to any office of honor or profit, and especially, of responsibility. An old bachelor, Sir, is a 'withered fig tree' — he is a '*vis inertiæ*' ! Old bachelors are too near akin to old maids ! " — p. 31.

With such wretched babble does the gravity of an American Congress submit to be affronted. Mr. Wise has a reputation for abilities. He cannot expect much credit for them from such as know him only from reports of his oratorical exhibitions, till he has put his mind anew in training. Scarcely any thing can be worse, than the taste of all his harangues which we have seen. If he have talents, so much the worse for the effect of his style of speaking, as an example. Without the redeeming qualities of John Randolph, who was a scholar, and who, though he rambled insufferably in his argument, was terse and compact in single sentences, Mr. Wise's style is almost a caricature of the worst traits of that eccentric orator. Randolph of Roanoke was undoubtedly a person of brilliant parts, but no one can imitate him without ruin to his mind. Especially was it a dark day for American eloquence, when, because he was afflicted with a constitutional virulence of temper, abusive language, under the names of " withering sarcasm " and the like, came to be regarded as a high achievement of the art.

"Scarcely any thing," we said, can be worse than the taste of Mr. Wise's harangues. The *ne plus ultra* of untastefulness, however, we are forbidden to account them. What bad habits of speech make Mr. Wise's orations, with abilities (so say his coadjutors), the same, and yet worse, through similar habits, Mr. Duncan's speeches become, without them. Will posterity, — unless some fate should forbid the intervening generations to come to their senses, or unless republics meantime should become a scoff and by-word through the earth, — believe that such matter as this was vented, in the nineteenth century, in a deliberative assembly of the first republic in the world? On the 10th of April of the present year, "the Bill making Appropriation for the Civil and Diplomatic Expenses of the Government for the year 1840," being under consideration, the member from Ohio delivered himself as follows;

"Sir, I delight in the very name of a log cabin. There is no name in the English vocabulary that dwells upon my lips with so much delight as log cabin. It brings fresh to my recollection scenes of youthful pleasures, which I have never since, nor ever will again enjoy. Many and oft is the time that I thought a day a month, in anxious watch for the setting sun, which was the token for the rally to the frolic of the log cabin, where I met the comrades of my youth in dance, play, and song. In the times of which I am speaking, log cabins were what the term means, — a house made of round logs, one story high, of dimensions suited to the size or number of the family who were to inhabit it, and sometimes with reference to an *increase*, a puncheon floor, a lin bark loft, and a clapboard roof. The industry of the matron and her daughters was displayed by the thick folds of linsey frocks, pantaloons, and hunting shirts, which behung its walls. Its loft was underhung with strings of dried pumpkins, and its capacity heated and lighted with a large wood fire from its capacious chimney. So much for the description. Now for the frolic. The frolic consisted in dancing, playing, and singing love-and-murder songs, eating johnny-cake and pumpkin-pies, and drinking new whiskey and brown sugar out of a gourd. Our dancing in my youthful day, and in my neighbourhood, was done to the performance of an old Irishman with one leg, with the heel of which he beat time, a fiddle with three strings, to the air of

'Barney, let the girls alone,
Barney, let the girls alone,
Barney, let the girls alone,

And let them quiet be.
Judy, put the kettle on,
Judy, put the kettle on,
Judy, put the kettle on,
And we'll all take tea;'

for, if I recollect right, I think our fiddler played but one tune.

"But let me tell you, Sir, our girls were not to be sneezed at. They presented a form in beauty, that marked the developements of nature, when unrestrained by corsets, and the withering dissipation of fashionable and high life; and their guileless hearts looked through a countenance that demanded confidence in their innocence and unsullied virtue. But, oh! their forms! When you plied your arm to their waists, in the giddy waltz, with the twenty-five yards of warm linsey, in which they were comfortably enwrapped, you had an armful of health and firmness. These constituted my pleasures in the days of log cabins, and this is a description of log cabins, which, so far as it goes, will be recognised by those who have been round in the western country. But, Sir, the days of log cabins have passed away in the older settlements of the West, and with them, most of the log cabins; and, with the log cabins, many of the amusements common to such tenements. All the older pioneers of the West and their descendants, who have observed that kind of prudence, industry, and economy, which constitute the character of the good citizen, and entitle him to the confidence of honest men, have possessed themselves of comfortable and commodious brick and frame houses, large barns, and well improved farms, checkered with grain fields of every color, and mantled with horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, and with hard cash for a rainy day, and some to lend a friend in need."

Again;

"In relation to the conscience-keeping committee, I must say something. Of David Gwynne, I know nothing personally; I am unacquainted with him. I presume he is a clever fellow, and a respectable citizen, as all my constituents are. I take it for granted, that he is opposed to the administration and the democratic party and principles, but not the less respectable for that. But of J. C. Wright, and O. M. Spencer, I know something. I know them to be attorneys at law, of high standing. I know them, as private citizens, to be of the most respectable order; and I will take this occasion to invite all who hear me, and all who may read me, to call on J. C. Wright, and O. M. Spencer, should they have any business in the way of their profession. No two men, in the State in which they

live, will discharge their duty with more fidelity or more ability. But I know another thing. The democracy will find themselves vetoed, if they make these gentlemen the conservatives of their political rights. The log cabin, and its wool-hat inmates, will find themselves in the *vocative*, if their political rights are thrown upon the care and protection of these gentlemen. A Persian frog could not swim in all the hard cider they ever drank. These gentlemen may have seen a log cabin in their travels; so they may have seen a plough ; but I doubt if either of them knows to which end of it a pair of horses should be hitched, or from which side of the land the furrow should be thrown.

"These gentlemen are not Democrats. J. C. Wright will feel secretly flattered when he learns that I pronounce him a high-toned Federalist, from the first foundation of the world; and if his colleague is not of quite so blue a steep, it is because he has not been in the dye so long. Knowing, as I do, it was intended by the Federalists, that the democracy were to be gulled by this confidential, conscience-keeping committee trick, I think it was a manifestation of diplomatic stupidity, that I have never seen excelled in political manœuvring. It was cassiowary stupidity. I think it is the cassiowary bird, that rests the security of its body in the concealment of its head. The politics of this committee are too well known. If General Jackson, in his proudest and most popular days, were to have put himself in the keeping of these men, it would have blown him sky high with the democracy, far and wide as they are known. If the friends of General Harrison had constituted Uncle Jake Felter, Old Stephen Wood, and Jim Goodloe, the committee of conscience-keepers to General Harrison, the democracy would have understood something of the principles and rules of action; but, as it is, they will stand off.'

And, in the conclusion of the same speech ;

"The question now is, General Harrison, a National Bank, a splendid government, poor people, a shinplaster currency, and a privileged order, against Martin Van Buren, a sound currency, an Independent Treasury, (independent of the banks,) rigid economy, a poor government, a rich people, and equal rights. Which side do you take, Sir? and, as I cannot answer that question, I will tell you which side I take; I go for Kinderhook, and the Independent Treasury ; I go with the hard-handed industry; I go with those who depend upon their own resources for their living; the farmer and the mechanic, all of which constitute the democracy of this country, and of every other. Yes, Sir, I go with them against General Har-

rison, a National Bank, and the modern Whig party, who are made up of

> ' Coxcombs and dandies, and loafers and nibblers;
> Shavers and blacklegs, and pedlars and scribblers;
> Bankers and brokers, and cunning buffoons;
> Thieves that steal millions, and thieves that steal spoons;
> Rascals in ruffles, and rascals in rags;
> Beggars in coaches, and beggars on nags;
> Quackers and doctors, with scalpels and squills;
> Pettifoggers and lawyers, with green bags and bills;
> Shylocks unfeeling, and dealers in stocks;
> Some dashing fine ladies, in splendid silk frocks.
> Such is the crew that for Harrison bellows,
> Always excepting some very fine fellows.'

"Do you desire to know the feelings of the western people in relation to Harrison, Jackson, Johnson, and their relative services? I can tell you. If a western man is asked his opinion of General Harrison, his answer will be, nineteen times out of twenty, that General Harrison is a very good man, and was a tolerable general. He has done his country some service, and that perhaps he discharged his official duties, in the last war, about as well as could be expected, all circumstances considered. This, Sir, I repeat, will be the general answer. In some instances, a higher opinion will be expressed, — in some instances, a lower one. My colleagues on this floor, Whigs and Democrats, will bear me out in what I say; but when you hear Jackson and Johnson named, they are named in praise and song, in affection and pride. Yes, Sir, in praise and song. Were you ever at a corn-shucking in the West? If you were, you never left it without hearing the wool-hat and linsey-hunting-shirt boys sing —

> ' Mary Rogers are a case,
> And so are Sally Thompson,
> General Jackson are a horse,
> And so are Colonel Johnson.'

"I see, Sir, in some of the western Whig papers, the name 'Harrison Democrats.' This is a new name under the sun. Well, Sir, as the world grows older, names will increase. New names will run *pari passu* with the world's age, and with the cunning and trickery of Federalism. 'Harrison Democrats' in the West, are like the Frenchman's flea; when you attempt to put your finger on them, they are not there. 'Harrison Democrats' may be put in the list with mermaids, sea-serpents, and unicorns. They are names in fancy, fiction, and poetry. Sir, if you can catch a 'Harrison Democrat,' take him to Ohio, and exhibit him. I would advise you, also, to accompany the exhibition with a Whig buffoon, that can jump

'Jim Crow' to the music of the psaltery, tambourine, and the sackbut. You will clear more hard cash in one day, than you will by playing Congressman a month.

"In conclusion, let me say, the Democracy understand and appreciate their principles," &c.

And this was not only said, but printed, and not only printed, but praised. The commentary of the "Globe" newspaper, when it published the speech, would be amusing for its bold, yet not unwary, selection of phrase, were it not deplorable as a sign of the times.

"There is a fund of accurate and interesting information in the speech now published; and every topic touched is handled in a strong and masterly way. It is not a speech accommodated to rhetoricians' rules, but it will be found well suited to the strong-minded, true-hearted, well-affected husbandmen of the West. This speech shows that its author understands the character of his countrymen well. Whoever reads this speech of Mr. Duncan carefully, will, in observing the various modes in which he would operate on those whom he addresses, learn the traits which distinguish the people of the West. Strong sense, strong feeling, generous sentiments, make up the stamina; broad humor, careless gayety, and hardy dispositions, with some little coarseness, characterize their manners. Mr. Duncan's speech will be found in keeping with all these characteristics."

"Save me from my friends," — from such friends, at least, — may the traduced people of the West well say. The same "Globe" pronounces of this speech, "It will be found, we think, the most *taking* of all Mr. Duncan's speeches in Congress." Perhaps so; and yet a question might arise between it and the oration of January 9th, of this year, "on the Subject of the New Jersey Election for Members of the Twenty-sixth Congress." Let the reader judge.

"As the floods rush from the mountains of Ethiopia, to the overflowing of the Nile, and to the enriching of the valleys and plains of Egypt, so has been the torrent of public sentiment and approbation through the medium of the ballot box, in favor of the leading measures of this administration, and the glorious and hallowed cause of democracy and the people. Sir, with the revolutionary blood and patriotism of our ancestors, backed by the thundering voice of approbation by millions of freemen, are the democracy to be awed or intimidated by the threats or

frowns of a conquered and dying party, in their last spasmodic agonies? No, Sir; its effect is but to produce the sneer of contempt and derision. As it is common here for gentlemen Whigs to give their young friends (new Whig members) advice, so I will volunteer some advice to my young friends; and that is, to treat with contempt and scorn all the blasting, blowing, blustering, and bullying displays they may see here or elsewhere; though the fiercest Federal lions be turned into this hall, and though their 'shaggy tails be erect, and their jaws bedaubed with human blood,' they really have no terrors; the people have extracted their teeth; they can do nothing but shake their manes, and growl; approach them, lay your hand upon them, they are tame; they are like Daniel's lions; the hand of God rested on them; the hand of the freemen of this country rest upon the Federal lions and bullies of this day. When I first entered this hall, I entered it with some trepidation, — such is the Whig system of puffing, by the lean, lank dogs, in the character of penniless letter-writers, who beset this Capitol by throngs, and whose hungry yelp is never out of your hearing. I expected to see men gigantic in body and intellect; such is the effect puffing has upon the mind of objects at a distance; but, when I came to mingle with them, I found few of them whose bodily altitude exceeded that of my own; and when I surveyed them, I saw nothing in them, mentally or physically, to be feared; I found them just such creatures as surrounded me at home, every day; I saw nothing here at which a well corn-and-pork-fed western Buckeye would not douse his wool hat, throw off his linsey hunting-shirt, roll up his sleeves, and 'walk right into.'

* * * * *

"Virtue, patriotism, and good order are all to be sacrificed at the shrine of Federal ambition in this great contest. The man has been selected, around whose standard Antimasonry, Abolitionism, National Republicanism, Federalism, and every other *ism* under the sun except Democraticism, may rally. Open fight, secret ambuscade, fair play and foul play, and every other mode of warfare known to the nations of the earth, civilized and savage, is to be adopted and used in this war. All missiles and weapons, common and uncommon, broadswords, narrow swords, long swords, short swords, straight swords, and crooked swords, are to be used in fighting under this ring-streaked and speckled banner. Falsehood, fraud, and corruption will be in market for the highest bidder. Every venal Federal sheet will teem with foul slander, base detraction, and unblushing falsehood, and the tool of faction who can lie most, will receive the highest price for his occupation. Yes, Sir, the

zeal and Christian patriotism which were exhibited on the plains of Palestine, in defence of the Holy Land, were nothing to compare to the zeal which will be displayed in the conduct of this war upon the simple institutions of freedom. The untiring efforts of the monk Peter to rally the Christian nations in defence of the holy cause will sink into insignificance, when compared with the efforts which will be used by the Federal demagogues to rally the mercenary factions to this war against the common cause of democracy. But, to use a common Dutch maxim, it will be all '*Nix cume rous*,' or it will be applicable to a more classic maxim, '*Montes parturiunt, et ridiculus nascitur mus*.'

"Yes, Sir, a convention of the contending factions of this Union, opposed to the cause and principles of democracy and equal rights, has been held at Harrisburg; and the farmer of Tippecanoe has been nominated for the presidency! And the result of that convention will be about as it was in 1836, when, for the purposes of sectional division, General Harrison, Judge White, and Daniel Webster, were put upon the track. But they were all distanced; so it will be in 1840. Old Tecumseh and Kinderhook will distance Tippecanoe and the man of the Old Dominion, the first heat. If I were capable of giving General Harrison and his friends advice, it would be to just put their entrance money in their pockets, and leave the field; and if they have forfeitures up, let them go; that will be the saving game.

"But, Sir, perhaps these productions may be considered impious, for I see, in the reported proceeding, that the Rev. Mr. Sprecker pronounced a benediction upon the convention. Now I am going to animadvert a little upon that benediction, and let no man impugn my motives, or attach irreverence to me; for, if I have one feeling of grateful recollection for a reverend father and pious mother, both of whom now inhabit the narrow house, it is the recollection of the religious and pious precepts and principles which they taught me in sincere piety from my youth to manhood; and, although shamefully loose in their practice, yet, when I forget them, or fail in filial gratitude to those who taught them, may God forget me. If there is one book on earth that I reverence, it is the sacred word from which I am about to recite a few passages from recollection. If there is any one of the great causes which operate more than another to the perpetuity of our government, the stability of our religious and civil institutions, the peace of man here and a heavenly and glorious immortality hereafter, I believe it to be the glorious cause of Christianity. The Rev. Mr. Sprecker may be a righteous man,—I hope he is; and according to the weight and authority here given to '*primâ facie* evidence,' I am bound

to believe so, for he presents that evidence in his title; and we are told in holy writ, that 'the prayers of the righteous avail much.' But, if I do not much mistake the import or meaning of that biblical maxim, it is of importance to the success of even the prayers of the righteous man, that the object of his prayer should be worthy of Divine approbation. Holy writ furnishes us with many consoling evidences of the powerful and miraculous effects of prayer, when made at the throne of Divine mercy; evidences which show not only the duty and importance of prayer, but also the power, mercy, and goodness of Him, at whose throne every knee is bound to bend.

"The Almighty heard the prayer of Abraham, and healed Abimelech, his wife, and his maid-servants, of the barrenness with which he himself had cursed them, in consequence of Sarah, Abraham's wife. The Jews under Moses complained. The anger of the Almighty was kindled, and he sent consuming fire into every part of their camp. Moses prayed for them, he was heard, and the hand of Divine vengeance was stopped, and the fire quenched. The Jews were visited with fiery serpents, on account of their sins. The serpents bit many of them, and they died. The people came to Moses and confessed their sins, and asked him to pray for them that the Almighty would take away the serpents. Moses prayed for them; his prayer was heard, — and the Almighty directed him to prepare a serpent of brass, resembling in appearance the fiery serpents, and to lift it upon a pole. He did so; and, if any man thereafter was bitten by a serpent, he looked upon the provided remedy and lived.

"While Moses was in the mount, receiving the tables of the law, the people, with the assistance of Aaron, prepared a golden calf. When Moses returned, he found them engaged in idolatry; he threw down the tables. The anger of the Almighty was kindled, and burned against Aaron and the people; Moses fell down and prayed for Aaron and the people for forty days and forty nights; and such was the effect of his prayers, that, instead of the Almighty blotting out their names from under heaven, as he threatened, he hearkened unto Moses and spared them.

"Again; the Shunamite's son fell sick and died. The afflicted and pious mother laid him in the prophet Elisha's bed, in a little room which she had prepared for him; she went for the prophet. He sent his servant, who laid Elisha's rod upon the face of the child, and he awoke not. But when the prophet shut the door and prayed, and lay upon the child, he sneezed seven times, opened his eyes, and he delivered the child alive to his mother.

"In the days of the prophet Baal, there was a drought for three years and six months. The fountains were dried, and the rivers were drank up, and famine and desolation dwelt upon the land. Elijah went up to the top of Carmel, and prayed for rain. A little cloud instantly arose out of the sea, like a man's hand, and soon the heaven was black with clouds, and there was a great rain.

"Job prayed for his friends, and such was the effect, that the Almighty turned his captivity, and blessed his latter end more than his beginning.

"When Hezekiah prayed in his sickness, and turned his face to the wall and wept, the Almighty heard his prayer, and added fifteen years to his life.

"Here, Sir, we have evidence of the highest character of the omnipotent effects of prayer. But it must be remembered, that the prayers here presented were not only the prayers of righteous persons, but the objects prayed for were worthy of and met Divine approbation. It is not only necessary, that those who would be heard in prayer and answered, should not regard iniquity in their hearts, but the subjects of their benediction should be in favor with the Almighty, and their objects and pursuits in conformity with the cause of justice, right, and his Divine will. Was such the case with the Harrisburg convention? Sir, the men that they are endeavouring to place in office, and the principles they are endeavouring to establish, are at war with the spirit of our Constitution, human liberty, the duration of our free institutions, and the principles which we have undoubted reason to believe are in favor with Him who sways and controls the destinies of nations, from the fact, that he led the patriots of the Revolution to battle and to victory. He withheld 'the battle from the strong and the race from the swift.' The light of His wisdom, and the strength of His power, have since defended our institutions from the hand of violence from abroad, and the corruption of factionists at home. Then, Sir, I undertake to predict that the prayer of the Rev. Mr. Sprecker, however righteous he may be, will fall to the ground unanswered, — the objects of the convention being unfavorable to the Divine will and his favored people.

"But, Sir, there are some other difficulties that present themselves to the success of the assembled factions and the election of the nominee of the Harrisburg convention. Is it supposed, that Mr. Clay will quietly submit to the indignity offered him, and the neglect with which he has been treated? No, Sir; disappointed ambition is not so easily calmed. He has been a distinguished leader of a great party for many years. He has worn a life nearly out in its cause; and, although I

think he knew too much of the character of the American Democracy to believe, for a moment, that he ever could be President of these United States, still it was his pride to live at the head of his party, and it was his hope, it would be his glory, to die at the head of his party. Of this hope, the only reward for his long and toilsome services, his party have deprived him. Now that he is worn down, he is turned upon the commons to shift for himself, as the Romans used to turn their worn-out slaves upon an island in the Tiber. Think you, Sir, he will bear this treatment with impunity? No, Sir; prudence may at first induce him to bear the neglect and ingratitude with apparent forbearance. He may smother his wrath for a time, but, Sir, he will rave like the disappointed political lunatic; he will growl like the hungry hyena; he will bellow like the hunted buffalo; he will roar like the lanced lion; he will do more; he will disband his troops; his sentinels scattered over the Union, who have watched with fidelity on the towers, ready to do any thing at his bidding, will throw down their arms, and take their banners from the 'outer wall,' and will deny obedience to their new commander. Murmurs, seditions, and tumults will be heard throughout the camp among his troops. We have already heard some whimpering, and seen some evidence of disaffection here. I hold in my hand a paper which contains a Whig dialogue, that speaks the voice of thousands. It is short, and I will read it;

"'Good morning, Sir.'
"'Good morning to you, Sir.'
"'Have you heard from the Harrisburg Convention?'
"'No.'
"'General Harrison is nominated.'
"'You don't say so.'
"'Yes I do!'
"'Oh!!'

"Another:

"'Good morning, Sir.'
"'Good morning, Sir.'
"'Well, the Harrisburg Convention have shot their granny.'
"'No, they hav'n't, — I wish they had.'

"Yes, Sir, disappointment, confusion, and dismay, brood in the hearts, dwell upon the tongues, and perch upon the countenances of the Clay ranks, attempt to conceal it as they may.

"But to the New Jersey election. But, before I go into that investigation, permit me to say a word in relation to party and party feelings, and their effects. No government, since the civil organization of society, or the establishment of political institutions, has ever been without parties"

Which last proposition, the eloquent member, having satisfactorily disposed of General Harrison's prospect, and particularly of Mr. Sprecker's prayer, takes a new start, and goes on to illustrate.

Story-telling is a favorite and freely indulged form of illustration; and, this being so, what a consumption of time it threatens, little needs be told. The following is part of a speech, reported in the "National Intelligencer." In the copy in our hands, the orator's name happens to be defaced, and we do not care to take the trouble to turn to a file to ascertain it. It is no matter.

"The conduct of the late and present administrations in respect to Watkins, and the host of defaulters who have subsequently disgraced the country, reminds me of an occurrence in the far West. I will tell the story, but conceal the names of the parties. Pity shields them from presentation to public scorn. An old man who was perpetually extolling his own virtues, and decrying those of other people, and who was above all 'concealment,' according to his repeated avowals, was passing, on his way home, after running down the noblest buck in the forest, by a little cornfield of a neighbour, remotely situated from the dwelling-house. His son and his dogs were along, much fatigued by the recent chase. The old man discovered in the field, a single hog, — a runt, — engaged in breaking down the stalks and eating the corn. He immediately swore 'by the Eternal,' that he never could witness such a sight without feeling the strongest indignation against the guilty brute, and he instantly ordered his son to set the dogs on, declaring at the moment, that, if they tore him to pieces, it would be a good thing, inasmuch as by such means the neighbourhood might get clear of a bad breed of hogs. The boy obeyed, and the dogs reluctantly engaged in the less noble work, and, being the more furious and savage in consequence of fatigue, mangled the animal until his life was in danger. The youth, not wholly destitute of compassion even towards a hog, at length seized and threw him over the fence, and called off the dogs. The old man said it was useless to go round the fence to stop the holes, as he was certain the lesson would effectually teach the hog never to enter there again. So they went on home without repairing the fence, taking care, however, to pass by the owner of the field, to let him know how kind and neighbourly they had been in turning the hog out. Not long afterwards, the old man, his son, and the dogs, were going by the same field, and in it, instead of one, they discovered a

large gang of hogs, of all sizes, variously engaged. Some were breaking down the stalks, and cracking the corn with voracious appetites; some, apparently surfeited, were moping at the heels of those stimulated by hunger; and a goodly number had husks and fodder in their mouths; some frisking, and others deliberately marching to the panels of the fence, there to make themselves pleasant beds with the 'spoils.' As the old man saw what was going on at a distance, he said to his son, 'Now, my boy, our dogs shall have sport.' Indeed, the prospect of a general uproar, some fighting, and the commingglement of shouting, yelping, and squalling, in a neighbour's cornfield, was a scene by no means disagreeable to the old man's taste. He, therefore, mounted the fence with alacrity, intending to post himself and witness the feats of his son and the dogs, while 'sitting on a rail.' But he no sooner straddled the rider, than his aspect suddenly changed. He turned to his son, climbing up behind him, and said, 'Why, these are *my* hogs!' The boy gazed in silence a moment, and then with an arch look replied, 'As I live, 't is true! but I reckon, though, I must dog them a little.' The old man took a 'sober second thought,' and, after a minute's gaze, he said, 'Perhaps, my son, it would have been better for the owner of the corn, if we had stopped the holes the other day. We broke down a good deal of corn, and did mischief in getting out a single runt with dogs, and we shall not leave a stalk standing, if we serve all my gang in that way. I know, too, your mammy will not like it; for I have often heard her say that she could not bear to make souse out of hog's ears that had been torn by dogs. I will, therefore, take the dogs off, and leave you to tole or drive the hogs out as peaceably as you can.' The boy ventured to ask, 'What will the owner of the corn think, if he finds out, that we do not treat *our* hogs like those of other people?' The old man put his forefinger upon his lip, gave his son a significant look, and departed with the dogs in silence. But, unfortunately for his reputation, he had not more than got out of sight of the field, when he met the owner on his way to it. Their conversation was very brief, as the old man said he was in a hurry. His son was found in the field, toling and coaxing the hogs to a gap. The circumstances were so plain, that the owner of the corn ever after told the story I have related, and no one doubted its truth."

We have given specimens of the style of oratory of Mr. Duncan, and of Mr. Wise. That of Mr. Legaré, of South Carolina, the title of one of whose speeches is also placed at the head of these remarks, has entirely different characteris-

tics. His speeches invariably afford favorable specimens of the best manner to be observed in the halls of the American Congress. We have nothing now to say of his plans, opinions, and reasonings, which, in our judgment, are not always sound. But his information is always affluent; his address is always dignified and gentleman-like; ample illustrations, supplied by the observations of genius, the reading of diligent years, the experience of life, office, and society, are ready at his command. His fluency is extraordinary; but not more so than his taste is cultivated. The all-knowing ex-President excepted, he is probably the best scholar whose voice has been lately heard in either house of Congress. A few such examples, (alas, that his is withdrawn!) could not fail to have some effect in recommending a better manner. The sculptors of the West detect their deficiencies while they discover their genius, and they betake themselves to Thorwaldsen and Greenough, to learn how to work up the good material within them. The great art of speech does not come by inspiration, any more than the manipulations of the statuary. *Le borgne est roi parmi les aveugles;* but when a man gets the sight of one eye, if he is wise, he will desire that of two.

But *revenons à nos moutons.* That elegance of classical allusion, which, introduced without pretension, and capable of insinuating an argument in the most cogent form, sometimes charms so much in the works of orators like Mr. Legaré, is not sure of being favorably received by one class of our legislators, while, by another, it is occasionally ventured on without success. An accomplished member having not long ago concluded his speech with an apt line from a Latin poet, a political opponent from the banks of the Mohawk, who followed him in the debate, began his with reciting a short sentence in low Dutch, to the great entertainment and conviction at once of those of his inclining, — they being persuaded, of course, that it was as suitable for an accomplished statesman to be versed in the latter literature as in the former. On the other hand, this kind of embellishment is sometimes rashly affected, as when, kindled by the sentimental excitement of eulogy, an honorable member from Georgia is represented, in the report of his recent speech, to have extolled the late Mr. Crawford as follows;

"This is a name, Sir, which I delight to honor. I revere the memory of that transcendently great man, — great in mind and in integrity. '*Magnum vir et venerabile nomen.*' I thank the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Thompson) for the deserved tribute which he was pleased to bestow upon Mr. Crawford. It is even true, as he said, that, take him for all in all, he has had no superior since Washington died."

Bad Latin, of course, even if it be not quite like this specimen, is much worse than none; and good Latin may very well be spared, though the culture which acquaintance with good Latin gives, is a thing well worth having, for those who undertake to move the mind. But to ask for good, wholesome English, is no unfair demand; and it is a thing not always to be had for the asking, in those upper regions of sway. Different members have their individual sins in this respect, and we shall not undertake to compile a list of *errata* for their harangues. On the other hand, some vicious phrases are epidemic at Washington. We do not know, for instance, that such a barbarism as "*on* yesterday" has any other than Congressional currency. The vile Scotticism of *will* for *shall*, scattered over the debates, as, "I hope I *will* not be considered out of order," must often puzzle a foreign reader, like the unwittingly suicidal Frenchman's, "I *will* drown, and nobody *shall* help me;" it does not, however, belong particularly to the Congressional, but to the Southern and Western idiom.

Egotism in debate is another fault which we might take occasion to animadvert upon. Examples of it occur in the extracts given above. Some of our principal statesmen are faulty in this respect. Canning set them a fascinating and mischievous example when he said, "I called an empire into existence in America." "I am doing," "I did," "I shall do," or "I might, could, would, or should do," through all the tenses, simple and compound, of the potential mood, make a very sorry figure in Mr. Calhoun's speeches. Nor in this matter, we grieve to say, is Mr. Webster altogether without reproach, though his taste, like his genius, is generally excellent. "*Solitary* and *alone*, I set this ball in motion," said Mr. Benton, so full of the triumphant sentiment, that nothing short of a pleonasm would content his self-complacency. The most solemn form of egotism, however, is, when the orator spends the House's time and the peo-

ple's money in doing what he circumspectly calls *defining his position*. This defining of one's position, we take to be originally a Virginian fancy. We read of it often in the "Richmond Enquirer," as the amount of one or another member's unanswerable speech of a day or two in the legislature of that ancient commonwealth. There is another way in which the speakers contrive to treat one another to "large discourse, looking before and after," on their own affairs; — it is by complaining that they have been misrepresented and injured by some audacious minion, — paragraphist, or reporter, — of the "Intelligencer," "Madisonian," or "Globe" newspaper; — and this move, for as modest as it seems (since speech on such occasions is only by permission), is really one of the most effective that can be made, so difficult is it for the House to refuse a request for an opportunity of self-vindication, or to shut the mouth which once has got liberty of opening itself for that purpose.

But we pass to a vice, from which not only the credit, but in all respects the interests, of the country, suffer far more seriously, than from all those yet mentioned put together. There is often, it must be said, shocking ill-temper and ill-manners in the Congressional debates. Generally the highest men keep themselves within bounds in this respect; though certainly such a scene as the following was far from agreeable to the by-standers.

"At the conclusion of his remarks, in which he made some severe and pointed allusions to the recent speech and course of Mr. Calhoun, the latter arose, and, addressing the Chair, said, that whether from a personal or other motive, he knew not, but the Senator from Kentucky had misrepresented his speech of the other day, from beginning to end.

"Mr. Clay intimated that he had been speaking to the Senate, and not to Mr. Calhoun. Whereon the latter said, that at his leisure he would reply to the Senator in the way he thought him deserving, and when said Senator might take such remarks either personally or otherwise, just as he might think best."

So go matters, or so they are liable to go, in that august body, the Senate of the United States. Shift the scene to the Lower House, on the 21st day of February, 1839, and we have the following edifying proceedings.

"Mr. Menifee, of Kentucky, said that Mr. Duncan was a cowardly braggadocio, who wished to have the reputation of being what is called 'a man of honor,' and responsible in the meaning of the 'code of the duellist'; and on this point he spoke with the most perfect directness. He emphatically declared, that, throughout the whole progress of this business, from first to last, that member had not taken a step, which did not show his entire destitution of the principles that govern men of honor and courage, and that are recognised by the code to which he had avowed himself amenable for his conduct. Among the proofs he dwelt upon was the fact, that the publication was not made, until the law giving him license had been passed.

"Mr. Duncan here called out, that the matter was ready two weeks before.

"*Mr. Menifee.* 'Ready two weeks before,' but never saw the light until the anti-duelling bill was passed. The member, said he, stands estopped, disfranchised, self-immolated, with respect to any claim from being numbered among men of honor. He had given a signal example of seeking redress, by coolly and deliberately sitting down to concoct, by way of answer, a tissue of abuse which might be more violent than any thing that had been urged against him.

"Mr. Duncan rose and interrupted Mr. Menifee, for which he was instantly called to order by the Speaker and by several members.

"Mr. Menifee cried out, 'Let him go on,' and sat down.

"Mr. Duncan expressed his disregard for what had fallen from such a puppy!

"He was instantly called to order, and Mr. Menifee proceeded. He said there was a time when such language, coming from the member from Ohio, would have produced a sensation in his bosom; but now, any thing that man could utter, must fall stingless, pointless, harmless, ever since he allowed the insult, which he acknowledged he had received, to pass unredressed; his name, if it ever was on the scroll of honor, was for ever expunged from it.

"The discussion was continued by Messrs. Prentiss, Glascock, Thompson, and Gray."

Sometimes there is a mingling of "lively" with "severe," as in the following passage;

"Mr. Halstead was answered by Mr. Bynum, of North Carolina, who is reported to have been very rude, personal, and viperous in his attack upon Mr. Halstead. We have

heard that he intimated the threat of punishment, or personal violence might be resorted to, to curb the opponents of those in power, &c. &c. This attack, we learn, was entirely gratuitous and uncalled for, and made without the shadow of an excuse. But, if Mr. Bynum violated all propriety, what must we say of his compeer and coadjutor, Mr. Boon, who followed this matter up the next day? There is only a brief notice of Mr. Boon's speech taken by the reporters, but this notice sufficiently shows us its character.

"Mr. Boon commented with very great severity on Mr. Halstead's speech of yesterday, and avowed his intention 'to skin' that gentleman. He said his speech evinced the advantage of being high-born and college-bred; characterized its strain of language as low and vulgar, and every way unworthy of a representative; referred to Mr. Halstead's consumption of pens and paper as being ten times greater than his own; he remarked upon his dress as being that of a dandy, &c.; and concluded by comparing the whole speech to butter churned without a cover, which splashed on all around," &c.

We have not selected these accounts as the worst which are to be had, but have taken such as happened to be conveniently at hand. Worse than these, if possible, we suppose, might have been found, because, according to our recollection, these wordy conflicts did not lead, as some others have done, to personal violence. The sad truth is, that what a number of people are ready to praise, that some public men are always too ready to do; and that Congressional orators should so often be foul-mouthed becomes less surprising, when one observes, that, by many of the ten thousand tongues of the newspaper press, they are sure of being applauded for it to the echo. To read some of these criticisms, it might be supposed that the last grace of eloquence was to be deemed wanting, unless the speaker had succeeded in making himself exceedingly offensive. Here is a sample of these precious panegyrics. "Withering sarcasm," with its synonyms, it will be remarked, figures in them as the crowning charm.

"The most withering speech was that made by Mr. Menifee, of Kentucky, who seems in that line to be one of the first men in the House. In sarcasm, wit, brilliancy, scorn, and burning eloquence, he soars far beyond any other member of the present House. He almost approaches the sublimity, beau-

ty, and bitterness of John Randolph, without being exactly of his school."

* * * * *

"In the House to-day, Mr. Brown, from Tennessee, gave the Federal apologists for the New Jersey fraud a thorough settling."

* * * * *

"We publish, to-day, the powerful remarks of Mr. Wise upon the Seminole war. His indignation, like the fire from the cloud, blasts wherever it falls."

* * * * *

"The excoriation, that Mr. Graves administered the other day to Mr. Pickens, of South Carolina, was dreadful. Several of the Whig members were desirous of trying their hands on Pickens, but, after the speech of Mr. Graves, nothing remained for them to do. The Kentuckian left no *pickins* for anybody that might come after him."

* * * * *

"Mr. Proffit illustrated this fact by reference to the speech of Duncan, which has been published in the 'Globe,' and recommended to the public, in an article which contains a gross libel on the character of the Western people. Mr. Proffit lashed Duncan with severity, and then passed on to Mr. Hopkins, to whom he also administered a deserved flagellation for his course. It was the best speech I ever heard from him, and greatly interested and entertained the House and a crowded audience."

* * * * *

"We have a rich treat for our readers. We allude to the speech of Mr. Stanly, of North Carolina, in reply to Mr. Duncan, one half of which we publish to-day, reserving the rest for Monday. We do not remember ever to have witnessed a more skilful or amusing operation, than that performed by the North Carolinian upon the Cincinnati vaporer. He has pricked the bag of wind, and the poor bag is in a collapsed condition.

"Henceforth the whole world will know, (what many knew a long time ago,) that there is no more danger in pulling Dr. Duncan's nose, than in shaking a pump-handle. The annexed comments of the Cincinnati Whig, upon Mr. Stanly's speech, are altogether in point;

"'Such withering sarcasm, such torturing ridicule, such triumphant argument, and such annihilating denunciation, has scarcely been paralleled in the history of Congressional debates. The poor Doctor is literally flayed alive. Had he

been on the rack of a thousand Inquisitions, his torture could not have been more severe.'"

* * * * *

"The tremendous singeing which Peyton gave Glascock and the party yesterday, has been the grand topic of conversation to-day. That Peyton is an eloquent, able, fearless debater, I can promise you. He sits by the side of Wise. They are Cassius-like fellows both. They, and Bell, and the other White men in the House, will torment the party not a little this session, you may depend. They have the talents and the ability to do it."

* * * * *

"Mr. Peyton continued for some minutes, with great ability, to cut deep and serve up the party, to its great consternation and uneasiness.

"Mr. Glascock, who seems to be like an old lady I have heard of, 'all talk and no cider,' now stepped forward to vindicate the party and the 'venerable President.' He said he had no respect for any one who could utter such sentiments as the gentleman from Tennessee. He went on for some minutes, praising up the party and the 'venerable President,' etc. etc., and then sat down.

"Mr. Peyton now rose, and in a strain of indignant rebuke, keen, cutting, withering eloquence, which has been surpassed upon that floor by no man this session, at least, hurled back in his teeth the insolent declaration of Glascock."

Here, again, is the sort of exhibition to which our Conscript Fathers are provoked by their admirers. The subject of the following well-meant, but rather equivocal eulogy, in one of the most distinguished gazettes of the country, is the same Mr. Wise. After a description of some of his personal attributes and habits, the delighted writer goes on;

"It has been well remarked by another describer of the gentleman, 'that it is fortunate that he is so abstemious, for, were it otherwise, he would be exceedingly dangerous.' As a debater, he is quick and full of energy, — fire is not more scorching than he is. Woe to the man who falls under his displeasure. He is ferocious in his anger; but no one sees it in his manner, save a nice observer. All other emotions are expressed in his gestures and his looks; but his personal rage has no interpreter, save in the firm set mouth, the unflinching and withering eye, and the compact and sullen rigidity of every muscle. His voice is then low, his tone deliberate, and

he is as composed as if he was asking his servant for a drink of water."

Mr. McDuffie, of South Carolina, was the prime favorite of this class of writers, till his retirement from Congress withdrew him somewhat from their admiration. They have no want of opportunity, however, still to "air their vocabulary." The following compliments, which might be multiplied indefinitely, — though they do not relate to speakers on the floor of Congress, show what, in high newspaper quarters, is the *beau idéal* of a politician's genius. They are all from journals of the widest circulation. The first we take up declares, that "Mr. Southard made one of the most able and eloquent political harangues that ever was listened to, and Ogden Hoffman spoke like a young Demosthenes." But commendation like this is too undiscriminating and tame. The others are in the accepted vein.

"Mr. Preston spoke for nearly two hours, with an eloquence and an effect that made the lapse of time unheeded. He described the process by which this young and late vigorous republic had been reduced to a state of premature decrepitude, and, after laying bare the nefarious practices and motives of the Administration, he applied the lash to the villany he had so eloquently exposed, with honest and manly indignation. I will not do this finished orator the injustice of attempting a sketch of his speech. It was alike distinguished for rich imagery, powerful argument, and withering sarcasm. The picture he drew of the pensioned press of the Executive was so faithful, as to make one almost shudder with abhorrence."

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"Mr. Tallmadge's speech is pronounced one of great eloquence and power. He entered upon the various subjects which he discussed, *con amore*, and afforded a rich treat to his hearers. Sometimes he played with the lighter weapons of humor, — sometimes showers of arrows flew from his satirical quiver, — and sometimes he excoriated the Administration with a scorching invective, — and sometimes, again, he grasped and wielded with great power the thunder-bolts of deserved and indignant denunciation. It was a glorious meeting."

* * * * *

"Mr. Prentice holds one of the most racy pens in America, and wonderfully versatile in its powers. His wit is like the *jet d'eau*, — his taste as exquisite as the tints of the rainbow, — his strength like the Ohio rolling down the Louisville rapids.

At will, his irony gashes like a cleaver, or pierces like a lancet. He can dash in the skull of an opponent with a gnarled maul, or draw his heart's blood with as polished a rapier as ever gleamed. His political jokes snap upon their prey like a steel trap, and, occasionally, their coarse teeth tear rather than cut the flesh ; while his argumentative essays are like the unsheathed broadsword."

* * * * *

"Colonel Chambers's speech was full of important matter, and enlivened by frequent sallies of real humor. He gave a narrative of the battle of the Thames, which he should be induced to write out for publication. Handling Colonel Johnson as one for whom recent circumstances had given him a feeling allied to contempt, yet as one of whom, on account of his past services, he would wish to speak nothing harsh, he took hold of the great 'petticoat hero,' Senator Allen, and held him up before the searching fire of his sarcasm and rebuke, turning him first this way and then that, basting him now here and now there, as the blisters were seen to rise upon his epidermis, very much as a log-cabin housewife manages a roasting goose, till nearly every one present must have had a feeling of pity for the Ajax of Locofocracy in Ohio."

Such praise, no doubt, — so flattering is the assurance of power and victory, — offers, even to sober men, some temptation to adopt a tone of discussion unbecoming their sense and character. But there are other causes to create and aggravate the evil. In our opinion, one of these is the predominance, in the national councils, of members of the legal profession ; not that the habits of that profession lead directly to ferocity, or to so much as want of courtesy, in debate, but that they tend to place its members, in some respects, in a false position in legislative halls, leading them there to approach each other in an attitude, from which unnecessary mutual provocations are likely to arise. It is a lawyer's business to take his side, and make his preparation to maintain it, out of court ; and when he comes to plead, victory ought to be his object. The true idea of speech-making in a deliberative assembly, on the other hand, is *deliberation*, *consultation*, the *consideration* of a subject by thoughtful and fair minds in order to a comparison of all opinions, a proper modification and conciliation of each, and selection of the best. The robed gentlemen take the proper point of departure, when from the moment of the making up of an issue, Counsellor A, begins to urge the *pro*, and Counsellor B, to

insist upon the *contra*. But legislators do not take the proper point of departure, when, with the first proposal of a measure, they begin to wrangle, — to refuse advice, persuasion, influence, — to repel and exasperate one another. It belongs to the legislator, we repeat it, to go through the wary scrutiny of the judge in choosing his position, before he allows himself to maintain it with a pledged champion's feelings. He should not trust himself to the impulses of the advocate, till first, by attention to the merits of both sides, he has advised himself what, under the present aspects of the case, deserves his support; a rule which, possibly, professional advocates may find some peculiar difficulty in observing.

We do not forget that the relations of party are such, that the main bearings of some proposed measure are not on ostensible, but on ulterior objects; that these bearings may be perceived at once; and that then fidelity to the principles of that party, which has been deliberately embraced, admits no alternative but that of resolute support or opposition. But this is by no means the case with all questions which arise; nor, as to many others, does it justify that uncompromising spirit of urgency or resistance, to the minutest point of altercation, which the habit of the courts too much encourages. Persuaded, that in the legislative assemblies there would be an improvement in respect to wise counsels, as well as to personal dignity and mutual decorum, if there were less of the forensic antagonism, and more of a readiness to consider, to consult, to adjust, to lead the people to accommodate rather than conquer each other, we cannot be put off from this view by any such assertion as that it is not the view of practical men. On the contrary, we aver, that, on those great public emergencies which make statesmen pause from their passions, and think for country and posterity, discussion, not dispute, reasonable recommendation and inquiry, not violence, become the order of the day, and victory is no longer the first aim, but right, truth, the public safety and honor. So it was in the Congress, that talked over the matter, and concluded that these thirteen Colonies were, "and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States." So it was in the legislature of Virginia, when Patrick Henry was telling them, "We must fight." So it was in the late Convention of Massachusetts for revising the Constitution, when

a measure of the first moment, rejected by an overwhelming majority, was, after an exposition of its merits as mild as it was masterly, adopted three days after by a majority almost as large.*

One further remark on this last point, of ill-nature in debate, and we dismiss the subject for the present. It was the one mistake of Washington's public life, that he carried the seat of government into the woods. Legislators are not so situated as to counsel best for the public good, when their isolated position at once affords unrestrained facility for mutual bargains and cabals, and excludes that opportunity of immediate resort to ample sources of information on the various matters of public concern, which is only to be found in the great collected masses of population. But it is not to our present purpose to dilate on these, or other like sinister influences on the national legislation, which may first occur to the reflecting mind, as incident to the seat of government being fixed in that great, out-of-the-way, uncomfortable, country town, — half palace, half sty, — the Federal City. What we have at present to do with, is, the effect upon the manners and temper of our legislators, likely to be produced by the unnatural social position into which they are thrown while exercising their office. To one of the most expensive and, at the same time, most comfortless places on the face of the earth, destitute of the usual attractions of city life to compensate for the absence from home, and of the best means of education for children, — to such a place it cannot be expected that the member of Congress will generally be accompanied by his family. Accordingly, he lives there, — such is the general course of things, — like a college undergraduate, or a soldier in his barracks. Other people, when fretted by the vexations of the out-of-door world, go home at the close of the day to the smiles of a wife, the caresses of children, the society of friends whose different subjects of interest suspend their own, — at any rate, to some different scene, which turns aside the current of their uneasy thoughts ; and by the morrow they are tranquil and good-natured again. Not so the envied servant of his country in her sovereign halls of council. From the goadings of his seat in the House, he retires to the noisy loneliness of the public ordinary, or the monotonous sociability of the mess-table, and

* See *Journal of Debates and Proceedings*, &c., pp. 126, 148.

thence to his solitary chamber, — there, among his cold hillocks of constituents' letters and folded documents, to brood over the annoyances of the day, and get lashed, in dismal vigils, into a bitterer mood for to-morrow's onset. Or, if he goes abroad into society, the society of Washington, composed, to the degree that it is, of foreign and domestic *diplomates*, — of office-holders, office-seekers, and office-givers of every degree, — of many who are conscious, as much as himself, to his vexation and its cause, and who, by one or another kind of suggestion, are likely to irritate his discontent, — may be expected to dismiss him to his couch with a very different kind of preparation for repose, from that of "temperate *vapors* bland." And, in short, if he is wise man enough to swallow his bile before he gets another opportunity to vent it on the floor of Congress, he deserves all the more credit for his wisdom, so little is he aided in such self-conquest by any restorative influence of surrounding circumstances.

We know very well, that such revolutions do not go backward, and that the thing is past wishing for; otherwise we could not but devoutly wish that the Congress of the United States were brought together, year by year, in some place more under the influences of American civilization, than Washington, with the small number of its permanent population (however refined the character of this), can ever be. In the centres of civilization, different classes of men feel their responsibility to one another, and a mutually adjusted public opinion restricts the movements and habits of all. It is very bad for any class of men, — all the worse, if it be a distinguished and powerful class, — to become a "law unto themselves"; and a city of government *employés* is as much, or more, an infelicitous anomaly, as would be one of artists or of schoolmasters. Those *conventionalisms* of society, which often may be settled one way or another about equally well, but on the observance of which, — as settled for the time and place, — so much of decorum, and of mutual respect and good understanding depends, are well established and understood in the great communities of men; and every one, who for a time becomes connected with one of those communities, perceives what in that respect he is to consider as his rule. Where, on the other hand, a society is not permanent, but constituted anew from year to year, and that, too, from diverse and discordant elements, — where the starred

and mustachioed representative of some foreign royalty, the plump, saturnine Wall-Street burgher, the nimble-witted and disputatious Yankee attorney, and the back-woods forester, on his first emergence into the glittering world, all muscle, heartiness, and slang, — are brought to play the amiable together in court saloons, it cannot be supposed that any *common law* of manners will be defined for them, further than in its most general principles ; nor can it be matter of much surprise, if, from the painful awkwardness arising from this unacquaintance with each other's habits and tastes, and sense of the *quod honestum decorumque sit*, and from the want of a common standard of the place to conform to, relief should be sought in falling back in some degree into a state of nature, in respect to the forms of intercourse. It may be too reasonably feared, that, in respect to matters of grace and ceremony, a certain degree of *abandon* will come to be indulged ; and certain it is, in fact, that, as one but looks from the galleries of the high places of council, one is amazed to see and hear the postures, the tones, — the manners, in short, — of the same men, whom he may have just now met brilliant ornaments of the select society of the Atlantic cities. Forty miles off, all this would be different ; and, had they been thrown into the polished and intellectual society of Baltimore, or Richmond, or Philadelphia, the insensible, but powerful, influence of those circles, of which they would then have formed but a part, might indirectly have proved as much more beneficial to the country than what they now experience, as it would have directly been more satisfactory and agreeable to themselves. The courtesies of private intercourse, better enforced and appreciated in that different situation, would have tended to keep up a self-respect hostile to any thing like savageness in the conflicts of public life. The concourse of families, which the attractions of such a society would invite, would surround the civil fathers with the natural guardians of their amiable feelings ; it would be scarcely possible, that the whole of the ill blood brought out of a hot debate, should be carried to the encounter of the next day, when there had been an evening of the soothing enjoyment of friendly and elegant social intercourse between. Many a man, immensely intent on nursing his rage, would find, by the morning, that it had been "oozing off" in spite of him, like Bob Acres's courage.

Of course, we do not expect, that the Federal legislation,

in our day, will be conducted in any more suitable place than Washington. But we cannot think it fanciful to estimate highly the influence of humanizing social influences on the minds of those to whom is trusted the vast responsibility of that administration. At any rate, whatever causes may have more or less agency in producing the angry and provoking style of debate, so deplorably common in the national legislature, it is impossible that any considerate patriot should regard the existence of that practice without concern. It is not merely, that discourtesy, coarseness, violence in our high places affects the national character, but that, — unless one will choose to say, that men furiously incensed against each other are as capable of sober, cool, and wise joint action, are as likely to conspire for the common good, as if they were in a placid humor, — it cannot fail materially to affect the course of legislation. In the session of Congress which has begun before these pages will see the light, recent causes of exasperation will have lost something of their force. We cannot but hope to see it conducting the business of the country in a manner more suitable to the dignity of the agents than heretofore, and proportionably, as we view the matter, more auspicious to the public welfare.

Art. VII. — 1. *Second Annual Report of the Board of Education, together with the Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 79.

2. *Third Annual Report of the Board of Education, together with the Third Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 102.

3. *Abstract of the Massachusetts School Returns for* 1838–9. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 341.

4. *Abstract of the Massachusetts School Returns for* 1839-40. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 482.

5. *Lecture on Education.* By Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 12mo. pp. 62.

The recent movements in Massachusetts in regard to education are of such importance, and of so general interest,

not only to the inhabitants of that State, but to all who are making or meditating similar movements elsewhere, that, though we have recently gone somewhat fully into the subject,* we shall venture again to invite to it the attention of our readers.

The Board of Education of Massachusetts was created by an act of the State legislature, passed April 20th, 1837. That measure had its origin, undoubtedly, in the conviction that the common schools, so far from keeping pace with the advance of general intelligence, were in a low state, and yearly growing worse, rather than better.

The common schools of Massachusetts had deservedly been the pride and boast of its citizens. The first acts of the Pilgrims recognised the paramount importance of education. By the act of 1647, every town of fifty families was bound to maintain a school in which the children should be taught to read and write; and every town of one hundred families was obliged to maintain a grammar school, the master whereof should be able to qualify youth for the University.

The spirit of these laws is purely republican. They protect the children and apprentices in their right to be instructed, against the indifference or cupidity of masters and parents, but leave it to the majority of the inhabitants of each town to provide the means in their own way. Further, what was quite as essential to the accomplishment of the design of the law, they provide a standard below which the qualifications of a teacher in the grammar schools shall not fall; he shall "be able to instruct youth so far as they shall be fitted for the University"; thus bringing within the reach of all the children of every town of one hundred families, the means of preparing themselves for the highest course of instruction then or now existing in the country. Had this law continued in operation, youth from nearly every town in the Commonwealth would now be enjoying this privilege.

The whole policy of the Puritan colonists in this matter fills us with admiration. In their simplicity they conceived, and in their poverty executed, a scheme, which had proved too high for the intellect, and too vast for the power, of every previous potentate or people; the hitherto unimagined idea of

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLVII. pp. 273 *et seq.*

universal education. Fugitives from the persecution of the old world, and hemmed in between the waves of a stormy sea and the savages of a boundless wilderness, so little were they subdued by the hardness of their lot, that they regarded ignorance and vice as the only evils, and religious instruction and intellectual discipline as the effectual remedies. Where shall their descendants look for a higher example ?

The act of 1789, up to which time these laws continued in operation, was a wide departure from the principle of the original law ; it substitutes six months for the constant instruction provided for towns of fifty families, and requires a grammar teacher of determinate qualifications for towns of two hundred families, instead of the similar requisition from all towns of half that number of inhabitants. Still, however, far as it falls short of that noble democratic idea of the Pilgrims, of providing the best instruction possible for all, it would, if in force at the present day, render instruction of the highest kind accessible to the children of more than two thirds of the towns of the Commonwealth.

By an act of February, 1824, — facetiously called, in the Index to the Massachusetts Laws, "an act *providing for* the public schools," — the law of 1789 was repealed ; and for all towns of less than five thousand inhabitants, instead of a master of "good morals, well instructed in the Latin, Greek, and English languages," a teacher or teachers must be provided, "well qualified to instruct youth in orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, and geography, and good behaviour."

This act was the severest blow the common-school system ever received ; not only because it shut from the poor children of all but a few towns the path which had always lain open to the highest order of education, but because it took away a fixed standard for the qualifications of teachers, and substituted no other in its stead. The common schools had hitherto been as nursing mothers to the gifted children of the indigent, who were often raised through them to better opportunities, and thence to the highest stations in society. This high duty they utterly abandoned. The poor boy of talent, who, under the former system, would have received the elements of the best education, gratuitously, but of right, in his native town, was thenceforward obliged to find or beg his way to a private school or academy, or to remain for ever without a learned

education. The candidate for the office of teacher, being released from the necessity of an acquaintance with the learned languages, which in most cases implied a certain degree of cultivation and refinement, and amenable to no rule measuring the amount of the mere elements, which only were required, was too often found to be lamentably deficient even in them.

The effects of lowering the standard of instruction in the public schools became, to attentive observers, every year more apparent. For a time the better qualified teachers continued in the service ; but they were gradually supplanted, in many places, by persons who from their inferior qualifications were willing to do the work for a lower compensation.

In 1830, the American Institute of Instruction was formed, and had its first annual meeting in Boston. At this were present teachers and other persons interested in the cause of popular education, to the number of several hundreds, from every part of New England, and from several of the Middle, Southern, and Western States. The Institute has continued to hold its meetings, usually for the space of five days, annually, up to the present time. Those who have attended the meetings, and become acquainted with the members, have become, of course, more or less familiar with the condition of the schools in various parts of the country, and particularly in Massachusetts, within which State, until the last year, the meetings have always been held.

In January, 1836, after frequent deliberation upon the subject, the Directors of the Institute addressed a memorial to the legislature, praying for the appointment of a Superintendant of Common Schools. The memorial was favorably received, and a most respectable committee reported in favor of its object ; but no action immediately followed. In January, 1837, a memorial was presented by the same body, praying that provision might be made for the better training of the teachers of the schools in the Commonwealth, and briefly stating their views as to the necessity of such provision. The act of the next April created the Board of Education, and designated its duties.

The common schools were probably, at this time, at their lowest point of degradation. From what we can learn, they had, in most parts of the Commonwealth, been gradually declining, until, by this act, the Legislature showed its disposition to interpose, and arrest their downward progress.

It will not be without advantage to trace some of the several steps that have been taken by the legislature, and to inquire what has been done by their organ, the Board of Education, with a view to satisfy ourselves as to what benefits have followed, or are likely to follow, to the Common Schools.

The Board of Education, at its first meeting, held June 29th, 1837, appointed as their Secretary, Mr. Horace Mann, at that time President of the Senate of Massachusetts. Mr. Mann had been known to the individuals of the Board as a member of one or the other branch of the General Court for the ten previous years, and especially as the principal mover and agent in the erection of the State Lunatic Hospital, — a work of a kind second to no other in benevolence, and employing and requiring powers as much nobler than those of mere intellect, as these are superior to the physical powers, which are the objects of mere savage admiration.

He had, moreover, been recently engaged in the revision of the Laws of the Commonwealth, and had been charged, together with another, with the supervision of the Revised Code; and was therefore as familiar, probably, as any other individual, with the laws, institutions, and interests of the State. Immediately on his appointment, he gave up a lucrative practice in his profession, and, abandoning all other pursuits, devoted all his energies, time, and thoughts, to the work he had entered upon.

The duty of preparing an Abstract of the School Returns was assigned to the Secretary, and the volumes containing the Returns for the last three years have, with no small labor, been prepared by him.

On the 1st of February, 1838, the Board made their first Annual Report, accompanied by the first Annual Report of the Secretary. At the suggestion of the Board, and in answer to an Address to the People of the Commonwealth, adopted by them at their first meeting, conventions of the friends of education had been held, between August and November, in every county in the State except Suffolk. All these conventions the Secretary met and addressed. They were attended by persons of the highest character for intelligence and moral worth, from nearly every town in their respective counties.

Mr. Mann's address on these occasions has recently been published, under the title of a "Lecture on Education."

We have no doubt that most of those who have read it or who heard it, must have regarded it as one of the best upon the subject that was ever given. It is simple, direct, and intelligible, and by its overflowing abundance of apt illustrations, admirably well suited to the miscellaneous audiences to whom it was addressed.

Preparation had been made for the effective action of the convention, by a series of questions drawn up by the Secretary, and widely circulated throughout the Commonwealth, relating to the constitution and action of the school committees, the qualifications and mode of employment of teachers, the interest exhibited by parents, the uniformity and mode of providing school books, the use of apparatus, the character of the school houses, and the length of time the schools were kept. The subjects suggested by these questions, and others affecting the schools, were discussed, and the statements thus publicly made are regarded by the Secretary as to be entirely relied upon. Written answers were also received from the school committees of nearly half the towns in the State; and thus was begun the process of collecting and disseminating information upon the condition of the schools.

The four subjects which principally occupy the Secretary's First Report, are 1. The situation, construction, condition, and number of school houses; 2. The manner in which the school committees discharge their duties; 3. The interest felt by the community in the education of *all* its children; 4. The competency of teachers.

With the exception of the first, Mr. Mann goes fully into an examination of each of these topics. He begins by showing, with great force and earnestness, the extreme importance of the duties of the school committee-men, in the selection and examination of teachers; in the selection and enforcing a uniformity of school books; the regulation and discipline and regular visitation of the schools; and the duty of requiring regular attendance. In regard to two of these points, we quote a few of his statements and remarks.

"A portion of the children, dependent wholly upon the common schools, absent themselves from the winter school either permanently or occasionally, equal to a permanent absence of about one third of their whole number; and a portion absent themselves from the summer schools, either permanently or oc-

casionally, equal to a permanent absence of considerably more than two fifths of their whole number." — pp. 37, 38.

"This State employs, annually, in the common schools, more than three thousand teachers, at an expense of more than *four hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars*, raised by direct taxation. But they have not one-thousandth part of the supervision which watches the same number of persons, having the care of cattle, or spindles, or of the retail of shop goods. Who would retain his reputation, not for prudence, but for sanity, if he employed men on his farm, or in his factory, or clerks in his counting-room, month after month, without oversight and even without inquiry? In regard to what other service are we so indifferent, where the remuneration swells to such an aggregate?

"Being deeply impressed with these views, I inserted in the circular an interrogatory upon this subject; and, wherever I have been, I have made constant inquiries whether this duty of visitation were performed, agreeably to law. I have heard from nearly all the towns in the state. The result is, that not in more than fifty or sixty towns, out of the three hundred and five, has there been any pretence of a compliance with the law; and in regard to some of these towns, after a reference to the requisitions of the statute, the allegation of a compliance has been withdrawn, as having been made in ignorance of the extent of its provisions." — pp. 40, 41.

Such was the state of the schools, in these particulars, as far as could be learnt by the Secretary, in 1837.

This melancholy condition of things is justly referred, not to any particular faithlessness on the part of the committees, but to the indifference of the community, and to the manifestly unjust expectation, that men should perform a severe and unwelcome duty entirely without remuneration. As a remedy, he suggests to the Board the expediency of recommending to the General Court the providing some compensation to school-committees for duties so laborious, and yet so necessary.

The next topic discussed in this Report is the apathy of the people themselves towards the common schools. It is shown that this apathy is exhibited by two widely diverse portions of the community, those who from ignorance, or culpable remissness, fail in their duties towards their own children, and those, who, feeling the paternal interest in its natural strength, but seeing the low condition of the public schools, will not, or dare not, run the risk of the contamination or neglect

their children might suffer there, and provide for them what they consider better and safer places of instruction in private schools or academies. With searching and cogent argument the Secretary points out the mighty importance to all classes in the community, to the rich as well as to the poor, to the refined and intelligent as well as to the ignorant and debased, of sustaining and elevating the common schools. He appeals to the spirit of patriotism and the humane sympathies of the most intelligent, to rescue from degradation institutions which must be the only moral safety of the great majority of the people.

Addressing those who object to sending their children to the public schools, from fear of the profanity and vulgar and mischievous habits that may prevail there, he says ;

" Would such objectors bestow that guardian care, that parental watchfulness, upon the common schools, which an institution so wide and deep-reaching in its influences, demands of all intelligent men, might not these repellent causes be mainly abolished ? Reforms ought to be originated and carried forward by the intelligent portion of society ; by those who can see most links in the chain of causes and effects ; and that intelligence is false to its high trusts, which stands aloof from the labor of enlightening the ignorant and ameliorating the condition of the unfortunate. And what a vision must rise before the minds of all men, endued with the least glimmer of foresight, in the reflection, that, after a few swift years, those children, whose welfare they now discard, and whose associations they deprecate, will constitute more than *five sixths* of the whole body of that community, of which their own children will be only a feeble minority, vulnerable at every point, and utterly incapable of finding a hiding-place for any earthly treasure, where the witness, the juror, and the voter cannot reach and annihilate it ! " — pp. 54, 55.

He shows how much better it would be, for all, that all should be educated together, up to the point for which it is advisable that public provision for education should be made ; and that, beyond that, there would still be ample field for the exercise of private munificence, in providing higher seminaries, — academies and universities, — for those whose paths should lie through their halls.

Another subject discussed in this Report, is the competency of teachers ; and in handling it the Secretary gives, in a few words, an intimation of what the art of teaching is, and

what the teachers should be; states facts, showing the deplorable want of well-qualified teachers, especially in reference to moral instruction; and refers to the miserably meagre compensation they receive. While on this topic, he adverts to the importance of having children instructed in their social and civil duties, and to the alarming fact, that intellectual instruction is now the only part of the work of education that is attempted in most of the schools. Some suggestions in reference to school apparatus, county associations for the improvement of the schools, town associations, improvement in the school registers, and a change in the time of choosing the committees, close the Report.

The brief First Report of the Board itself to the Legislature treats, among other subjects, of school houses, recommending greater attention to their construction; of committees; of the education of teachers; of district school libraries, in regard to which no specific course is recommended; of a journal for the promotion of education in the common schools; and of the evils of the multiplicity of school books.

In March following, appeared the Secretary's valuable Report on school houses. By personal observation, or by correspondence, he had ascertained the size, construction, and condition, more or less exactly, of eighteen hundred school houses, in every part of the Commonwealth. He was therefore, in this respect, somewhat fully prepared for his work. He moreover availed himself of the abundant materials on the subject contained in the volumes of Lectures of the American Institute. On the subjects of ventilation and warming, size, desks, seats, and other furniture, site of school houses, light, windows, yards or play-grounds, and the duty of teachers in relation to school houses, he goes minutely into most of the circumstances, essential to a pleasant, healthful, convenient, and economical house, detailing, in a popular manner, those philosophical and chemical principles that are important to be known, and enforcing his own opinions by letters from some of the most eminent and experienced men in the country.

In the structure of school houses, too much attention cannot be given to ventilation, a matter in its principles simple enough, yet almost universally misunderstood, and practically neglected. The important points in the construction of a ventilator are, that it should, when it is possible, be a warm

tube, and that it should open near the floor of the apartment to be ventilated. When always warm, which it is when it runs up by the side of a smoke-flue in operation, it constantly acts, from the mechanical tendency of a column of heated air to rise ; whereas, if cold, it acts only when air is, by some other means, forced into the room to be ventilated, as is the case when the room is warmed by air introduced from abroad. In every other case, a cold ventilator is not to be relied on. The second essential point is, that its opening should be near the floor of the apartment ; for it then carries off the stratum of air in contact with the floor, which is always the coldest and usually the foulest in the room. An attention to these principles would add much to the comfort and healthfulness, not only of school rooms, but of lecture rooms, churches, and halls of legislation, all of which are usually ill ventilated.

Most of the rooms used for schools were originally constructed with an open fire-place. This is one of the best ventilators that can he contrived. It occupies the best possible position for a ventilator. Opening on a level with the floor, it takes off more of the poisoned air, and much less heated air, than it would in any other situation, since the heated air naturally rises to the upper parts of the room, while the foul air first sinks, and then gradually diffuses itself equally through the whole air with which it is in communication. The fire-place, unfortunately, is commonly stopped up, and its place supplied by a close stove. If, however, the fireplace be so contrived as to be open or shut at pleasure, and the stove-pipe, as is usually the case, be made to enter the flue somewhere above, the only condition necessary to bring this ventilator into action, is secured. The upper part of the flue will be warmed, and the air will draw regularly and steadiy upwards through the open fire-place below. The only thing else necessary to carry on the process of ventilation with security against smoke, and with economy of heat, is to have a stream of the external air brought into the room directly beneath, or, better still, directly through the stove.

The best possible material for a furnace or stove, especially if it must be within the room, is the soap-stone, of which we have such abundant quarries in various parts of New England.

This report contains some striking remarks on the impor-

tance of that too often chance-determined matter, the position of school houses. When their place can be chosen, they should be built on a gentle declivity, looking towards the south-west, whence come the pleasantest winds of summer, and protected on the north and east by a hill covered with wood. Trees should be on either side, at some little distance, and an ample green space in front, for play, with here and there an oak, an elm, or a beech. If, at such a distance from the play-ground as not to be injured or interfered with, there could be also a shrubbery and a plot for flowers, it would be a delightful appendage. It is to be hoped that those who are selecting sites for schools will be influenced by such considerations ; and let them remember, that they are acting for the happiness of future generations. If there is one site in a town better than any other for the school, it ought by all means to be secured by the public, or by private generosity ; and what could be a more fitting field for the exercise of a munificent public spirit, than furnishing these pleasant places for the sports and lessons of the young ?

In this Report appears the first suggestion of what has since been called the *Union School System.* Of this we are to say something by and by.

In April, of the year 1838, additional acts concerning the schools were passed by the legislature ; the most important of which are those providing for annual reports of school committees, for their remuneration, and for the union of school districts. In December of that year, the Secretary submitted his Second Annual Report, which, with the Second Annual Report of the Board of Education, was laid before the Senate in January, 1839.

The Report of the Board is principally occupied with the subject of the education of teachers, and the plan for the establishment of Normal Schools. The regulations adopted for their management require, that candidates for admission shall be sixteen years old, if females, and seventeen, if males, and shall pursue a course of study to occupy three years, or, in case individuals should not be able to remain so long, a shorter one for a single year. The two objects of the course are, first, a thorough and systematic acquaintance with the branches required by statute to be taught in the public schools, together with the principles of Christian ethics and piety common to

all Christians ; and secondly, the arts of instruction and government, to be illustrated by the management of a Model School.

An act of the legislature, passed in April, 1837, had authorized each of the school districts to expend thirty dollars for the first, and ten for each succeeding year, in providing a District Library. For the purpose of aiding the districts in the formation of these libraries, which the Board consider as the complement and necessary result of the school system, (for of what avail are the keys of knowledge if there are no accessible stores to unlock ?) the Board projected the preparation of two series of books, of fifty volumes each, to consist of such works as they should unanimously approve, the one series for the use of children, and the other for persons of maturer age. For this purpose, having made proposals to various publishing houses, they engaged one to undertake the work, at the lowest rate at which it could be done. The districts are left to exercise their own option as to the purchase of these volumes, the whole action of the Board extending only to providing, that many of the most approved scientific and literary works in the language shall be printed in a suitable style, and afforded at a price which shall put them within the reach of the districts, and to securing in their preparation the aid of distinguished writers.

Two Normal Schools went into operation in the course of the year ; one at Lexington, for females, the other for pupils of both sexes, at Barre ; the former in July, under the superintendance of a gentleman long and favorably known as a teacher at Nantucket ; the latter in September, under the charge of a gentleman who had been for many years a professor, of high reputation, in Bowdoin College.

The Second Report of the Secretary begins with an account of his own official action. After despatching his preparatory circulars to the school committees of each town in the Commonwealth, he visited the fourteen counties, and at convenient places met such of the friends of education as chose to assemble. These conventions were generally well attended, and the time was employed in discussions on the processes of teaching, statements as to the condition of the schools, and the delivery of one or more addresses.

At Nantucket, with which place his circuit commenced, he met most encouraging evidence of the activity of a generous spirit of improvement. Within the year, the town had added

to the single set of public schools previously existing, schools for little children, who before had not been provided for, and a school of a higher character for the benefit of all the children who should entitle themselves to admission by passing a satisfactory examination in the studies of the secondary schools. This perfect and systematized organization offers a noble example for many of the other large towns in the State. Mr. Mann takes occasion, from the institution of these schools for the younger pupils, to introduce his views upon their proper management.

"The small children are provided for, by themselves. This is an advantage which can hardly be overestimated. For the purpose of preserving order and silence in schools, composed of scholars of all ages, it becomes almost necessary to practise a rigor of restraint and a severity of discipline upon the small children, which is always injurious, and often cruel. The youngest scholars are, constitutionally, most active. Their proportion of brain and nervous system, compared with the whole body, is much the greatest. Their restlessness does not proceed from volition, but from the involuntary impulses of nature. They vibrate at the slightest touch; and they can no more help a responsive impulse at every sight and sound, than they can help seeing and hearing with open eyes and ears. What aggravates the difficulty is, that they have nothing to do. At a time, when nature designs they shall be more active than at any other period of life, a stagnation of all the powers of mind and body is enforced. But while the heart beats and the blood flows, the signs of life cannot be wholly suppressed; and, therefore, the steady working of nature's laws is sure to furnish the teacher with occasions for discipline. If it would be intolerably irksome for any of the large scholars to sit still for half a day, in a constrained posture, with hands unoccupied, and eyes looking straight into vacancy, how much more intolerable is it for the small ones? Hence the importance of having such a gradation of schools, in every place where it is practicable, as has been lately established in Nantucket. Another invaluable advantage of having three grades of schools is, that while it diminishes, at least one half, the number of classes in each school, it increases the number in each class, and thus allows the teacher to devote more time to the recitations and to the oral instruction of his enlarged classes."—*Second Report*, pp. 29, 30.

Another encouraging fact, observed at the same place, was the conversion of a flourishing private school into a public one,

to the manifest advantage of all persons concerned. Many improvements had also been made here and in other places, in the school houses, particularly in providing for ventilation. Various other evidences of increased interest are noticed, but none more gratifying than the appointment, at the county conventions, of committees to provide lectures on the subject of education in the several towns of the respective counties. Lectures, on this plan, were delivered, in seven of the counties.

After some observations on the value and "form" of the registers required to be kept in the public schools, and on the union of school districts, the Secretary proceeds to the more immediately important matters of intelligent reading, and the modes adopted in teaching to spell. These he had made prominent objects of inquiry throughout his circuit, and for that purpose had prepared written questions, as to the length of time for which the children continued in the spelling classes, and the degree of intelligence they showed in reading.

In answer to the first, he found that the usual and almost invariable practice was, for children to be drilled in spelling, daily, during the whole time of their continuing in school, and yet that the art was imperfectly acquired. The answers to the other questions were scarcely more satisfactory.

"The result [of his inquiries] is, that more than eleven-twelfths of all the children in the reading classes in our schools do not understand the meaning of the words they read; that they do not master the sense of the reading lessons, and that the ideas and feelings intended by the author to be conveyed to, and excited in, the reader's mind, still rest in the author's intention, never having yet reached the place of their destination." — *Second Report*, p. 56.

He enters upon a full discussion of the nature of written and spoken language, and the various modes commonly used at the public schools in learning to read and write it, together with an examination of the books in common use, as the instruments employed for the attainment of that end. He shows satisfactorily, and with his characteristic wealth of illustration, that both methods and books are, to a deplorable degree, unphilosophical and bad, and inconsistent with what should be an object constantly kept in view, the forming "an invincible habit of never using the organs of speech by themselves, and as an apparatus, detached from, and independent of, the

mind." The fatal error seems to be the general impression that rhetorical reading is something mechanical, which can be acquired independently of any exercise of the understanding, and in disregard of the elemental truth that a "fitting style of delivery is born of intelligence and feeling only, and can have no other parentage." Of the excellent views and principles of this disquisition, we have no doubt that we shall see abundant fruit, in the processes of teaching to be hereafter matured and adopted in the schools of this Commonwealth.

In December, 1839, the "Third Annual Reports of the Board of Education, and of their Secretary," and "The Abstract of the Massachusetts School Returns, for 1838–9," prepared by the Secretary, were presented, and made their appearance early in 1840.

The action of the Board and the Secretary, in regard to the county conventions, had been similar to that of former years. Conventions were held in each county, at all of which the Secretary was present, and delivered addresses on the necessity of education, as a preparation for personal and social duties; and discussions on important subjects took place. The influence of these conventions cannot but be most auspicious to the cause of common-school instruction. The feeling upon the subject is everywhere, with few exceptions, right; and it seems only necessary for the friends of education in the various parts of the Commonwealth to be excited to think and examine for themselves, by being brought together to compare their views, and by being informed what is doing and has been done in some parts, and may be done in all, for the principle of voluntary action to operate with the most desirable effects.

The Report of the Board is occupied with an account of the principle on which the Normal Schools have gone into operation, and of the views held and the measures taken in the preparation of books for the Common-School Library.

The Report of the Secretary states some facts which indicate improvement and increasing interest in what relates to the schools, especially the construction of school houses. Still, he insists, much more extensive reforms are necessary.

"Every other class of edifices, whether public or private, has felt the hand of reform. Churches, court houses, even jails and prisons, are rebuilt, or remodelled, great regard being paid, in most cases to ornament, and in all cases to health, to personal convenience and accommodation. But the school house, which leads directly towards the church, or rather may

be considered as its vestibule, and which furnishes to the vast majority of our children, the only public means they will ever enjoy for qualifying themselves to profit by its counsels, its promises, its warnings, its consolations ; — the school house, which leads directly from the court house, from the jail, and from the prison, and is, for the mass of our children, the great preventive and safeguard against being called or forced into them, as litigants or as criminals ; — this class of buildings, all over the State, stands in afflicting contrast with all the others." — *Third Report*, pp. 39, 40.

The benevolence of some gentlemen, in the counties of Hampshire and Hampden, had been interested in the condition of the children of the transient population along the line of the Western railroad, so effectively, that a very large majority of these children, of a suitable age, were brought to enjoy the benefits of common-school education. Another fact of the same character is also stated, most honorable to the agents. The law of April, 1837, providing "for the better instruction of youth employed in manufacturing establishments," required that no child under the age of fifteen years should be employed in any such establishment, who had not attended regularly a day school for at least three out of the twelve months next preceding any year in which he should be employed. This law is best observed in the largest manufacturing places.

"In one case (at Waltham), a corporation, besides paying its proportion of taxes for the support of the public schools in the town, has gratuitously erected three school houses, — the last in 1837, a neat, handsome, modern, stone building, two stories in height, — and maintained schools therein, at a charge, in the whole, upon the corporate funds, of a *principal* sum of more than seven thousand dollars. It would be improper for me here to be more particular than to say, that these generous acts have been done by the '*Boston Manufacturing Company*' ; though all will regret, that the identity of the individual members, who have performed these praiseworthy deeds, should be lost in the generality of the corporate name." — *Third Report*, p. 42.

The Secretary insists upon the vital importance of executing this wise law in accordance with its spirit, and earnestly points out the moral and social dangers of ignorance in this class of the population. He then, having premised some statements, tending to show the very small number and trifling character of the books to be found in most private houses out

of the large towns, goes into a searching inquiry as to the means of instruction, in the form of libraries, public and private, and lectures, enjoyed by the people of the Commonwealth. For this purpose he had addressed to the school committees, and other intelligent persons in every town, a number of questions tending to elicit information as to the numbers, value, and character of books in the public libraries, and the number of persons who have access to them, and as to the lyceums and other associations for popular lectures and the number of persons attending them. He received answers from all but sixteen towns, having an aggregate population of about twenty-one thousand. The total number of social libraries, in the other towns, was found to be 299, containing 180,028 volumes, estimated to be worth $191,538·00, and accessible by 25,705 persons in their own right. In addition to which there are from 10 to 15 *town* libraries, to which all the citizens of the town have a right of access, and which contain 3000 or 4000 volumes ; and about 50 district-school libraries, containing about 10,000 volumes.

Supposing each share-holder of the social libraries to represent four persons, there will be a fraction over 100,000 persons who have access to these libraries, leaving a population of more than 600,000 that have no such right of access. Taking in the libraries of the colleges and other academic institutions, the whole number of volumes in all the public libraries, of all kinds, in the State, is about 300,000, to which little more than one-seventh part of the population have access. One hundred of the towns heard from have neither a town, social, nor district-school library. Well may the Secretary say, in view of this vast want, "For the poor man and the laboring man, the art of printing seems hardly yet to have been discovered."

The discussion of the character of the materials of which the social and town libraries are usually composed, and of their adaptation to the minds of the young, to supply their intellectual and moral wants, and to prepare them for the duties of social and public life, forms a dark and melancholy chapter ; while the eloquent and vigorous tone in which the portentous deficiencies are pointed out, kindles a hope, — almost gives an assurance, — that it will not be allowed to continue. A small portion of the volumes, that fill the shelves of these libraries, are what, a few years since, were regarded as the standard histories, books that have enjoyed a higher estima-

tion than at present; books filled with the stories of the rise and fall of thrones, and the battles between the kings of the Old World. And this is the most valuable portion. A much more considerable part consists of the merest trash, the novels and romances by which we have been so inundated within a few years. What kind of preparation is the reading of these, to young persons entering upon the solemn duties of life?

"For the appropriate and punctual discharge of these numerous and ever-recurring duties, a knowledge of all the scenes and incidents, the loves and hates, the despairs and raptures, contained in all the fictions ever written, is about as fit a preparation, as a knowledge of all the 'castles in the air,' ever built by visionaries and dreamers, would be to the father of a houseless family, who wished to erect a dwelling for their shelter, but was wholly ignorant both of the materials and the processes, necessary for the work." — *Ibid.*, p. 68.

In the year ending July, 1839, there were within the State eight Mechanics' Institutes, consisting of 1439 members, and 137 Lyceums, or similar associations, attended by an average of 32,698 persons, the whole furnishing lectures at an aggregate expense of $20,197·00; of which more than one half was expended for that purpose in the city of Boston. On the lectures here given, as they have hitherto been conducted, though excellent as far as they go, no reliance can be placed for any very valuable instruction. In addition to these means, there are the Sabbath-School libraries, a most important item, containing in one denomination above 100,000 volumes, and in another 50,000. These are mostly upon the paramount subject of religion.

The great question arises, whether any further means are necessary to promote the intelligence and encourage the self-culture of the rising generation. Of the facts stated and considerations presented in the discussion of this topic, of the views taken of the present intellectual and social condition and of the future prospects of a large portion of the population of the State, and of the arguments thence drawn for the establishment of the District-School Libraries, so condensed and so weighty, we could give no adequate idea but by transferring them entire to our pages.

In September appeared the Abstract of the Massachusetts School Returns for 1839 – 40, a volume of near five hundred pages, most laboriously compiled by the Secretary from

the Returns and Reports of the school committees of *three hundred and one* of the *three hundred and seven* towns of the Commonwealth. The reports alone amounted to more than two thousand compactly-written letter-paper pages. Thus, in less than three and a half years from the creation of the Board, there have been prepared and laid before the people of Massachusetts, in the Reports of the Board and their Secretary, and in these three volumes of School Returns, the most extraordinary and altogether the most valuable collection of documents in regard to Common-School education, that has ever appeared.

The Abstracts, chiefly made up, as the last two are, of selections from the reports of the school committees, are the natural effect, the worthy return, of the principles and views that have been presented by the Board. The seed has been sown broad-cast through the land, and we are beginning to see its fruits.

It would, however, be great injustice to consider these reports as the echo of any men's opinions. They show the free, vigorous action of strong minds, under the influence of the highest motives, upon subjects of commanding interest. It has been the good fortune of the Board, called into being by the will of the legislature, to concentrate the public attention more fully than had hitherto been done, upon the condition of the schools, and, in their own reports, or by their Secretary, to point out and give distinctness to those particulars in their condition, which are of most immediate importance. Fortunately for the State, there were men ready and able so to carry out the views of the legislature. But most fortunate for all is it, and most auspicious to the cause of improvement, that in every part of the State are found men capable not only of appreciating, but of expanding and rendering more practical, every useful suggestion that has been presented to them. In the volumes of "School Returns," particularly that for 1839 – 40, we have the mature opinions of some hundreds of minds, of high intelligence, of enlarged views, apparently above all sinister influences, full of philanthropy and practical experience, earnestly engaged in devising means for the improvement of the common schools. Their opinions, and the facts on which they are grounded, are embodied in reports, which were read (so the statute requires) in open town meeting, and accepted as expressions of the opinions of the assembled citizens. They are thus the

collected wisdom of the people of the State, on what relates to the most precious of its institutions, and, as such, of the highest authority, and deserving of the most respectful attention. These opinions and statements in regard to certain points, we propose, so far as our limits will allow, to examine.

The language of the Reports, from which these volumes are made up, indicates throughout, in the strongest manner, the attachment with which the *system* is regarded ; the sense entertained of its essential and fundamental value to free institutions, of its capacity for indefinite improvement, and of the unmeasured good it is susceptible of accomplishing. But the patriotic men who have drawn up these Reports, — and no volume ever written gives evidence of more true patriotism, — are willing to look upon the system as it is, to see its defects, and to consult together for the remedies.

The great and pressing want, — that in comparison with which most of the others sink into insignificance, — is the want of well-qualified teachers. This indeed is now felt to be the great want of the civilized world. In only one country is it fully supplied ; it is only since the beginning of the present century that it has been realized, and any systematic attempt made to supply it. In every State of the American Union, where any one has looked into the condition of the instruction of the great masses of the children, the universal cry is, as in almost all the countries of the Old World, "Better teachers !"

This want was never so deeply felt in Massachusetts as at this present moment. There is no subject brought so constantly and so prominently before the reader throughout these volumes. In many parts of the State, the standard, by the confession of the committees, is very low, and yet it is impossible to find teachers who can come up to it. There is a mournful uniformity in the tone of the complaints from all quarters upon this point. They come, in great numbers, from nearly every county in the State. We had marked some of these representations to lay before our readers. But they would be only so many repetitions of a perfectly uncontradicted fact. Not a committee thinks its teachers good enough ; not one but is aware how much more might be done by perfectly competent teachers.

No more serious question in regard to the schools can be asked, than the question, How is this want to be supplied ? It is not enough that better teachers are everywhere in de-

mand. The better teachers are nowhere to be had. It has been supposed that they exist, but are occupied in other pursuits, and that higher wages would call them to the work. This is true in a few instances ; but it cannot be in many. In most towns in the Commonwealth, the best qualified individuals do actually teach in the winter schools. Those, who have never taught, are usually conscious that they could not teach well without instruction themselves, and are doubtful whether they should succeed ; and those, who have had some experience in teaching, have been such teachers as are at present employed, only with a standard less high, and with inferior qualifications. The character of each individual, as a teacher, and his modes of teaching, of arranging classes and studies, and of governing, depend in a great degree upon the character of the schools in which he was himself taught. Teaching is, in many particulars, an art, and, like all other arts, its processes are transmitted from hand to hand. How, then, are better teachers to be formed, to supply this great and increasing demand ?

In the first place, it will undoubtedly be found, that, in consequence of the greater attention given to the schools, and especially in those districts in which the parents take a strong personal interest, and frequently visit the schools, the present teachers will be improved. Hitherto skill in teaching has been almost exclusively a consequence of personal experience. The teachers have begun entirely ignorant of their art. The good old custom of serving an apprenticeship in teaching has long since passed away, and nothing has yet come in to take its place. The good teachers have been made such at the expense of experiments upon their pupils. By this process every teacher is improved ; and those, who enter upon the work with a hearty desire to excel in it, a genuine love of it, and a peculiar talent for it, will often arrive at excellence.

Then there have been some good books written on the subject of teaching, which will materially aid those who desire to improve themselves. Such are " The Teacher," by Jacob Abbott, " Lectures on School-Keeping," by S. R. Hall, and an excellent little book, " The Teacher Taught," by E. Davis. Many valuable suggestions may be gained from these, and there is evidence, in the volume before us, that they have already done good. The school committee of Middleborough, notice " the schools which have been taught

upon the Abbott system" in terms of high commendation, and recommend Mr. Abbott's work to the perusal of teachers. Much valuable instruction is given in the Numbers of the "Common School Journal," particularly in the extracts from Palmer's Prize "Essays," an important addition to the school-master's library, lately issued from the press. The lectures delivered before the American Institute, now forming ten volumes, contain the suggestions of some of the best thinkers on various matters interesting to the teacher, and often give the fruits of the observation and practical wisdom of veteran instructors. But these, however valuable as helps, cannot serve to form the character of the teacher, any more than a law library, without previous practice or apprenticeship, would form an accomplished lawyer.

Much may be expected from the teachers' meetings. In every instance in which the instructors of a town have associated together, and had regular meetings for discussion, and comparison of opinions and experience, a visible effect of the most beneficial kind has been produced on their schools. Wherever this can be done, therefore, it should be done; and the school committees, so far as lies in their power, should see to it, that neither the fact that the teachers have been strangers to each other, nor distance, nor the shortness of their engagement, should prevent them from meeting together.

By all these means, the teachers may be somewhat, and often very much, improved. But, after all, for the accomplishment of this great object, we must look to the Normal Schools, and other places for the preparation of teachers. And already the eyes of the friends of the schools are directed thitherward.

The Normal Schools, whenever mentioned in the Returns, are spoken of in terms which show how much is expected from them. As the policy of the legislature in providing for the education of teachers is still, however, sometimes questioned, it may be well to examine some of the evidences and grounds of the opinion, very generally existing in the minds of the friends of education, of the necessity of such a provision, and of the wisdom of giving continued support to a course of measures for the purpose.

The first, we believe, who brought this subject prominently before the public, was the author of "Letters on the

Free Schools of New England." These appeared in 1824, and were followed soon after by valuable "Essays" on the subject by the same writer. In 1825, a series of essays appeared in the "Connecticut Observer," and afterwards separately, from the pen of T. H. Gallaudet, late Principal of the American Asylum for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, upon a "Plan of a Seminary for the Education of Instructors of Youth." In these, he recommends the project, with a great variety of arguments. At a meeting of the American Institute, held August 29th, 1836, after the subject of "the professional education of teachers" had been discussed, the following resolves were passed; that "the business of teaching should be performed by those who have studied the subject of instruction as a profession," and that "there ought to be at least one seminary in each State, devoted exclusively to the education of teachers."

The qualifications spoken of by the school committees as essential to the character of a good teacher, and which would, by great numbers of them, be considered indispensable, if it were possible to consider the highest qualifications indispensable, and find any teachers for the schools, are such as can only be found, with some rare exceptions, in those who have undergone a specific preparation. To say nothing of the positive acquirements which a teacher should possess, of the familiar acquaintance he should have with arithmetic, with geography, and with history, interesting facts in which may be thrown in continually in teaching geography, or of the skill he should have in reading and in penmanship; he ought to possess a knowledge of various methods of teaching these branches. Now, this knowledge of methods, of their modes of operation, and of their success, can be acquired only by opportunities of hearing them fully and familiarly discussed, and of seeing them in operation. This might be done by an association of teachers, so situated as to meet together every evening, for months in succession, and have classes of their pupils meet with them. But it can be most successfully done only at a school where the attention can be turned to such points for a long time together, under the superintendence of an able and experienced teacher. There are no branches in which such flagrant deficiences are felt, and so many improvements are to be made, as in these essentials and staples of the district schools.

A good instructor must have aptness to teach. The want of this is lamented, in multitudes of instances, in persons otherwise possessed of excellent qualities. Aptness to teach is unquestionably a peculiar gift, like a talent for painting or for mechanics. But, like them, it must be perfected by much use, under skilful masters. A moderate talent of this kind, highly cultivated, will be more effectual than great talent without cultivation; which can be given only by exercising the faculty under the eye and guidance of one who can point out failures and suggest the remedy. Where can this be done but in a place of preparation for teachers?

The teacher must have ability to manage and govern. This talent is more rare even than the last mentioned. And although it partly depends on a particular organization, and is found very widely different in different individuals, it can no more spring at once into perfect activity, than the talent for marshalling armies. The talent for governing children to the best end depends chiefly on perfect self-control. But when we include in it that directing power which can bring into vigorous action all the powers of a child, keeping the lower in just subordination to the higher, and having in view the greatest permanent good of the individual, it comprehends, in its exercise, a complete knowledge of the character of the pupil, with all the motives and springs of action, for good and for ill. It is needless to say, that a talent, which requires for its full exercise the complete survey of so wide a field, cannot be easily matured. All the helps that can be administered will still leave enough for the individual to do.

It is not easy to overstate the importance of this power of controlling, or the extent of its influence on the future well-being of the pupil. On the susceptible child, on one who is delicately constituted, the influence of the gifted teacher is all but omnipotent. His power to repress the bad, and to stimulate the good tendencies, is almost unbounded. Not only his intentional teachings, but his words, his manners, his looks, the tone of his voice, his smile and his frown, sink into the heart of the child, and control his inmost being. It is a beautiful trait in the character of children, that their sympathy with the exalted and generous qualities is far stronger than with their opposites. The malignant and selfish qualities excite, indeed, but they excite to opposition. They

call out corresponding qualities for self-defence. They excite, but it is to aversion and hatred. It would be well, if these feelings could be prevented from going beyond the hateful object; but the evil propensities are blind, and being once excited in a child against an unfeeling, unjust, or selfish teacher, they extend also towards learning, order, discipline, intelligence, refinement, — all the qualities of which the hated individual is supposed to be the representative.

It is apparent, then, that too much attention cannot be given by school committees, in the selection of teachers, to every thing which goes to form the moral character of the candidate; and it is most gratifying to find, that many of the committees are fully aware of the importance of these considerations.

Further, it is obvious that the teacher, in order to be able to accomplish all that he ought, in the performance of his high duties, should be familiar with the elements of the human constitution in its two-fold nature; with the growth of the mind, the nature of the moral sentiments and the mental faculties, and the formation of mental habits; and with the physiology of the body, on the healthfulness of which, the developement and energy of the moral and intellectual qualities must depend. Here are two paths, each leading into wide fields of human knowledge. Can they be traversed without study? Will the unaided sagacity of all who are to teach, direct them to precisely what is most essential in these extensive sciences?

Again, every teacher should be acquainted with the elements of natural science; with something of Natural History, Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry. There is not a day in school, which might not be enlivened by the description of some natural object; there is hardly an hour, during which an occasion does not occur for drawing the attention to some appearance presented, or some process going on, or for giving information of some interesting fact. Most of the children at the common schools are destined to the happy lot of spending their lives in the country. One would think, that a prominent object of elementary education, there at least, should be to make them acquainted with the objects by which they are always to be surrounded. The naturalist finds, in the study of these objects, inexhaustible sources of pleasure; and, though it might be absurd to attempt to make

all children naturalists, it would certainly be well to put those who have a taste for such pursuits within reach of these fountains of simple, innocent, and never-ceasing enjoyment. At least, they should have that knowledge of the properties of the objects about them, which would enable them to turn them to some use.

We have enumerated only the most important of the parts of knowledge which should be possessed by the teachers of the common schools, and some of the endowments, for which they should be distinguished. If the Union District System should go generally into operation, as we trust it will, a higher class of schools would be created, with more advanced studies, and requiring additional and higher qualifications in the teachers. It is apparent, then, that the Normal Schools are imperiously called for by the wants of the common schools as they now exist, and are still more essential in view of the great improvements which the system is destined to receive.

Another of the greatest and most universal evils, and one, of which the loudest complaints are made in the reports, is the multiplicity of school books. In very many schools, the time of the teacher is frittered away in hearing several classes in the same study, merely because the pupils have not all the same text-books; when, if they were all in one class, the teacher could spend that time in communicating instruction which is now occupied in asking questions and hearing answers. The committee have power to remedy this defect, by selecting the books to be used in the schools, and requiring uniformity. But this is a power which they are almost always unwilling to exercise. It can hardly be exercised without giving offence. Yet there is scarcely a matter in which it is so important that an umpire should act. If the choice is left to the parents, they must, almost of necessity, choose different books. If left, as it often is, to the teachers, there can be no uniformity, so long as they are liable to be changed every year, as each successive teacher will have his favorite text-books, which he will require all those, who have no books, to procure. An effectual remedy would be in requiring the school committee, by a vote of the town, to exercise this power in reference to every school. This might often be done, almost without expense, though not without a little trouble, by selecting a different text-book for each of

two or three contiguous schools, and encouraging the exchange of books among those children of the several schools who did not wish to be at the expense of new ones. The evil has been remedied, in some instances, by causing a depository to be formed somewhere in the town for the books recommended by the committee, and furnishing them thus at reduced prices. This is certainly better than the course which is recommended and almost demanded in some of the "Reports," that the Board of Education should make the selection. If this were done, many books would be rapidly thrown out of circulation throughout the State. The schools would certainly be, in many instances, great gainers by the loss; but individual authors and publishers would suffer severely, and the schools might eventually suffer from the check upon the freedom of competition in the authors of their future text-books. If the selection be left to the towns, all the books now in use may be continued, without any of the mischievous confusion which now takes place; and the worthless books be left to die out, as they certainly will, before the searching scrutiny which is now turned upon the schools.

While upon this subject of books used in the schools, we cannot refrain from expressing our earnest desire, that some portion, at least, of the New Testament should always be one. If all the families in the Commonwealth were religious, it would be a matter of less importance, though it would then probably be a matter of course. But, as long as there are any children in the schools who may not otherwise become familiar with this volume, we think it ought to be, in some way or other, used in every school. If a portion of it is read to the school each day by the teacher, perhaps no greater or better use could or need be made of it. But if this is not done, let it be one of the class-books, and, if possible, for the highest class.

The subject of moral instruction has been mournfully neglected in the public schools, and we are rejoiced to see evidence of an awakened attention to this most important part of education. The subject, however, is of such extent, that we must pass it by with the single expression of the satisfaction we have in believing that great good will result from the strong, but just, representations made in relation to it in many of the Reports.

Another subject, of almost universal complaint with the

school committees, is want of interest in the schools on the part of parents and guardians. There is but one opinion as to the advantage of their frequently visiting the schools ; and yet, in many places, most parents never see them, nor ever take the pains to become acquainted with the teacher. It is hardly conceivable, that a parent should be indifferent to the physical welfare and happiness of his offspring for so large a portion of their lives, or to the moral and mental qualities of those, who are to have so important an influence on their whole future character. There must be some general mistake on this subject ; some feeling, on the part of parents, that their visits would not be acceptable ; that their presence might be looked on as an intrusion. It can only be for some such reason, that fathers, and, especially, that mothers should so forego their natural rights, and neglect so important and obvious a duty. If parents could but realize, how full of fears and misgivings a teacher often is, how lonely and unsustained he is apt to feel, and how much they can do to lighten the heavy burden of his difficult and perplexing duties by a kind suggestion, or a judicious word of commendation, how much a generous expression of confidence will quicken his feeling of responsibility, elevate his sense of character, and stimulate him to increased diligence, — and how completely, on the other hand, a little unreasonable complaint, very easy to utter, will thwart his best efforts, and neglect and distrust discourage his well-meant exertions, — instead of meeting him with reserve, and watching his faults with jealousy, they would welcome him as a fellow-laborer, cheer him by their confidence, sustain his authority by their countenance, admit him sometimes into their families, and show him they are his friends. And, if they would but remember, how much the heart of a child is alive to sympathy, they would sometimes visit his place of labor, and, if at no other time, at least let him have the pleasure of anticipating their presence on the days of examination. Such considerations are feelingly and repeatedly urged throughout these Reports ; and if no other good should come from them than the establishing of a better understanding between parents and teachers, they would be richly worth all the labor, great as that is, and all the expense, which they have cost. And it is impossible to read them without feeling confident, that this will be their effect. There is such a thing as sympathy between man and man, and these

powerful appeals to it cannot, from the nature of human affections, be unavailing.

The very general want of apparatus in the schools is only another indication of the humble character of the teaching. It is, however, gratifying to perceive, that the necessity of apparatus is becoming more and more general. The articles, which are thought most necessary, are black boards, maps, globes, and philosophical and chemical apparatus. Still more important, as more universally necessary, would seem to be apparatus to illustrate, or rather to render intelligible, the tables of weights and measures, which are usually required to be learnt by children, as ignorant of their meaning as if the words were in a foreign language. The obtuseness or entire ignorance, not uncommonly observed, in many persons otherwise intelligent, as to what relates to the measurement of solids, and even of surfaces, may doubtless be traced to their having failed to get definite ideas from the earliest lessons given them at school. It is one, out of numerous instances that might be given, of a mistake, almost universal, in teaching the elements of natural science, that the lesson containing the abstract principle is presented first, and the illustration, or experiment, afterwards. The natural order, it is almost too obvious to remark, is to present, first, the objects, or the experiments, — the nearest approach that we can make to the thing itself, or to the principle in nature, — and afterwards the statements, deductions, and generalizations, which are founded upon them.

Another kind of apparatus, that should be in all the schools, is a series of geometrical figures and solids, all that are in common use and whose names form a part of the language, for the express purpose of teaching language. What other sure way is there of teaching the meaning of *cubic*, *conical*, *cylindrical*, and other similar words, that are constantly occurring, than by showing the figures, or, still better, the cube, cone, and cylinder themselves?

A large portion of the Reports is, of course, occupied with observations upon the manner of conducting the common business of the schools, the teaching of spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Of this we shall have room to say but few words.

As to the important art of *spelling*, though there are numerous complaints of the poor success with which attempts

are made to teach it, there are very few, who seem to have any idea how it should be done. The absurd practice of spending years in spelling nonsense columns has been so long established, and become so general, that most persons are disposed to submit to it as if it were a decree of fate. We are rejoiced to see, that the delusion is not universal. Hear the committee of Freetown.

"As to *spelling*, there seems to be no good reason, why children should be kept drilling on unintelligible words for half a dozen years of their first school-going days. No wonder, that, where this course has been pursued, children have become weary of school, and hated their books. It is dry, toilsome, and uninstructive. They need to have something which they can understand, about which they can think; for, to learn to think correctly, and how to express our thoughts in language and in writing accurately, is a very important object of education. True, a little time must be taken, to learn the letters and their uses; but instruction and amusement ought to be mingled with it. As soon as they can pronounce a syllable, set them to read easy words; or, better still, let them learn their letters by the use of sentences composed of words of one syllable; or from the names of animals and familiar objects connected with their pictures; and they will find it a pleasure. Let them spell them as an amusement, and not as the main object. Let them also have slates to occupy them a part of every half day, and they will soon learn to make letters, figures, pictures, maps, and learn to write considerably, besides becoming tolerable readers in *three* or *four* years, — the time often consumed in spelling alone. Let every child in school have a small slate, or a part of one, and he will love to go to school. We have known children learn to write very well at five and seven years old by the use of the slate alone. The older scholars, who can write easily, should write ten or fifteen words, as there is time, every day, instead of spelling. This is all the practical use of spelling, that we make, except reading; and spelling is, after all, mostly learned by reading. Those who spell by the ear, may *guess* right, but let them spell by the eye, that is, in writing a letter, for instance, — the object for which they need to spell, — and perhaps half of their words will be spelled wrong. We have known some, who never spelled in the common way, but have learned by reading and writing, who hardly ever spell a word wrong."— *School Returns for* 1839–40, pp. 390, 391.

This is admirable; and the only wonder is, so just and

philosophical are these observations, that they should not have occurred to all observers. We cannot but think, that nearly all the time, now spent in spelling, is lost, and far worse than lost, as it does very little to teach children to spell, while it does all that can be done to *teach them not to think*. The truth of the whole matter lies in two facts, perfectly obvious, yet seldom seen, that spelling is really addressed to the eye, and not to the ear ; and that the *names* of the letters, in our language, have often only the most distant connexion with their power.

Another subject, closely connected with this, and dependent upon it, is, the manner and success with which reading is taught. Most of the faults that prevail, are traceable to two sources, incompetent teachers and unsuitable books. None but a teacher of sense, and feeling, and cultivated taste, can be successful in communicating this beautiful accomplishment ; and even such a teacher cannot easily do it, unless he has suitable books. Let the committees, therefore, take care to secure well-qualified teachers, and to introduce good books, and the correct reading will be sure to follow. How difficult of attainment the first of these objects is, has been sufficiently shown. There is hardly less difficulty as to the other. A very small portion of the great number of books of this class are at all suited to the wants of the schools. They aim far above the mark, and infinitely overshoot it.

" Certainly from no ancient, probably from no other modern language, could such a selection of literary excellences be made, as some of them exhibit ; — demonstrative arguments on the most abstruse and recondite subjects, tasking the acuteness of practised logicians, and appreciable only by them ; — brilliant passages of parliamentary debates, whose force would be irresistible, provided only that one were familiar with all contemporary institutions and events ; — scenes from dramas, beautiful if understood, but unintelligible without an acquaintance with heathen mythology; — wit, poetry, eloquence, whose shafts, to the vision of educated minds, are quick and refulgent as lightning, but giving out, to the ignorant, only an empty rumbling of words, — every thing, in fine, may be found in their pages, which can make them, at once, worthy the highest admiration of the learned, and wholly unintelligible to children." — *Secretary's Second Report*, pp. 62, 63.

As might be expected from the use of such means, the

style of reading is apt to be rhetorical and unnatural. One thing, however, ought to be insisted on, and, being a mechanical thing, it may be accomplished with any set of books. We speak of correct and full enunciation. Want of this is the great fault of our schools. And yet it is, perhaps, the only thing, in regard to reading, entirely within the control of the teacher.*

The complaints, which are numerous, upon the multiplicity of studies pursued at one time, upon bad arrangement in the studies, and upon want of thoroughness, resolve themselves into that which has already been enlarged upon, the incompetency of teachers. Yet, while the teachers remain as they are, the school committees will often have occasion to interpose, to give a right direction upon these points ; and those, who have not had occasion to give to them much thought, will find some most valuable suggestions in the work of a veteran school-visiter already referred to, " The Teacher's Manual."

A subject of preëminent importance to the welfare of the schools, is the character and duties of the school committees, and, in his first Report, the Secretary presented this at some length, and with great ability. A great change has already been wrought in some parts of the Commonwealth, which needed it most. Better men are chosen to the office, and, now that they are paid for their services, are expected to perform its duties. These volumes afford abundant evidence, that these duties are generally understood, and their importance felt ; and, if the excellent practice of publishing the Reports is continued, they soon will be so, universally. Every suggestion, made by any committee, no matter where situated, no matter how little known, goes to add to the common light ; and observations upon some of the poorest schools in the Commonwealth will serve to improve the best. If continued, the " School Returns " will be to the school committee-man and to the teacher, what the Term Reports are to the lawyer, or the Reports of Cases to the physician. Something, however, still remains to be done ; for, from twenty-eight towns the committees have sent no reports,

* There is a little manual, called " Lessons in Enunciation," by William Russell, which contains all the important principles, clearly expressed and aptly illustrated. It should be in every school. Its price is a mere trifle.

and from five they have made no returns for the last year. This is to be regretted. But it is clear, that the people have taken up this thing themselves. Many of the committees are evidently as competent, in all respects, as could anywhere be found. And this good spirit will spread. Reports and returns have this year been received from every town in Middlesex, Hampshire, Norfolk, and Bristol Counties, and from all but one in Hampden, Franklin, and Dukes; and we cannot read these reports but with a feeling of pride, that there are, in all parts of the Commonwealth, men capable of feeling so warmly, and of uttering with such power, the great truths in relation to the condition of the common schools.

It is evident, therefore, that that is done in many towns, which should be done in all. The very best men, those most distinguished for intelligence, for acquirements, and, especially, for their high moral tone, should, alone, be upon the committees. Such men should not, as often heretofore, decline this service. It is, if faithfully performed, always laborious; it is usually ill paid, and often thankless. But these are reasons, why those, who are qualified for it, should not feel at liberty to decline it. It is time this matter were understood. There is not a child, in the poorest district in the country, who might not be so trained, by the means that the schools could present, as to enjoy the highest and purest pleasures that can fall to the lot of the most favored individual. The coming generation has a claim upon the present, not only for liberty, but for those higher advantages which give value to liberty itself. And on whom does this claim rest, if not on those who are capable of feeling it? — upon the men who recognise the duties which the relation between man and man imposes? We have not a right to sit in our studies, enjoying the luxuries of thought, and books, and leisure, and say to our poor brethren without, "Be ye warmed and clad; let the child of the poor and depressed man become wise, and learned, and virtuous, if he can." Something is to be done. We cannot, believers in a spiritual religion, acknowledge, as we do, the rights of the body to be relieved, and yet remain deaf to the higher wants of the soul. No; we must be consistent; and there must be a spirit worthy of such a cause; not that sycophantic spirit, which is ready to cajole the ignorant and the degraded by flattering them, that they are more competent than any other

men living, to provide suitable education for their children; but that lofty spirit of truth, which dares to tell them, that education is their great want, and that it will come best, — that it can come only, — from the intelligent and the virtuous. It is the just boast of Massachusetts, that the property of all is taxed for the education of all. Would it not be, at least, as just a cause of boasting, that the talents, and learning, and skill of all were taxed for the instruction of all?

The Reports, from beginning to end, are full of evidence of the inestimable value of the School Registers. Never before has been brought to view, and in no other way could be brought to view, the vast loss to the people of this Commonwealth from irregularity of attendance at school.

The returns show, that, out of 124,354, who, during the last year, attended the summer schools, the average absences were 31,656, nearly one fourth; and of 149,222, attending the winter schools, the average absences were, 37,378, still nearly one fourth.

This is an unwelcome statement. One fourth of all the money laid out, and of the time spent by teachers and committees, and, what is of infinitely more consequence, one fourth of all the opportunities presented to the rising generation, lost by irregular attendance! This is enough to wake up all the friends of the schools to a sense of the greatness of the evil, and to the suggestion of means to lessen it.

Much may doubtless be done by arrangements within the school itself. The introduction of music, as one of the exercises, is found always to have this effect. Children are not willing to be absent from the morning song. The same effect is produced by exhibitions of apparatus. Interesting and intelligible conversation, at the beginning of school-hours, questions upon things, the telling or reading a story or description, that all can understand, will do the same. Every thing, in short, which improves the character of the instruction, will attract children to school. Still, much will be left for those to do, whose duty it is made, by the statutes of the Commonwealth, to check the evils of irregular and negligent attendance.

One object, in preparing reports, is to make known to the inhabitants of each town the actual condition of its schools. The statute upon this point requires, that the "report shall be read in open town meeting," "or be printed and distributed

for the use of the inhabitants." The intent of the statute evidently is, that the inhabitants should be informed of the condition of their schools ; and, as this cannot be done by the first mode required, it would seem to follow, that in the large towns, the Reports should be printed for circulation. We regret to observe, that the committee for the city of Boston made so very short a report, and that it was not printed. Justice to the excellent public schools and their faithful and accomplished teachers seemed to require, that a full report should be made. Justice to the citizens required, that it should be laid before them. In no part of the world, probably, are the public schools receiving more attention, and, although not certainly what they should be, there are probably few places where they have made such progress. If there were no other reason, and there are many others, a report should have been made for the purpose of giving some account of the Public Latin School, a model which might be imitated in many of the large towns of the Commonwealth, and of whose value it is no exaggeration to say, that, open and free as it is to all the boys in the city, there are many individuals, who feel that the expense of their children's education is a secondary consideration with them, and who yet cannot afford to send them to any other school, for at no other could they receive the same thorough, scholarlike, and manly preparation for college or for active life. It is reasonably expected of the school committees, that there shall be at least one public school in every town, so good, that the wealthiest citizens shall not be able to afford to send their children to any other.

Among the many plans proposed, and hints thrown out, in these Returns, for the improvement of the schools, none seems to promise more good than that for the union of school districts.* It is gratifying to see that this project is occupying the

*This scheme, recommended by Mr. Mann in his Report on School Houses, as we have already hinted, contemplates the erection of a central school, equally accessible to four, or more, associated districts, to be provided with a teacher of higher qualifications and employed for a greater length of time, and to be supported by the united action of the districts, with a view to affording a higher order of instruction to children above a certain age ; the several district schools to be continued for the benefit of the younger portion of the pupils, under the instruction of females. He has shown, that, by a union of this kind, a higher class of teachers might be employed, and more efficient instruction be given, not only without additional expense, but with a positive saving.

attention of the committees, and from them receiving a shape suited to the wants of the several towns. It is highly commended and urged, in numerous quarters. In the report from the committee of Goshen, one of the smallest towns in the State, the subject is very fully and ably discussed. Its adoption is urged on the score of economy, the superior advantages it would afford, its harmony with republican institutions, its bringing home the best opportunities of instruction and thus superseding the necessity of sending children abroad, and its general utility to the town, by raising the standard of education, and bringing out the best talent of the community. The committee think the Union School might be kept for six months. In most towns in the Commonwealth it might be kept for nine or ten. And we have no hesitation in saying, that, for all the purposes for which schools ought to be kept, ten months of the year are better than the whole. We consider it far the most important objection to the excellent public schools in Boston, that they are kept for so many weeks. The vacations are too short. It would be better for masters and pupils if they were longer. It is not sufficiently considered, that it is favorable neither to the energy of the mind, nor to the acquisitions made by it, to exercise it when it is over-worn. One reason why children are kept so long at school in the larger towns, is that there are so few suitable, safe, and healthy employments for them while out of school. But it is not so in the country. The operations of husbandry and horticulture offer employment for boys of all ages, the best possible for health of body and of mind.

We have no doubt, that the plan for the union of district schools, well executed, would be productive of all the good anticipated from it, and much more. The objection on the score of the distance is one only in appearance. The walk would be beneficial in ten instances, where it would be injurious in one. But this objection might be obviated, in some measure, by having only one session in the day. One session, from ten to three o'clock, with one or two short recesses, would, especially in the shortest days, be a great saving of time to teachers and pupils, would secure greater punctuality in those who came from a distance, and would avoid the moral evils of the intermission.

An essential part of this plan is, that the winter district schools, as well as the summer schools, should be taught by females. This is the best kind of instruction for children of both sexes, up to the age of ten or twelve, certainly, and perhaps to the age of fourteen. And we confess, we look to the more extensive employment of females, in the schools of the two lower grades, and to the consequent employment of a much smaller number of men, but with much higher qualifications, than heretofore, in the union or town schools, with more confidence of good effects, than to any other improvement on the common-school system that has been proposed. The returns before us, with extraordinary unanimity, confirm this view. And let it be remembered, that the conclusions have been formed on the success of female teachers, who, in a great majority of instances, have enjoyed very imperfect advantages of preparation for their office. They have received their whole education at schools, which may indeed sometimes have been good, but which we know must have been, in most instances, poor. What might not the same native talent have accomplished, if aided by the advantages which are now enjoyed at Lexington or at Barre?

Let then the summer schools as now, and the winter district schools, as far and as soon as possible, be taught by females. But let them be qualified for the office. Let the example of Salem be imitated by every town in the Commonwealth. By a vote of the city council, the city's share of the dividends of the Massachusetts school fund was

"applied in part to the support, for a year, at the Normal School in Lexington, of two young ladies, to be selected from such of the assistants, or older scholars of the east and west female schools, as might need, and would desire to avail themselves of this assistance for the purpose of increasing their qualifications for future service in the public schools. This grant was coupled with stipulations, that the amount advanced should be gradually repaid by a deduction from the salaries to be afterwards allowed them as assistants; so that, in effect, under ordinary circumstances, the grant would prove equivalent to a loan, and would enable the beneficiaries, without apprehension, to anticipate their own resources, and leave it in the power of the committee to continue to provide for the same object by the use of the same means." — *Massachusetts School Returns.* p. 39.

If this cannot be done for two females, let it be for one;

and, if not for a year, let it be for a single term. The expenses of a residence at Lexington or Barre are so very moderate, that there are very few towns in the State which might not support a teacher there, for one term each year, by means of its portion of the dividends of the school fund. Let the directors of the Normal Schools make a regulation, that a female, sent by any of the towns, shall be entitled to leave the institution at the end of one quarter, if the town desire it. We believe, that three years would be most profitably spent, by any female teacher in the Commonwealth, at the Normal Schools, as they are now conducted. But yet we are confident, that, in the case of those who have had experience in teaching, the opportunity of seeing the right management of a school, and the right mode of teaching, even for a single quarter, would be an important benefit. Let the most successful teacher be selected, the individual most familiar with the studies and most apt to teach, most heartily engaged in teaching, and most desirous of devoting herself to it till death or marriage. When she returns and resumes her school, let the other female teachers of the town have the advantage of visiting her school, and observing her methods. Such a visit of but half a day, even if repeated but a few times, would often give an improved aspect to the interior of a school. Let the female teachers be encouraged to associate for mutual improvement, and make the experience and skill of each a common fund for the benefit of all. Let the school committees arrange and bring about these meetings. Let them attend them, and take part in them. What admirable lectures upon instruction would many of the authors of these reports make. Some members of the committees have been teachers themselves ; they have long observed the defects of the schools ; they have more or less distinct ideas of their remedies, and of a higher and more efficient system than they have ever seen in operation. Let them bring these cherished fancies out, and, catching zeal from the eager interest of the young and ardent female teachers, whom they will assemble about them, let them plan better schools and better modes of teaching, and urge the teachers to self-cultivation, and stir up the sympathy of the parents in their cause.

The Union District System would establish three grades of schools for all the towns in the State except about ten of

the smallest; the Summer Schools, the District Winter Schools, and the Union, Central, or Town Schools. The two lower grades would remain as now, except that they would be necessarily improved by the action of the central schools. In each town there might be one central school, as proposed in Goshen, a town of less than six hundred inhabitants; or two, according to the suggestion from Westhampton, a town of less than nine hundred; or more, in proportion to the size and convenience of the towns.

Of the numerous advantages, that would follow from this gradation of schools, we shall briefly notice some of the most striking.

One would be the establishment of a gradation of studies. Each class of schools should have certain studies peculiar to itself, an acquaintance with which should be requisite for entering the next higher. This would be a great gain. Nothing is more exciting, or more innocently so, than the expectation of an examination, with something real dependent upon it. The requisite for admission to the summer district school should be four years of age. This is insisted upon by some of the committees, and with great reason. Little is gained by sending children very early to school. They are thus, it is true, out of their parents' way, but not so completely out of harm's way as is usually thought. They are seriously in the way of the improvement of the elder pupils. Very little attention can be given to them, and they are, therefore, in great danger of forming habits of idleness, inattention, and mischief-making in school, of which they cannot afterwards be easily cured.

The requisites for admission to the winter district schools might be seven years of age, and an examination, the character of which should be settled by the school committee. The branches pursued at these schools might be those now taught, together with music, and the elements of natural history, to a specified extent, so as to have a clear line of distinction between these and the union schools.

Schools of the highest grade might be open to none under ten years of age, and to those over that age only after a satisfactory examination in the proper studies of the district schools, with a dispensing power in the committee, to cover extraordinary cases. By these exclusions, space would be left for a much wider range of studies, including, after arithmetic and ge-

ography, drawing, geometry, chemistry, natural history, book-keeping, natural philosophy, astronomy, the history of the United States and general history, surveying, social and civil duties, the elements of politics, grammar, rhetoric, and, where it is desirable, the course of studies required for admission to the colleges. Music ought to be a part of the pursuits of each school.

Another great advantage of this gradation of schools, would be the saving of time, by bringing together children of nearly equal powers and progress ; thus enlarging the classes and diminishing their number, making room for additional studies, and giving more time for *teaching*. A class of twenty may be as easily and as well taught in a given time, as one of five.

The last advantage that we should notice, and by far the greatest, is the way thus opened for making teaching a profession. Many intelligent females, in almost every town and village, would rejoice in the opportunity of devoting themselves for life to the business of instruction. Under the proposed change, they might be employed, winter and summer, as many as eight or nine months, even in the smallest towns, and, in the larger, ten ; a length of time, beyond which no teacher ought to be occupied for years in succession. In this way, and in this way only, perhaps, will a regular profession of teachers, male and female, grow up for the whole State. Under the present system, the smaller towns cannot expect to have a male teacher of the highest qualifications, except by accident. Under the proposed arrangement, by adopting an excellent suggestion of the committee of Wareham, some of the best teachers might be secured even to those union or district schools, that could be kept for only four or five months.

" We think we hazard nothing in saying, that it would be better for all parties concerned, if we should employ the most competent teachers the whole year, and let them pass from district to district until the year came round, giving to each district its just proportion of time. In this way, a male teacher might be employed in each district a suitable time, and a female in the same district another portion of time. A few teachers of superior quality might thus keep all our schools." — *Abstract of School Returns, for* 1839 – 40, p. 438.

We can conceive of few situations more honorable, and, for one who could enter upon the work with that ardent

and unaffected love of it, which constitutes the highest qualification, more truly desirable, than that of a permanent teacher of one of these union schools. A man of the highest order of attainments, under the influence of a sentiment of duty, might be happy in such a place.

The Secretary, in his Second Report, says ;

"The time spent by the scholars in reading, from the age of eight or ten to sixteen years, is amply sufficient to enrich their minds with a great amount of various and useful knowledge, without encroaching one hour upon other accustomed studies." — *Secretary's Second Report*, p. 43.

We should be willing to use still stronger language. The Union District System, if well executed, as there is every reason to believe it will soon be in many towns, and we hope eventually in all, will give instruction to children from the age of four to sixteen, and, if desirable, to a more advanced age, for eight or nine months of the year. And this, as we have already said, is enough. We have no doubt, that more of every kind of useful knowledge may be acquired, and more thorough discipline given, to all the powers of the mind in nine months, than in twelve. For the perfect developement of the powers of the body, and the confirmation of a vigorous and healthy constitution, the shorter period of study is, of course, vastly more desirable. Whoever considers, how many hours of every day in the year are usually lost in listlessness by the jaded pupil of the year-long school, and compares this with the freshness and cheerful alacrity of spirit with which the child comes to his studies, who has been enjoying, for some months, the freedom and open-air exercise of a country life, will be disposed to agree with us. No one, who has had the opportunity, can have failed to observe, how the mind, with the body, of the boy, condemned to toil on through the summer at a city school, has yielded and bent under the burden ; how the ruddy cheek has grown pale, and the elastic step heavy ; how the gay and careless playfulness of spirit, which had made light of tasks, has been gradually exchanged for a listless and plodding fidelity, like the dogged pertinacity of an office drudge ; how completely all the happy buoyancy of childhood has been quelled long before the coming of the brief August vacation. Another, under a better system or a happier fortune, is sent off into the country when the sultry days first come on, there to ride, and make hay,

and gather flowers, and catch fish, or do — what is most absurdly called doing nothing, — to wander about, at will, over hill and dale, looking at all things growing and living, and learning how the country people live. Mark the difference of the two, when the studies begin, at the autumn schools. What is more to the purpose, mark the difference at the end of half a dozen years, and there will be no question about the equal scholarship, and far better character of body, mind, and moral nature, of the child grown up to manhood, who has been allowed to yield to the impulses of nature, and enjoy the summer, as the Author of the summer and the country intended it should be enjoyed.

We say, therefore, that nine, or at farthest ten, months of schooling in a year, are enough for any part of the State and any age of the pupils. And we believe, that the adoption of the Union District System, and the substitution of female for male teachers in the smaller districts, will secure a school for that number of months for nearly every district in the State.

Now we believe, with entire confidence, that, by a proper selection or creation of school books, written on a proper system and adapted to their purpose, with teachers, such as may be furnished and will be furnished by the Normal Schools, — if, by the blessing of God upon this State, and the generous exertions of good men, they shall be carried into full operation, — vastly more may be done in these schools, not only than is now done, but even than the most sanguine friends of the schools dare yet to hope. Whoever will consider, how much time is now lost by the absurd practice of spelling, which is almost universally continued, from the beginning to the end of the course, in all our schools, and by the variety and multiplicity of reading books, almost wholly unintelligible to the greater part of every school; how the vain attempt to cultivate a rhetorical style of reading has been allowed to invade and supplant the paramount object of training the mind, and furnishing it with useful knowledge for future life; how much time is wasted by the incompetency and the frequent changes of teachers; how much the energies of the mind are impaired by poorly warmed, badly lighted, and ill ventilated school rooms; how much is lost by the absence of all system in books and studies, by wrong beginning and bad habits, by the absence, in most places, of

a just classification of pupils, by the indifference of parents, and the faithlessness or incapacity of school committees; and yet how much, under all these disadvantages, is actually accomplished, — will be prepared to expect momentous changes when these defects are remedied, and these evils, as they will be, are corrected, — and will be prepared to admit, that this confidence of ours is not without foundation.

We close with a few statements from the Abstract of the Returns of last year (1840), which we think will not be found without interest.

Of the three hundred and seven towns in the State, six made no returns. In one or two, the returns do not enable us to determine the amount of money raised for the instruction of children between the ages of four and sixteen. Of the remainder, six raised less than $1·25 to each child between those ages, the proportion required by law to entitle the town to receive its portion of the school fund.

17	raised	between	$1·25	and	$1·50
82	"	"	1·50	"	2·00
82	"	"	2·00	"	2·50
50	"	"	2·50	"	3·00
44	"	"	3·00	"	4·00
13	"	"	4·00	"	5·00

4, viz. Boston, Chelsea, Medford, and Milton, over $5·00.

Thus, only six failed to entitle themselves to the boon offered by the State. Fewer than twenty did just what was required, or somewhat more; while one hundred and seven raised more than twice the amount required, and many, more than three times that amount. The average raised throughout the State was $2·66, or, including the amount of board and fuel contributed, $2·80, for each child between four and sixteen.

There are several very encouraging facts, shown by the aggregate of these returns, compared with those of the preceding year. Three additional towns have sent returns, with an additional population of less than seven hundred. The number of male teachers has diminished from 2,411 to 2,378, that is, by 33; while the number of female teachers has increased by 103, viz. from 3,825 to 3,928. The average wages, paid per month, to males have risen from $31·90 to $33·08, viz. $1·19 per month. Those of female teachers have risen from $12·32 to $12·75, viz. $0·43 per month; and when

it is considered, that, during that time, the wages in Boston and most of the larger towns have continued nearly the same, and that two of the counties have made no change, a very favorable one is indicated in the smaller towns elsewhere.

The average of the time of keeping schools has increased from seven months and four days to seven months and ten days, a full week for each school in the State.

The amount raised by taxes, &c., has increased from $447,809 to $477,221 ; and the amount contributed, from $31,934 to $37,269 ; while the aggregate paid for the tuition of private schools and academies has diminished nearly in an equal rate, from $270,462 to $241,114.

The whole amount raised or contributed for the support of public schools has increased from $479,744 to $514,490.

The whole amount paid for schools, public and private, has increased from $817,217·24 to $828,384·66.

Art. VIII. — 1. *Address, delivered before the Charitable Irish Society, in Boston, March 17th*, 1837. By James Boyd, President of the Society. Boston. 1837.

2. *Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, illustrated. The Literary Department* by N. P. Willis, Esq. Numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4. London. 1840.

3. *The Token, and Atlantic Souvenir, for* 1840. Edited by S. G. Goodrich. Boston.

4. *The Pilot* Newspaper ; for the Years 1838, 1839, and 1840. Boston.

5. *The New York Freeman's Journal.* Scattered Numbers. 1840.

6. *The Spirit of Seventy-Six ;* New York Newspaper. Number 1. November, 1840.

7. *The Native American ;* New Orleans Newspaper. Scattered Numbers.

The subject which we have here undertaken to discuss, is one of serious importance, and it is also, in common parlance, one of great delicacy ; that is to say, one which involves many of the conflicting tastes, passions, and prejudices

of this great community. But there is a false, as well as a real delicacy, in politics as in morals. The former species would possibly lead a public writer to eschew such a topic as this. The latter kind impels us to venture on it discreetly, to the best of our judgment, but, at the same time, boldly. We admit that the subject has a sting in it; and, remembering the metrical recipe for most effectually plucking a nettle, we comply with the advice of the quaint old author, and

"Seize it like a man of mettle."

But, aware of the opposing interests at stake, we cannot expect to please all parties as we proceed; and we shall be lucky, if we satisfy completely any one individual. We do not attempt our task with the view of making proselytes. We hope, however, to afford information, such as may at least induce others to reflect as seriously as we have done, if it does not lead them to similar conclusions.

It is not a little extraordinary that a theme of such abounding interest has not, as far as we can recollect, attracted the attention of any of the writers of books upon this country, beyond some passing allusion, although it has called forth much observation and animated, not to say angry, discussion from newspaper contributors. There are, in fact, several journals throughout the Union established expressly for the examination of the question embodied in the title of this article, in all its complicated bearings; and societies have been formed, of both native Americans and naturalized Irish, for the promulgation of opinions in relation to it, reciprocally positive and diametrically opposite. But it is not from the effusions of party writers, whose ardor, too often both violent and illogical, either distorts or confuses a great question, that its calm developement may be looked for. He who would fully and fairly survey so intricate a subject as this, must stand on neutral ground, and on that elevation which impartiality alone can afford him. We may be self-deceived in believing that such is our position; but could we, without seeming irrelevant, or perhaps impertinent, enter into some details personal to ourselves, our readers would probably concede the claim which we put forward. We are, however, conscious, that, in proportion to the absence of all motives of self-interest, there may exist a want of the prompt and keen perception of minutiæ,

which self-interest alone creates. But if such deficiency is balanced by a broader comprehension of the general merits of the case, it may fare better in our hands, than when treated by some of the talented partisans, whose *ex parte* ebullitions are before us.

In a late number of our Journal,* we endeavoured to attract attention towards the state of Ireland in its present aspect of regeneration, and we gave some passing sketches of its modern history, with extracts from the work of an able and recent traveller ; enough, we are sure, to have excited a strong sympathy in favor of its inhabitants, and a more lively interest in those who, under happier auspices than heretofore, might take the decisive step of emigration, and become settlers and citizens in the United States. We promised, on that occasion, to recur to the subject in its relations to this country ; and, in now proceeding to redeem our pledge, we consider it necessary to offer some general considerations as to the Irish character, as well as to its capabilities of adaptation to the peculiar influences of the political and social institutions of this country. It is not, however, our intention to enter on an elaborate disquisition resting entirely on our own opinions. The notions of a single writer may not happen to square on all points with the combined ones which enter into the conduct of a journal like ours ; and the conventional "We," of an individual more frequently sets a restriction on, than it allows a latitude to, private views. Sympathies and antipathies as to men and things, depending on temperament or chance association, are more potent than the sober results of judgment, in a case which must be more or less a personal one. With this conviction we prefer citing the opinions of others, to giving our own ; and we shall exclude those put forth in their own country by native Irishmen, of different religious sects and political parties ; for, as a general rule, on which we may possibly find some future occasion to dilate, we hold that it is by foreigners alone, that the moral characteristics of any nation can be accurately ascertained.

But it will not be required, at this time of day, to revert to the opinions of "the ancients," ignorant and superstitious as they were on most points of geographical science foreign to their immediate localities, and unenlightened as to the inhabitants of a

* See *North American Review*, Vol. LI. pp. 187 *et seq.*

distant island, the report of whose existence was considered as almost fabulous. The Phœnician navigators and merchants, who had pushed their enterprise as far as the Atlantic, secured their monopolies of trade by concealing the real nature of the islands of the West, which were, in consequence, made the scenes of vague imaginings by the Greek poets, who there placed their Elysian fields, their Hesperides, and the Isle of Calypso, creations of fancy, founded on a reality long afterwards established. In the "Argonautics," a poem written five hundred years before the Christian era, Ireland is mentioned without any reference to Britain; and, about two centuries later, both islands are noticed under their original Celtic names of Ierna, or Juverna, and Albion. It was not till about this period, that the Greeks made voyages to the British Islands, though the Phœnicians had traded to them for many centuries. It appears from the poems of Avienus, who, in the fourth century, had access to some Punic records in one of the temples of Carthage, that a Carthaginian, named Milcho, made an expedition to Ireland about three hundred and fifty years before Christ, and, on his return, gave a particular account of the country. It is to be remarked, that he speaks more particularly of Ireland than of Britain. He describes the hide-covered boats, or *curracks*, in which the inhabitants navigated their seas; and he speaks of the populousness of the isle of the Hyberni, and of the turfy nature of its soil.

From scattered testimonials like these, there can be no doubt that, though the earliest population consisted of Celts, the Phœnicians had established colonies in Ireland, and introduced their religious rites and ceremonies into the country, long before the Christian era. But although the records of Greek and Roman writers are valuable, as far as they establish the remote antiquity of the Irish race, we should as soon think of admitting Lord Roden's folios,* or Lord Powerscourt's pamphlet,† or the publication of any other rabid Orangeman of the present day, as authorities on the disputed points of Irish character, as we should gravely quote the more excusable monstrosities of some of the authors of old.

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* *Report of a Select Committee of the House of Lords on Crime in Ireland, following Lord Roden's Motion.* 4 vols. 4to. London, 1839.

† *Essay on the State of Ireland*, by Lord Powerscourt. London, 1840.

"The Irish live on human flesh, and think it a duty to eat the bodies of their deceased parents," says Strabo, book IV.

"When they gain a victory, they first drink the blood of the slain," says Solinus, c. xxiii.

These passages out-Roden Roden, and at any rate prove the startling sympathy between by-gone fiction and new-fangled fanaticism.

Had Ireland had the advantage of being subjected by Rome, as Britain was, she would have been long since known to the rest of the world in her true colors, and refinement would have taken earlier root in her social habits, as fertile in all times for the fruits of civilization, as her plains have been for those of husbandry. To be conquered, but not crushed, by an enlightened nation, is the greatest blessing that can befall a savage one. But Ireland unfortunately found no Cæsar to subdue, no Agricola to colonize, no Tacitus to describe her. No Roman ever planted a hostile foot on her shores; and she went on, from century to century, in isolated obscurity, with the poor consolation of certain after-claims for learning and virtue, that are at best apochryphal, and too often a by-word for ridicule or doubt.

When Englishmen began to know something of the people who had been so long their neighbours, and of whom they at length so easily made a prey, an astonishing unanimity of sentiment was expressed concerning them. Giraldus Cambrensis, in the twelfth century, bore striking and pithy testimony, in a sentence as terse and comprehensive as one of Tacitus himself, to the energy and sincerity of the Irish of his times, — two of the noblest qualities in a half-savage people. "If an Irishman be a good man, there is no better; if he be a bad man, there is no worse."

Improvement was rapid and great.

J. Good, an ecclesiastic, in 1566, gives his descriptive evidence as follows;

"In general this people are robust and remarkably nimble; of bold and haughty spirit; sharp-witted, lively, prodigal of life; patient of want, heat, and cold; of amorous complexion; hospitable to strangers, constant in their attachments, implacable in their resentments; credulous, greedy of glory, impatient of reproach and injury; they think it the highest wealth to live without work, and *the greatest happiness to enjoy liberty.*"

The lapse of nearly three centuries has made small change in the leading traits of this admirable analysis.

Lord Bacon, in one of his powerful and sententious paragraphs, says ;

"This island is endowed with so many dowries of nature, considering the fruitfulness of the soil, and especially the race and generation of men, as it is not easy to find such a confluence of commodities, *if the hand of man did join with the hand of nature.*" — *Works*, Vol. III. p. 321.

More modern English writers, — Cobbett, Inglis, Wakefield, and others, — bear out the character given by those of old. Mr. Weale, of the office of Woods and Forests, in his evidence before the House of Lords, declares that "there is the finest possible field in Ireland, for the exertion of skill and the employment of capital." And he adds, that "he had never met with peasantry who are *as well disposed as the Irish* to exert themselves for the provision of a maintenance."

The late Mr. Sadler, an eminent member of the House of Commons, exclaims ; "The natural capacities of Ireland are unrivalled, so are those of its people, though both be uncultivated, abandoned, and abused. In the character of its inhabitants are *the elements of whatever is elevated and noble.* Their courage in the field has never been surpassed ; their charity, notwithstanding their poverty, never equalled."

These extracts prove the difficulty of separating a consideration of the country itself from a notice of the people, and we shall add only a couple of quotations from celebrated authors, far removed from each other in date, which have reference to the capabilities of the soil alone.

Edmund Spenser, the great poet, whose long residence in Ireland gave him good opportunities for knowing the country, but whose severity of feeling towards the natives, as indicated in his "View of Ireland," removes all suspicion of his being a too partial witness to the merits of their birth-place, writes of it in the following strain ;

"And sure Ireland is yet a most sweete and beautifull countrie as any under Heaven, being stored throughout with many goodlie rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantlie, sprinkled with many verie sweete islands and goodlie lakes, little inland seas that will carry even shippes upon their waters ; adorned with goodlie woods, even fit for building of

shippes and houses, as that if some princes in the world had them they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas, and ere long, of all the world. Also full of very good ports and havens open upon England, as inviting us to come into them to see what excellent commodities the countrie can afford ; besides the soyle itself most fertile, fit to yeeld all kinde of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly, the heavens most milde and temperate, though somewhat more moist than the parts towards the East."

And Malthus, who could scarcely have looked with a favorable eye on a population whose every cottage offered a practical dissent from his peculiarly un-Irish theories, still conscientiously bears witness, that "Ireland might be made a more rich and prosperous country than England is, in proportion, in consequence of *its greater natural capabilities.*"

After having stated so much of undoubted fact, on such authorities, we do not think it necessary to dwell on points which may not bear the same authentic stamp. But the absence of all venomous reptiles from this island, for which God has done so much and man so little, is a feature so remarkable, that it must not be silently passed by. Without claiming for St. Patrick the merit of having driven out those plagues, (there being no evidence that they ever existed in "the Emerald Isle,") it is enough to know, that English writers, centuries back, remarked and recorded the peculiarity. "*Nullus ibi serpens vivere valeat,*" was the expression of the venerable Bede ; while Camden says, "*Nullus hic anguis nec venenatum quicquam.*"

Coming down to our own days, and to travellers from a country not known to the authors we have just cited, we find that a popular American writer, Mr. N. P. Willis, has latterly visited and written about Ireland ; and the opening sentence of the first number of his work pays the following lively tribute to the country and the people ;

"The prominent association with the name of Ireland, is that of a prolific mother of orators, soldiers, patriots, and poets. Out of sight of the froth that is thrown up from the active cauldron of her political evils, and out of hearing of the squabble and fret, the jibe and jeer, the querulous complaint and the growling reply, which form the perpetual undertone of English news, the inhabitant of other countries looks at the small space Ireland occupies on the map, and counts her great names, and reads her melancholy, but large and brilliant page

in history, with wonder and admiration. Whatever horrors the close-seen features of her abortive revolutions may present, and whatever littleness may belong to the smaller machinery of her political intrigues, conspiracies, and the like, the distant eye reads, in the prominent lines of the picture, an *undying love of liberty, and an untamed and restless energy of genius and character.*"

How much more true to fact and to history is this summing up, than the assertion of Mr. Carlyle, that "Ireland has been in a chronic atrophy for five centuries back;" * an assertion which, although perpetrated in plain English, — a rare accident on the part of the author, — is any thing but plain sense, in the teeth of the desperate activity displayed by Ireland from the invasion by Strongbow to the rebellion of 1798, of the mighty agitation which carried Catholic emancipation in 1829, and of the sublime temperance movement under the guidance of Father Mathew, at the very period when the author put forth his *ex cathedrâ* crudity. It is to be regretted that Mr. Willis has not followed up his promising paragraph by matter more worthy of it and of him, than the bald and revolting sketches of men and pigs, which form the staple of his "illustrations of scenery and antiquities." We ought not, indeed, to expect every tourist to be a philosopher because he is peripatetic, nor reckon on good taste as the certain accompaniment of talent. But we do wish that this author, instead of lavishing his vivacious powers upon petty details of dress and appearance in the present population, had been imbued with the feeling which prompted the benevolent Peter Parley (for every one knows Mr. S. G. Goodrich by that name,) "to prove that the Irish have generous hearts; that they are a noble race, injured, wronged, and often degraded, but for these very reasons entitled to the sympathies of mankind; and that, on the score of intrinsic qualities, they have strong claims to the respect of the world." — *The Token for* 1841, *Preface*, p. 5.

Such, — and we might multiply authorities to almost any amount, — are the people of Ireland, who, independent of those powerful claims to consideration, present an almost unique example (the Jews and the Gypsies might be cited as in a great degree similar) of a nation retaining for full three

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* Carlyle's *Chartism*, p. 30.

thousand years the distinguishing thoughts, feelings, customs, and language of their ancestors. Indubitable proofs of their antiquity, besides those already cited, are to be found in their annals ; and in reference to those annals, lately published, a late eminent English writer, Sir James Mackintosh, says, "The chronicles of Ireland, written in the Irish language, from the second century to the landing of Henry Plantagenet, possess the fullest evidences of exactness. The Irish nation are thus entitled to boast that they possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any other European nation possesses in its present spoken language." And, viewing them in this aspect, — a colony, as it were, of ancient Celts transferred from antiquity into our immediate presence, with the same blood in their veins, the same physical characteristics, and speaking the same language as those who existed, even before the time of Solomon, — we can understand the enthusiasm of the writer who exclaims ;

"I know not how it may strike others, but to me this subject is full of interest. How is it to be accounted for, that of all the numberless millions that must have passed from Asia into Europe, under the general name of Celt, everywhere but in Ireland they should have been supplanted by other tribes, their national existence obliterated, and their language for ever blotted out ? It would be impossible to solve this query, but upon the supposition of a native vigor of character in the Irish, as well physical as moral, which perpetuates itself from age to age, resisting and overcoming the influences of time. And, if this be true, does it not imply something of greatness in the native Irish stock ; something distinct, peculiar, and worthy of our respect in the Irish people ? I confess that I cannot look upon even the rudest specimen of these people, that we see among us, but as associated with these views. Ignorant and unlettered they certainly are, superstitious they may be ; but I can never look on them with indifference or contempt. I must ever regard them as allied to the memory of ancient days ; as bringing antiquity, living and breathing, into our presence ; and, above all, however shadowed by the degradation that is entailed by slavery, as possessing, in common with their nation, the inherent elements of greatness." — *The Token for* 1841, p. 85.

The article, from which the foregoing extract is made, formed, as we learn from a note, the substance of two lec-

tures, originally prepared by Mr. Goodrich, at the request of the committee of the "Franklin Lectures," in Boston, and delivered before that association at "the Temple," in that city; and the lectures were subsequently delivered on several occasions in New York or elsewhere. We cannot speak too highly of the good spirit which pervades this whole composition, evidently the result of much reading and of mature reflection. Independent of the gratifying evidence it affords that this subject, of Ireland and the Irish, has begun to attract the proper sort of attention among our literary and scientific men, it is really cheering to find the learned editor of an Annual devoting one half of his volume to an essay of sterling value and full of important information, to the exclusion of the ephemera that generally flutter in the pages of such publications. We shall have occasion, by and by, to quote further from Mr. Goodrich's article; and we are, in the mean time, glad to record, that, at the late "Commencement" of Harvard College, the subject of one of the exercises of the students who graduated on that occasion was an "Essay on the Irish Character." The young gentleman who recited this essay, before a large audience composed of some of the most enlightened citizens of the country, was the son of one of the Judges of the State; and we can bear witness to the applause warmly given to the speaker, certainly not more on account of the merits of his spirited production, than from sympathy with its cordial sentiments towards our Irish fellow citizens.

"When we send our glance back through a long line of centuries," exclaimed this generous youth, "each of them swelling the mighty heap of Ireland's wrongs, our prejudices relent. Our sympathies are awakened for the unhappy beings whose wretched aspect and reckless bearing have at first been so repulsive. We fancy there is more than meets the eye beneath their rough exterior. If we take the friendless exile by the hand, no angry scowl repels our glance, no sullen murmur strikes upon the ear; but a smile of confidence lights up the stranger's haggard face. He tells us of the old country which it cost him tears to leave. He paints the hopeless misery into which he was sunk, and of which he seems to stand before us as the visible emblem; and we wonder, not that he is no better than he is, but that he has come out clear as he has from the furnace fires of such affliction. From century to century the fetters of a moral slavery have left a

festering wound, and corrupted the dignity of his nature. But whatever faults may be charged on the Irishman, his worst enemy dare not call him selfish. The virtues of hospitality and generosity cast light upon the gloom of his desolation, like flowers springing from a heap of mouldering ruins. Misery seems only a nursery for the growth of his fine sympathies. And laugh as you may at the humble *shantee*, you shall learn within its walls lessons of magnanimity and self-denial not to be found in the mansions of the wealthy and refined. In one word, the sin of the Irishman is ignorance, — the cure is Liberty. Let her but come, to wipe from the Emerald gem the dust which for ages has obscured it, and to place it sparkling in the sunlight ; let her wake again the lyre that trembled to the touch of Emmett, Curran, and Grattan, and in the light of her pathway shall be seen Education, to break the fetters of the slumbering soul, and call out its hidden glories ! And will not the heart of America beat with that of Ireland, as she hails the new dawning light ? Yes, Ireland, America's eye is on thee. Show us, then, in thy new career thine own native character, purged from the dross with which the long night of oppression has darkened it. In the noble generosity of thy sons, put to shame our narrow, selfish, worldly maxims. Show us a race of whole-hearted men."

Ireland has strong claims on the good will and affection of America. Let it be remembered, that, when the war of Revolution broke out, the inhabitants of Belfast, in the north of Ireland, were the very first European community, — the Court of France does not come under that classification, — that gave open expression to their good wishes, for the American cause. Public meetings, quickly following the first, were held throughout the country to encourage the transatlantic resistance ; and, as the contest went on, Ireland, catching inspiration from the example of the New World, took that noble attitude of resistance which gained for her in 1782, under the guidance of Grattan and his patriot associates, the legislative and commercial independence which was destined to so short a life. But from that period of a common sympathy, — which ought not to be affected by success or failure, — Irishmen have never ceased to look towards America with ardent affection ; loving the people who won the freedom for which they vainly sighed and valiantly fought ; and regarding this country as the natural haven for hopes, too often shipwrecked in the tempest of hard fate that assails their native land.

Any one who has ever travelled in Ireland, not merely with eyes to see her wretchedness, but also with ears to hear her aspirations, must have remarked the enthusiastic feeling that exists towards America among all classes save the Orange aristocrats. By the less elevated ranks, the small farmers, artisans, and peasantry, the United States are considered as a sort of half-way stage to Heaven, a paradise, whither some of the kindred or friends of almost every family have already repaired; and whence they receive accounts, that, even when unexaggerated or falling short of the truth, paint this new found home, in comparison with their own domestic misery, as the very *El Dorado* of Spanish romance.* Infants suck in, as it were, with their mothers' milk, this passionate admiration of the New World. They are cradled in eulogiums on its excellence. Its praises are the lullaby of the child. The boy is taught to venerate its greatness; and the man believes, talks of, and sighs for its far-off shores, with a fervid admiration that knows no bounds.

The poetic mind of the Irishman, his warm heart, his ambitious temperament all unite, to give the colors of enchantment to the fairy-land he pants for. The beauty, the affection, the glory he pictures to himself, form the rainbow arch of the new covenant, which Heaven seems to have made with the poor exile. Long before he trusts his fate upon the ocean, he sees America, in the visions of the night as well as in his day-dreams, more verdant than his own green fields, more fertile than the valleys, more sublime than the mountains. But, above all things, he reckons with too ardent security, on an ardor equal to his own, in the noble race with which he has peopled his fancied elysium. Often do his sentiments literally and unwittingly respond to the exclamation of Miranda, in "The Tempest":

> "How beautiful mankind is! O brave New World,
> That has such people in it!"

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* "The Irish, on their arrival in America, cannot believe their own eyes; they feel as though under a spell. They do not dare to describe, to their friends in Europe, the streams of milk and honey that flow through this promised land.

"An Irishman, who had recently arrived, showed his master a letter which he had just written to his family. 'But, Patrick,' said his master, 'why do you say that you have meat three times a week, when you have it three times a day?' 'Why is it?' replied Pat; 'it is because they would not believe me, if I told them so.'" — *Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States*, by Michael Chevalier. Boston. 1839.

Every thing relating to the revolutionary struggle has a thrilling interest to the people of Ireland. It is not merely for the memory of their own countrymen, Montgomery and others, who heroically fell or conquered in the cause of freedom, that they retain regard. The name of Washington is held in a reverence without limit. Who can read the following anecdote, recorded by Mr. Hackett, the comedian, without a cordial longing to grasp the hand, and share the emotion, of such men as composed the audience of the Dublin theatre ?

"The first night of the performance of 'Rip Van Winkle,' when in the midst of the scene where he finds himself lost in amazement at the change of his native village, as well as of himself and everybody he meets, a person of whom he is inquiring mentions the name of Washington. Rip asks, 'Who is he ?' The other replies, 'What ! did you never hear of the immortal George Washington, the Father of his country ?' At these words, the whole audience from pit to gallery seemed to rise, and with shouting, huzzaing, clapping of hands, and stamping of feet, made the very building shake. These deafening plaudits continued some time, and wound up with three distinct rounds. To attempt to describe my feelings during such an unexpected thunder-gust of national enthusiasm, is utterly impossible. I choked, — the tears gushed from my eyes, — and I can assure you, it was by a great effort that I restrained myself from destroying all the illusion of the scene, by breaking the fetters with which the age and character of Rip had invested me, and exclaiming, in the fulness of my heart, 'God bless old Ireland ! ' "

That touching scene was, beyond all doubt, a fair specimen of the almost universal Irish sentiment, in regard to this country and to the founder of its greatness. That sentiment is, on numberless occasions, made evident, not in Ireland alone, but wherever Irishmen are to be found, in whatever quarter of the globe. It is in fact, unquestionable, that the Irishman looks upon America as the refuge of his race, the home of his kindred, the heritage of his children and their children. The Atlantic is, to his mind, less a barrier of separation between land and land, than is St. George's Channel. The shores of England are farther off, in his heart's geography, than those of New York or Massachusetts. Degrees of latitude are not taken into account, in the measurements of his enthusiasm. Ireland, — old as she is, and fond as he is

of calling her so, — seems to him but a part and parcel of that great continent which it sounds, to his notions, unnatural to designate as *the new* world. He has no feeling towards America but that of love and loyalty. To live on her soil, to work for the public good, and die in the country's service, are genuine aspirations of the son of Erin, when he quits the place of his birth for that of his adoption. No nice distinctions of nationality, no cold calculation of forms, enter into his mind. *Exile* and *alien* are words which convey no distinct meaning to him. He only feels that he belongs to the country where he earns his bread. His birthright has hitherto been but a birth-right of suffering. The instinct of naturalization is within his soul. And he cannot conceive that the ocean which he is crossing should be more powerful to deprive him of, than his own heart-yearnings are to secure to him, all the rights and privileges which that instinct seems to claim.

His first foot-print on the soil of the New World, is to him a virtual seal placed on the bond of his fidelity. The first breath of air he inhales is a cordial to his heart, for he knows it is the air of freedom. He looks round, in the consciousness of new-born dignity. He never before felt himself really a man ; for the blight of petty proscription had, ever until now, hung over and around him. He never before knew the obligations of the word *allegiance* ; for a host of small impediments stood between him and the object to which he owed it. Now he comprehends and acknowledges it. He feels himself to be identified with that to which his fealty is due. He considers himself an integral portion of the State. He is at once, in heart and soul, if not in form, a citizen.

And may it not here be asked, Is the man who thus comes into the country, — a part of it by impulse, a patriot ready made, — a fit object of doubt and odium ? and might it not be more generous, just, and politic to meet half way his ingenuous views, to stretch out to him the hand of brotherhood, to join in the bond of fellowship which his heart has already ratified ? Might not a fairer estimate of his character than that which generally prevails, and a higher trust in human nature itself, combine, and safely too, so as at once to invest him with the title he aspires to, and the rights which it confers, thus making him in reality what he believes himself to be, and giving him the best of all inducements to learn and uphold the real interests of the country he would thus belong to, and removing the dangerous chance of

his being misled and imposed on by the temptations which induce the emigrant, *while an alien*, to give to a faction an adherence which is due to the commonwealth ?

This is, however, as will be seen, put merely hypothetically ; and is thrown out, rather to induce reflection than to provoke discussion. It may however serve as an index to the tenor of what is to follow, and to the opinions of the high authorities we mean to refer to, in practically treating the question of naturalization.

The expectations of the new comer, romantic rather than reasonable, are too often cruelly checked in the first moments of his arrival. He gives his hand, — and an Irishman's hand almost always has his heart in it, — to the designing persons by whom, from various motives, he is watched for and caught up ; but the cordiality of his grasp meets a cold return. He speaks in the fulness of sincerity ; but no voice responds in the same key. His uncouth air, his coarse raiment, his blunders, and his brogue are certainly unattractive or ludicrous, to those who consider him only as a machine for doing the rough work of the State, or as an object of political speculation. The Irishman soon sees the fact of his position, for he is sensitive and shrewd beyond most men ; and we can well imagine how keen and how bitter is his annoyance. No man is sooner than an Irishman thrown back on his own feelings. The recoil is in proportion to the exuberance ; and in the same degree in which they are originally warm and social, they become morose and gloomy when thus repelled. His natural gayety overcomes this effect at times, or enables him to conceal what pains him so acutely. But the inward utterance of his disappointment is deeply echoed in his heart ; and he is too prone to resent, or even avenge, a wrong done to his feelings, which, did it affect his interests alone, he would despise. " *Tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.*"

By a rapid transition, on finding himself slighted and despised, he assumes the offensive, becomes violent, throws himself into the open arms of faction ; drinks, swears, joins in riots ; and, fancying that the hostile outpourings, by which a " party " assails him, speak the sense of the nation at large, he withdraws his proffered sympathy ; and, seeing that he is stigmatized as an alien, — for he has learned the meaning of the word, — he falls into the circle of his fellow-countrymen, becomes one of the mass of ignorance and

intemperance, which disgraces our cities, and is soon, in fact, little better than a colonist, in the land which he sought with that kind of reverence that propels a repentant sinner into the comforting bosom of the church.

Yet, though baffled and disappointed, the ardent love of liberty rarely deserts the Irish heart, and it as rarely sinks into despair. Few of the exiles return to the old country. They, in a vast majority of cases, hold fast, and work their way. Nor do they cease to love America. But they love it now, not with the holy rapture of an abstract passion, but with a practical and business-like regard, as the birth-place of their children, and the field for the exercise of their own patient industry.

Thus, in the very best aspect of his fate, the immigrant drags on, for five long and weary years, in a probation of drudgery, — which, to those who do not suffer it, seems a mere span, — in a state of manifest inferiority to the citizen, who employs, makes a tool of, or, perhaps, bribes and buys him, for purposes of electioneering debasement. This cannot, certainly, increase the alien's self-esteem, or make him more fit for the exercise of a citizen's privileges. It must, indeed, add to his sense of degradation. Year after year he becomes, no doubt, more and more acquainted with the workings of party machinery. But those years do not teach him to love the country one whit more than he loved it on the day of his landing ; and he has not that pride of conscious respectability and value, which leads the real freeman, however lowly his station, to take a wide and exalted view of public affairs. The longer the alien remains in this chrysalis state, may he not become the less suited for the enjoyment of the light and air, when he breaks his shell, expands his wings, and flies into his new political existence ? Cramped, narrowed, and prejudiced, he becomes immersed in the low tricks of the intriguers, who have pounced upon and beguiled him ; and more irritated and angry against those who, independent of strict party grounds, are adverse to him on those of his birth alone. A deep-rooted sense of wrong, and a hatred to those who do it, are nourished in his heart and instilled into his children ; and a large portion of the population is thus, for one generation at least, alienated from the rest, and driven, as it were, into a second exile from all the social advantages of citizenship. The theory

of the naturalization laws of course is, that the five years shall be years of instruction for the duties of citizenship ; but, in the actual want of such instruction, is not the effect of the delay too likely to be such as we have described ? Yet, with all this, the Irishman can hardly be made a bad or a disloyal citizen, or prevented from embracing the first opportunity to serve the country, as is proved by the readiness with which he enlists in the naval or military service.

In thus stating impartially, and with a thorough knowledge of Irish character, the effects produced on great numbers of emigrants from that country, we are by no means making a reproach, on the score of feeling, or want of feeling, against those who are ignorant of the history of Ireland, who know the character of the people only through the medium of these very exiles, and who have had no means of scanning the hearts which beat under so coarse an exterior. Every candid Irishman, who understands any portion of human nature beyond his own, will admit, that his over-ardent temperament is very likely to beget suspicion, as to his sincerity, in those who do not partake of it in any thing like the same degree ; while his familiar, off-hand, free-and-easy manners are little in accordance with the reserved and cautious habits of the majority of the American people. Taking things for granted is the curse of the generous-hearted, in all climes and at all times. No one suffers more from this too common mistake, than the Irish emigrant, who, when he finds himself deceived in his sanguine estimate of men and things, makes no allowance for those who fall below his fancied standard, and who look askance, or stand aloof, from his companionship. But this is not altogether fair on his part.

How can a cool New-Englander, for example, who has never experienced the misfortunes, or lived under a state of things, which make a man long for another country in preference to his own, — whose only idea of emigration is connected with money-making, without a single tinge of sentiment, — the "far west" of whose imaginings brings no notions but those of forests, prairies, floods, swamps, alligators, and rattlesnakes, — how can such a man place implicit faith in the tear-filled eye, the glowing cheek, the overflowing discourse of a stranger from beyond the ocean,

who, on touching the soil of that western world in which he has come to seek *his* fortune, professes to love it like the land of his birth, talks to the inhabitants as brothers, and assumes an interest in the welfare, and a pride in the greatness, of the country, as though it were, to all intents and purposes, his own? Is it not excusable, if the unconvinced Yankee looks and listens with caution to this new comer, or even if he considers him a cheat, calls his warm talk "blarney," and sets him down as in interloper?

Such sentiments as these once excited, it is difficult to dislodge them from the mind. And when the transition in the feelings of the foreigner, arising from his discovery of those sentiments, has fairly set in, a reciprocal tone of dislike and acrimony is sure to be the result. It is needless to point out how much this unfortunate state of misunderstanding is fostered, by taunts and jibes on the one hand, and by the angry spirit of disappointment superinduced on the other.

The fierce zeal with which the Irishmen, who have acquired the rights of citizenship, enter into political strife, cannot fail to excite extreme jealousy in those native partisans, who see themselves outstripped in violence, and robbed of their privileges of railing and rioting. Even the more sober and tolerant cannot endure the boisterous patriotism of those sons of Erin, nor feel quite at ease on seeing that those, who had been a few years previously the despised subjects of a foreign sovereign, should now have acquired, as it appears to them, *per saltum*, an equality of rights with the offspring of home-born republicans, who gained those glorious privileges at the cost of their lives and fortunes, in a long and doubtful struggle.

This particular cause of dissatisfaction, is common to persons of every station throughout the country. Then comes a particular discontent on the part of the working classes of the community against those hardy laborers from beyond seas, who come into the market, to do more for less money, to live in a way which lowers the general respectability of the working man, thus causing at once a decrease in wages, and in the consideration accorded by the employer to the laborer, and doing a double mischief on the score of their profits and their pride. They know not, or probably give small credit if they do know them, to the motives which induce the Irish

laborer in America, to undergo privations, that in many cases, make his condition little better than it was at home. But when it is, as it ought to be, widely understood that the Irishman braves reproach and contumely, and denies himself many of the enjoyments his earnings might procure, that he may be able to remit a portion of them to his suffering relatives in the old country, how lofty is his moral elevation ; how does his pious attachment to his distant "kith and kin" give assurance of his fidelity to the new relations he has made for himself in his new home ! How often is the fable of "The Cock and the Jewel," acted over in this country, as well as in all other parts of the world ! What numberless instances occur of worth despised and merit trampled down, from ignorance of their value, or because they are found in ignoble places !

The naturalization of foreigners has been, from the most ancient times, a point of considerable jealousy with all civilized countries. The old Greek states indulged the most narrow views on this subject. Intermarriage was forbidden between citizens of the various republics, and no person was allowed to hold land within the territory of any state but his own. When the Olynthian republic introduced a more liberal and beneficial policy, it was considered as a portentous innovation.* And, as a most remarkable stretch of gratitude to the Athenians, for their assistance in the war against Philip of Macedon, the Byzantines infringed their ordinary strictness, and granted by law, to their allies, the right of intermarriage with their citizens, and the power of purchasing and holding lands in the Byzantine territories.

In the palmy days of Athens herself, the privilege of citizenship was deemed a very distinguished favor, and could only be obtained by the decree of two successive assemblies of the people ; and the laws enacted the penalty of death to any stranger who intruded his voice into their legislative proceedings.

The Romans of the republic were noted for their peculiar jealousy of the *jus civitatis*, or rights of a citizen. In the time of Augustus, the same anxiety existed to keep the people untainted of foreign blood. † And it was not until

* Mitford's *History of Greece*, Vol. V. p. 9.

† Suetonius *de Aug.* § 40.

the reign of Caracalla, that, for purposes of a more extended taxation, the freedom of the city was communicated to the whole Roman world. *

From those remote days to the present time, conflicting opinions and contradictory enactments have prevailed on the subject of the naturalization and alien laws ; and there is, perhaps, no other, of equal importance to the well-being of states, which is, at this day, involved in so much doubt and delicacy. It is not necessary that we should enter at large into the consideration of a matter, which has called forth much reasoning and variety of argument from some of the most distinguished jurists of both hemispheres. The main foundation of all legislation or usage on the subject, seems to be, that almost all civilized nations admit the principle of expatriation. Cicero regarded it as one of the firmest bases of Roman liberty, that the citizen had the privilege to stay, or renounce his residence, in the state at pleasure. "*Ne quis invitus civitate mutetur ; neve in civitate maneat invitus. Hæc sunt enim fundamenta firmissima nostræ libertatis, sui quemque juris et retinendi et dimittendi esse dominum.*" † And the principal modern writers on public law, as Grotius, Puffendorf, Wyckefort, and Vattel, have spoken generally, though perhaps rather loosely, in favor of the right of a subject to emigrate and abandon his native country, unless there be some positive restraint by law, or he be at the time in possession of a public trust, or unless his country be in distress, or in war, or stand in need of his assistance.

It is the doctrine of the English Common Law, that natural-born subjects owe an allegiance, which is intrinsic and perpetual, and which cannot be devested by any act of their own. However repugnant this may be to our notions of the natural liberty of mankind, or however inconsistent with the principle declared by some of the State Constitutions in this country, yet, as the question has never been settled by judicial decision, and as the judges of the Supreme Court have discovered much embarrassment in its consideration, it seems admitted, that until some legislative regulations on the subject are prescribed, the rule of the Common Law must prevail ; its only relaxation being in the case of persons who for commercial purposes may acquire the rights of a citizen of an-

* Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 267. † *Orat. pro L. C. Balbo*, c. 13.

other country, the place of domicil determining the character of a party as to trade.

The naturalization laws of the United States have been subject to great and frequent variation. The terms upon which any alien, being a free white person,* can be naturalized, are prescribed by the Acts of Congress of the 14th of April, 1802, ch. 28; the 3d of March, 1813, ch. 184; the 22d of March, 1816, ch. 32; the 26th of May, 1824, ch. 186; and the 24th of May, 1828, ch. 106.

Previously to the first of those acts, which has fixed the main point of the term of probationary residence in the country, it fluctuated considerably. In 1790, only two years' previous residence was required. In 1795, the period was enlarged to five years; and, in 1798, to fourteen years. In 1802, it was reduced back to five years, where it yet remains.

The alien is required to declare on oath before a State court, being a court of record, with a seal and clerk, and having Common Law jurisdiction, or before a Circuit or District Court of the United States, or before a clerk of either of the said courts, two years at least before his admission, his intention to become a citizen, and to renounce his allegiance to his own sovereign; the latter stipulation being admitted by the best jurists in the country to be grossly inconsistent with the generally received doctrine of intrinsic and perpetual allegiance. The prescribed declaration need not be previously made, if the alien resided here before the 18th of June, 1812, and has since continued to reside here; nor if he be a minor under twenty-one years of age, and shall have resided in the United States three years next preceding his arrival to majority. It is sufficient, that it be made at the time of his admission, and that he then declare on oath, and prove to the satisfaction of the court, that, for three years next preceding, it was his *bonâ fide* intention to become a citizen, and then the five years' residence, including the three years of his minority, will entitle him to admission as a citizen, on complying with the other requisites of the law. At the time of

* The Act of Congress confines the description of aliens capable of naturalization to "free white persons." It is presumed that this excludes the inhabitants of Africa and their descendants; but it may become a question, to what extent persons of mixed blood are excluded, and what shades and degrees of mixture of color disqualify an alien from application for the benefits of the act of naturalization.

his admission his country must be at peace with the United States, and he must, before one of those courts, take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and likewise on oath *renounce and abjure his native allegiance.* He must, at the time of his admission, satisfy the court, by other proof than his own oath, that he has resided five years at least within the United States, and one year, at least, within the State where the court is held; and if he shall have arrived after the peace of 1815, his residence must have been continued for five years next preceding his admission, without his having been at any time during the five years out of the territory of the United States. He must satisfy the court, that during that time he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well-disposed to the good order and happiness of the same. He must at the same time renounce any title or order of nobility, if any he hath. The law provides, that children of persons duly naturalized, being minors at that time, shall, if dwelling in the United States, be deemed citizens. It is further provided, that, if any alien shall die after his declaration, and before actual admission as a citizen, his widow and children shall be deemed citizens.

A person thus duly naturalized becomes entitled to all the privileges and immunities of natural-born subjects, except that a residence of seven years is requisite to enable him to hold a seat in Congress, and no person except a natural-born citizen is eligible to the office of governor in some of the States, or to that of President of the United States.*

We cannot enumerate the various enactments in the several States of the Union, which regulate the particular rights and privileges of aliens or foreign-born citizens. Great toleration and latitude of construction prevail in some, while extreme rigor formerly existed in others. Before the adoption of the present Constitution, the power of naturalizing resided in the several States; and the constitution of New York, as it was originally passed, required all persons born out of the United States to take an oath, on being naturalized, abjuring all foreign allegiance in all matters *ecclesiastical* as

* An able historical review of the principal discussions in the federal courts on this important subject in American jurisprudence, is to be found in Chancellor Kent's *Commentaries*, Vol. II. 3d New York Edit. Part iv., Sect. xxv.

well as civil. This was intended to exclude the Roman Catholics, who acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. It was law in the beginning of the last century, that every Jesuit and Popish priest who should continue in the colony after a given day, should be condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and, if he broke prison and escaped, he should, when retaken, be put to death. Mr. Smith, in his "History of New York," (page 111,) declares his opinion, that the law (as well as the punishment) should be perpetual. As late as 1753, the legislature of Virginia passed an act placing Popish recusants under the most oppressive disabilities. It should not however be forgotten, that the charter of Rhode Island, of 1663, declared, that "no person within the colony, at any time thereafter should be in any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, that do not actually disturb the peace of the colony." And, the Catholic planters of Maryland having already, in 1649, declared by law, that "no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested in respect of their religion," they procured to their adopted country the distinguished praise of being the first of the American States in which toleration was established by law; and, while the Puritans were persecuting their Protestant brethren in New England, and the Episcopalians retorting the same severity on the Puritans in Virginia, the Catholics, against whom the others were combined, formed in Maryland a sanctuary, where all might worship and none might oppress, and where even Protestants sought refuge from Protestant intolerance.* New Jersey and Carolina followed the bright examples just quoted; and Pennsylvania, under the auspices of its celebrated founder, went to the most large and liberal extent, declaring, that "no men on earth had power or authority to rule over men's consciences in the concernments of religion;" and that "no persons, acknowledging a Deity and living peaceably in society, should be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion."

It appears from these "illustrious examples," as they are justly called by Chancellor Kent, in his "Commentaries," that various portions of this country became, even in its infant state, asylums for the enjoyment of the principles of civil and

* See Grahame's *History of the Rise and Progress of the United States.*

religious liberty, to the persecuted votaries of those principles from every part of Europe.

And such surely was the great design of Providence in the formation and fashioning of this glorious continent, and in leaving its discovery to a period when the day-break of literature and science shone on a race of men, wise enough to comprehend the blessings of such a place of refuge, and learned enough to improve its advantages; so that, when ill-fortune, or the wrong-doing of wicked rulers, in the old world, drove them from their natural home, they had one ready made for their exigencies, and of ample scope for all comers from generation to generation. Nor must the justice of Heaven be arraigned, because poverty and suffering exist in Europe, wildernesses and desolation in America. A wise beneficence has so ordained, that misery there should impel population here; and that the wilds of the New World should bring out the poor and not the rich for their redemption. For, hard-working men, tried in the furnace of ill-fortune, are the fitting stock from which to people a new world. A striking passage in Carlyle's "Miscellanies," free from his usual burlesque style, pays a fine tribute to the value of labor; and another, of plain but powerful reasoning, is to be found in a celebrated work of a living philosopher, which might be quoted as an apt illustration of the analogy between the value of physical suffering and the moral uses of adversity.*

Every philanthropist that lives must rejoice, that such a harbour of safety for the oppressed of the earth exists, as is to be found in the vast countries upon whose outermost verge our Atlantic cities stand. And, while nature itself and the force of things invite hitherward all men who can improve their civil or religious condition, how strange and deplorable is it, that societies should be formed in those very cities, so many social barriers against the primal necessity of America's actual condition! Looking at what has been already done by the aid of foreign labor, the great public works of our cities, our canals, railroads, and indeed every enterprise of physical power, and seeing what yet remains to be accomplished before this continent can have fulfilled its destiny, the interruption of immigration would be an actual decree against improvement, — a ban on civilization, — a fiat for the perpet-

* *The Constitution of Man*, by George Combe, 8th American Edition, p. 286.

ual existence of the wilderness, and for the everlasting establishment of savage life. But not more impossible was it for the despot king of old to stem the rising sea, than it is for any combination now to stop the living tide of emigration that rolls from the shores of the Old World, following the course which nature itself points out, across that ocean over which the wanderers are piloted by the joint instincts of self-preservation and love of happiness. Statistical details are not easily procured, to give, with any approach to accuracy, a statement of the increase of emigration from Europe. It has, however, been officially ascertained, that the number of foreign passengers who arrived at the port of New York alone, from the first of January to the first of November, in the year just closed, a period of ten months, is 58,000. That fact may startle even those whom it does not frighten. But, — let it act as it may on the hopes or fears of our naturalized or native population, —

"The cry is still, 'They come!'"

And come they will, with bounding hearts and lofty aspirations; and, however it may affect or disturb those who oppose, from principle or prejudice, this crowding influx of foreigners,

"nought now can change
Their nature, or revoke the high decree
Unchangeable, eternal, which ordained
Their freedom."

But it is, nevertheless, true, that a party is organized, and its organs fully established and in actual operation, in several of our chief cities, with the avowed object of throwing back upon the Old World, if not the millions who have already arrived in the New, at least the hundreds of thousands who are at this moment standing expectant on the European shores, waiting for circumstances or a wind, — as the birds of passage whose instinct points out their congenial resting-place across the waste of waters. The avowed object of this short-sighted party is the repeal of what they stigmatize as "the odious and destructive laws of naturalization now in existence." They say they are "determined to enter the lists with renewed energy and increased hope." "We have waited long enough," is their cry; "we have already given a sufficient precedence to party, and we will now assert the claims of country. Let every American who loves her, do the

same, and we shall soon see her redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled. But let us be divided on this most vital of all questions, *and she will fall an easy prey to the stranger.*"— *Native American*, Sunday, Nov. 8.

We place no note of admiration, — or of astonishment,— after the words we have put in Italics ; but it would be difficult to express our surprise at the sentiment they embody, firmly believing, as we do, in the sincerity of the writer and of those to whose sympathies he speaks.

"An easy prey to the stranger." Had we indeed been in the perilous crisis here assumed, — had a foreign army touched our frontiers, — had hordes of aristocrats come upon us with their corrupting blandishments of rank and title, an invasion far worse to this community than the scourge of fire and sword, — we could understand the appeal of the "Native American," albeit we might not come into the same category. But, when we know that "the stranger" here denounced is the embodied mass of foreign industry that clears away our forests, tills our fields, works on our wharves, and forms one of the main features of our national strength and prosperity, we lament, while we marvel at, the fatal mistake, which makes a body of ardent patriots labor so hard to produce that "division" they deprecate so much, and raise a bitter enemy in the very heart of the land. We trust that the good sense of the community at large will discountenance this tendency to mischief, now that the nation requires that moral force which union alone supplies, to carry out the great purposes of domestic weal and general civilization.

Let it be remembered, that our late political revolution,— mighty in all its movements, and important in its results at home, — must also have the effect of reconciling us, as it were, to the doubts and apprehensions of the world at large. The stability of our institutions is now beyond all cavil established. No sneers, no fears can further impose on Europe, or persuade it that we were in a state of anarchy, and on the verge of social ruin. In the peaceful manner in which such a change has been accomplished, we have set a great example to the popular governments, and given a fearful shock to the despotisms. Never, since the days of our "great rebellion," has this country taken and maintained so proud a stand. And are we now to show a spectacle of disunion, and strive to make the edifice of our glory totter, before the cement is dry

which should consolidate it? Let us see on what possible grounds this preposterous and suicidal attempt is to be made.

The authorities conspicuously quoted for the purpose of raising this bugbear alarm at foreign influence, are Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. High ones, no doubt, — oracles, almost, respectively to various shades of political parties in the Union.

"History and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of a republican government," says Washington, most truly, in his memorable "Farewell Address."

"Foreign influence is a Grecian horse to the republic. We cannot be too careful to exclude its entrance," exclaims Madison.

"I hope we may find some means in future of shielding ourselves from foreign influence, political, commercial, or in whatever form it may be attempted," were the words of Jefferson. But it would not be fair to hold him responsible for the half-expressed and hasty utterance of a sympathy with the wish of Silas Deane, "that there were an ocean of fire between this and the Old World"!

But taking at their full value the opinions so plainly expressed by these three great sages of our revolutionary history, — and joining, as every lover of his country will join, heart and soul, in the sentiment that deprecates the introduction of foreign *influence* among us, — what living man of common sense and common candor will construe it to bear upon the admission of Irish or German laboring men to the privileges of citizenship, after the term of probation prescribed by the laws? When Washington "most devoutly wished," (to use his own emphatic expression in his letter to Mr. Morris, dated "White Plains, July 24th, 1778,") "that we had not a single foreigner among us but the Marquis Lafayette," did he mean any thing beyond the annoyance he experienced from the troublesome claims, for promotion and emolument, of the French and German adventurers who crowded the army? And are these patriot sentiments of repugnance against the influence of foreign monarchs, and the more fatal and insidious evils of aristocratical corruption, to be distorted into a hostility against the peasantry, the artisans, the manufacturers, or the agriculturists of Europe, bringing out with them the skill and industry which alone were wanting to

make America what it now is, and without which it never could have reached its present preëminence! Little could those high authorities have then imagined, that their words of wisdom would ever have been inscribed on the banners which they now make so conspicuous, but which, perverted from their true sense as they are, they cannot be said to adorn.

But what were the real, general notions on this important subject of some of our most eminent men, differing in many other points of political opinion? A memorable debate took place on the question of naturalization in the Federal Convention, on Monday, August 13th, 1789, on the motion of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Randolph, to strike out "seven years," and insert "four years," as the requisite term of citizenship, to qualify for the House of Representatives.

Mr. Williamson moved to insert "nine years," instead of seven, and observed, truly, but not quite relevantly to the class of men, who, by industry and in time, might reach the honor of being raised to a seat in Congress; "*Wealthy* emigrants do more harm by their luxurious examples, than good by the money they bring with them."

Colonel Hamilton, meeting this truism by a broader view of the question, said; "The advantage of encouraging foreigners was obvious and admitted;" and he moved that the section be so altered, as to require merely "citizenship and inhabitancy," as the qualifications.

Mr. Madison seconded the motion. "He wished to invite foreigners of merit and republican principles among us. *America was indebted to emigration for her settlements and prosperity.* That part of America which had encouraged them most, had advanced most rapidly in population, agriculture, and the arts."

Dr. Franklin said; "When foreigners, after looking about for some other country in which they can obtain more happiness, give a preference to ours, it is a proof of attachment which ought to excite our confidence and affection." And he declared himself opposed to all restrictions on naturalization.*

Washington was President at this period, and Jefferson was in France. But the opinions of the latter on the question then debated are proved by a passage in his letter to

* For the whole of this debate, see the *Madison Papers*, Vol. III.

Kosciusko on a subsequent occasion, when, speaking of the salutary labors of the first Congress during his first presidency, he says ; " They are opening the doors of hospitality to the fugitives from the oppressions of other countries," — in allusion to the repeal of the retrograde enactment of 1798, which had changed the term of probationary residence from five years to fourteen, in pursuance of a strong recommendation in his own message.

But, if still stronger proof is required of Jefferson's sentiments on this point, it is to be found, and will be reverted to to the end of time, in that immortal document, the " Declaration of Independence," drawn up by his own hand. Enumerating the acts of tyranny of King George the Third against the colonies, he exclaims ; " He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose, *obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners*, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new apportionments of lands."

Further testimony can scarcely be required, beyond this great act of attainder against the sovereign, to show the impolicy, to say no more, of any such " obstructions " to the evident design of God himself ; or to prove that the mind must be narrow, — granting the purposes to be honest, — of those, who suppose that this "brave New World " was made for the sole use of those, who chance to be born on its soil. It seems a mockery, when the exclusionists declare, that they would allow " the industrious and enterprising foreigners to enjoy the fruits of their earnings under their own vine and fig-tree ; " but that " the son of the bondwoman should not be heir with the son of the freewoman, in other words, that they have no title to equal privileges with us in our glorious heritage, and that, in according them every privilege short of the elective franchise, we are acting *with great and munificent liberality*." *

We are here disposed to ask, if any " party " can really exist in this country so forgetful of the past, so insensible to the present, so indifferent to the future, as to wish to confine any set of free men, in any country on earth, to the privilege which is conceded to the negro slave ; ay, to the very beast of burthen ; of lying down in idleness and repose, after

* The *Spirit of Seventy-six*, Nov. 7th, 1840.

the work of the day is done. Or can any portion of a thinking community expect, that a class could be found, in the stir and bustle of this free country, to abjure the right of ever giving a vote for the representative, whose duty it is to pass laws to protect the lives of themselves and their children, the property they have purchased, and the institutions of which they form a part ?

We might accumulate living authorities, in reprobation of this " munificent liberality " ! But this cannot be requisite. The thing sought is as impossible as the arguments used in support of it are absurd. We shall content ourselves with one quotation more. It is from the speech of William Henry Harrison, President elect of the United States, delivered before a large meeting of the people, at Lancaster, in the State of Ohio, in the month of October last.

" I am accused, fellow-citizens," said he, " of entertaining unfriendly feelings towards foreigners, who emigrate to this country with a view of becoming citizens, and of a desire to throw obstructions in the way of their naturalization. Nothing can be more false than this charge. . . . . I have been more than forty years before my country, and my votes and my speeches are a true index of my opinions, on this as well as other important subjects. If those, who thus accuse me, will point out a single vote, or any expression of mine, which can in the least support this assertion, I will agree, that I am bound to come forward and explain. But they cannot do this. No such vote was ever given by me ; no such opinion expressed. On the contrary, I have ever felt the warmest sympathy with those who have fled here, from the old world, for refuge ; and I have always given my support, whether in the national councils or as a private citizen, to all the laws which have passed to render their condition better, *or their naturalization* MORE EASY."

But lest this extract from a newspaper report may be spurious, or partially incorrect, we put on record here the following frank and generous reply, from the same distinguished individual, to a respectful letter written to him by Mr. Francis J. Grund, of Philadelphia, asking his sentiments on this mooted question.

" *North Bend, September 25th*, 1840.

" Through the whole course of my political life, I am satisfied, that no sentence ever fell from my lips, which could be construed into an unfriendly feeling to the Europeans who

have emigrated hither, to enjoy the advantages which our free institutions afford, or a wish to extend the period, which is fixed by the existing laws, for their full admission to the rights of citizenship."

Foreigners and natives may thus be alike satisfied, that, during the four years' Presidency of General Harrison, no innovation, of the nature threatened, has a chance of being attempted, to any extent, or with any support that would encourage an agitation of the question.

What, then, should be done, in the mean time, by every lover of the country and of the various classes of its population, to improve and consolidate the well-being of each, so as to insure the satisfaction and happiness of the whole? Nothing, most assuredly, could tend more effectually to this great object, than the clearing away of prejudices, softening asperities, and setting the different opposing parties right with respect to the characters and objects of others. This paper was undertaken with that view, in as far as the Irish in America came under observation; and a few rapid pages of advice, rather than dictation, will close our labors in connexion with the subject.

It must be admitted, that the Irish have to encounter considerable prejudices in this country, — no matter from what causes arising, — in almost every section of the Union, though in different degrees. In some places they are openly and even violently expressed. In others, the feeling is slightly visible on the surface of common intercourse; but there is no observing Irishman, perhaps, who has not had, on some occasion or other, cause to notice the annoying fact. It must be remarked, that some of the different portions of this vast Union are much more congenial than others to the habits and feelings of Irishmen. And all seem to agree, that New England, taken on the whole, is the hardest soil for an Irishman to take root and flourish in. The settled habits of the people, the untainted English descent of the great majority, discrepancies of religious faith and forms, and a jealousy of foreign intermixture of any kind, all operate against those, who would seek to engraft themselves on the Yankee stem, in the hope of a joint stock of interest or happiness. The bulk of Irish emigration to the Western States is comprised chiefly of agricultural laborers. Rigidly excluded, in former times, from improving, by education,

his acknowledged quickness of intellect, the emigrant of this class has been hitherto fitted only for the performance of offices requiring mere muscular exertion. Without any of those incentives to improvement possessed by the educated man, the beings we now speak of were doomed to a hopeless state of social inferiority. Their incapacity to perform any work requiring the application of intellectual power, marked them out as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The high wages and good living, in comparison to what they had been accustomed to in Europe, ought to have given them more comforts, and raised them in the moral scale. But the pernicious addiction to whiskey-drinking, common to those poor people, and the highly reprehensible habit of allowing it to them in large quantities, by the contractors for some of the public works, have, until lately, kept them in a state of mere brute enjoyment, so to call their degraded condition.* This is the true source of every excess heretofore committed by Irishmen in this country. Goaded by the stimulus of ardent spirits, their natural excitability of temperament knows no bounds. The memory of their ancient feuds in the old country revived by some chance word, they rush into conflict with their fellow-countrymen, or, in the words (scarcely exaggerated) of the song,

> "Get drunk, meet their friend, and for love knock him down;"

and present to the amazed, amused, but disgusted American spectators a scene unparalleled, except between tribes, in open warfare, of the savages on their borders.

These broils, happily of rare occurrence at present, tended much to lower the standard of the Irish character; but the improved deportment of those who have been long in the country, and the better description of emigrants who have of late left Ireland, decrease every day the chances of such disgraceful outbreaks; while the certainty of complete regeneration among the millions still in the old country, under the

* "I happened, a few days ago, to be on the line of a railroad in process of construction, where the labor was done by Irish new-comers. They are fed and lodged; and hear their bill of fare; — three meals a day, and at each meal plenty of meat and wheaten bread; coffee and sugar at two of those meals, and butter once a day. *In the course of the day from six to eight glasses of whisky are given them,* according to the state of the weather. Besides which they receive forty cents a day under the most unfavorable circumstances, often from sixty to seventy-five cents." — *Chevalier*, p. 108.

The italics in this passage are ours; and we hope, that many native Americans, who are disgusted with Irish degradation, will remark, and some mayhap will blush at it.

miracle-working influence of their great living Apostle, is a guaranty for the moral worth of those who may hereafter come among us.

A deep and fatal error, — the main cause of which we have already adverted to, — among the immigrant Irish, is the energy with which they associate in clubs and societies, having laudable but mistaken views. The motto, "Union is strength," is, in this case, a fallacy of the worst kind, and affords a parallel to that other union at home, which has produced nothing but weakness and discord. The more an Irishman abstracts himself from those associations exclusively Irish, the greater is his chance of amalgamation with Americans, among whom his destiny is cast, and in whose fraternity he is, after all, to look for the meed of his industrious career. It may be safely observed, that those Irishmen, who have thriven best in the United States, are those who have taken an independent stand, and, separating themselves from all clannish connexions, have worked their way alone. Such a man was the late Mathew Carey, of Philadelphia, the record of whose life is, to his enterprising fellow-countrymen, an example more valuable than a legacy, and to his own memory a monument more honorable than a marble statue.

Among those native Irishmen, who are to be found running a course of similar respectability and success, should be mentioned Judge Porter, of Louisiana, who, after having sustained high offices in that State, attained and admirably adorned the dignity of Senator of the United States. Mr. James Boyd, of Boston, late a member of the legislature of Massachusetts, and the author of the admirable Essay, placed first on the list of publications which have served as a text for this article, may be mentioned as a living instance of the honorable standing, which industry and talent can attain for an Irishman, even in the least congenial atmosphere. In the "Address," just alluded to, this intelligent and respected citizen observes ;

"One of the first duties, which we owe to ourselves and to the public, is to live on our own resources ; to be, like the country of our adoption, INDEPENDENT, and to feel and to live as if we knew we were so, as far as reason and the nature of things permit. Absolute independence I do not of course mean. Such a state is neither attainable nor desirable. We must live by and for each other. Still there is a degree of

comparative independence, so necessary in the present organization of society, that he, who does not possess it, can never be a free man in any country.

"Now I hold, that this state of comparative independence is within the reach of every Irishman, who comes amongst us, who is of sound body and mind. That state of things, which enables us to give something valuable to others in exchange for that which we receive from them, is the state of comparative independence; and, to qualify us for admission into this state, nature has made ample provision. She has given us strength to labor, and freedom of limb and person. Exercising these natural gifts, every man can do something that is valuable to some other. By judiciously using the compensation thus earned, we can put ourselves in possession of all the necessaries of life to begin with; and a prudent economy, and living within our means, will enable us, in time, to command the comforts and elegancies with which this country abounds. Possessing and enjoying, rationally, this comparative independence, we have a natural wealth, which, so long as we have health, no vicissitudes can take away." — p. 22.

This little pamphlet abounds with passages of the same good sense as the above; and it contains advice on most important subjects of conduct, from which the settler in America might frame a code of inestimable value.

The newspapers, published almost exclusively for Irish readers, and two of which we have more particularly referred to, contain a fund of spirited articles adapted to their particular views. It is to be lamented, that these papers, acting to a certain degree on the defensive, and driven to retaliation by a series of insulting attacks, are sometimes led into a style of recrimination that never adds strength to a good cause. They are also far too sectarian in their tone, — at least if their object is to circulate beyond the pale of a sect. To do honor to their country and its patriot leaders, to their faith and its pure apostles, is in the highest degree praiseworthy. But we do not think newspapers the fitting channel for polemical disputation. Great and valuable, however, is the service done to the cause of morals and true piety by the papers now before us, in the enforcement of that principle of TEMPERANCE, which is all in all for Ireland, and to the Irish here an unspeakable blessing. In the "Boston Pilot," of December 5th, is one of those announcements, so frequent of late in it and other prints. It is as follows;

"The cause of temperance progresses gloriously throughout the whole country. There cannot be fewer than six thousand individuals, who have taken the pledge, in the New England States. In Lowell there are nearly two thousand; in Providence and its vicinity, upward of one thousand; in Salem and its vicinity, one hundred and thirty; and under the auspices of the Rev. Messrs. Wiley, Canavan, Fitzimons, Strain, Daly, O'Sullivan, Murphy, &c., a large number have enlisted under the temperance banner."

The "Pilot" then gives an enumeration, from which we find, that in the State of Pennsylvania 11,700 certificates have been issued by the society there. Delaware, Ohio, and Connecticut, it appears, on the same authority, are rapidly gaining converts to this great cause. But it is truly observed, — and "pity 'tis, 'tis true," — "As long as the State and chartered societies permit the contractors to give liquor to the workmen, we cannot expect to succeed effectually in liberating all from this disgraceful yoke."

As a contrast to this deplorable habit among contractors, we have recently seen a communication from a source of the highest respectability, which says;

"I recently conversed with a contractor engaged on the public works in the western part of the State of Pennsylvania, and he informed me, that the incorporation among the men working for him of some twenty or thirty of Father Mathew's disciples had exercised the most happy influence in promoting the reformation of some confirmed drunkards. He also assured me, that these worthy fellows would sooner part with life itself than violate the pledge."

And this latter assurance is happily borne out by advices from every quarter in which the pledge has been extensively administered.

Among the many virtuous Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, who have taken a distinguished part in urging on this moral reformation among their laboring fellow-countrymen, the Rev. James McDermott, of Lowell, stands conspicuous. His labors have been unceasing, his zeal untiring, and his success complete. This excellent priest addressed his flock on the subject of temperance, for the first time, on the 18th of June last. And between that period and the 23d of November, 1736 persons, comprising almost all the adult Irish of the city, have taken the pledge and *have kept it sacred.* We

quote from a letter of the reverend gentleman, which we cannot in common justice to him, or the subject we have taken in hand, withhold from the public.

"I know not," observes Mr. McDermott, "of one habitual Irish drunkard in this place, and there are but very few who drink ardent spirits at all. The temperate drinkers, as they style themselves, begin to join our society, one by one. A change of circumstances and condition is the happy effect of change of habit. Their homes are now clean and comfortable, and they are happy and respected by the authorities and the citizens. To the officers and board, who are a light to this city and this land, we owe a debt of gratitude, which time can never cancel. In them I have always found protection and support, and a kind coöperation in all my humble efforts to promote the happiness of the flock intrusted to my spiritual charge. To our enlightened Board of Education, the Irish citizens are deeply indebted for an honest liberality in the appropriation of the school fund, and in the provision made for the education of their children. We have one grammar and five primary schools established exclusively for the Catholic children, supplied with competent and approved teachers, who get a liberal salary ; and the committee acknowledge, that the children are as docile in their deportment, and as studious, as any in the country. The Irish here are sensible of their advantages, and are determined to deserve them. Let the other cities of the Union do as our own happy Lowell has done, and the next generation will never blush at the brotherhood of an Irish American."

No exhortation can be required in addition to this plain, yet powerful statement of facts, to cause this example of Lowell and its benevolent magistrates to be extensively followed.

If, as is now admitted by all rational observers, the domestic grievances of Ireland are to be redressed by her own sons, so in like manner should the elevation of the Irish character in this country be accomplished by the same agency. The encouragement given to temperance by the Irish Catholic priests is a point of manifest first-rate importance. But other auxiliary measures, in which they cannot take so prominent a part, might effect great good. For instance, the establishment of affiliated emigrant societies, scattered throughout the country, — not for the purpose common to some of the social clubs, of keeping alive exclusive sentiments, not in harmony with those of the inhabitants at large, — but for obtaining in-

teresting statistical details, and correct information as to the best means of obtaining employment for new comers, and for distributing this information among them, so as to prevent their congregating, as they are so much in the habit of doing, in cities, where they obtain only a precarious subsistence, and to encourage their spreading themselves into the interior, with the assurance of permanent occupation and ultimate independence.

The formation of an intelligence society, of a character sufficiently comprehensive to enlist the sympathies of Irishmen of every social grade, and of every shade of religious and political sentiment, has been already proposed, and advocated with great energy and eloquence, by two Irish gentlemen, well known for their philanthropy and patriotism. The correspondence on the subject between these gentlemen, Mr. R. Hogan and Dr. W. J. McNevin, appeared in the New York "Freeman's Journal," of August 29th, 1840. The letters may be referred to as containing almost all that can be said on the general objects proposed. Dr. McNevin enters into detail on the attempts of another benevolent Irishman, Mr. Thomas O'Connor, of New York, to form a society similar to the one now, we hope, in the course of being organized; but this latter, though on the same basis, embraces, according to the plan of Mr. Hogan, a higher degree of moral elevation. The "Freeman's Journal" urges the adoption of this plan in several articles of great force, to the effect of the following extract;

"There is no possible enterprise, that could promote the happiness of the emigrant so much as the establishment of such a society. We are thoroughly persuaded of this from personal knowledge, as well as from the information of others. We have seen our fellow-countrymen thriving and happy in settlements in the interior of the country, where the industrious man would always be sure to draw from the earth the reward of his labor, and might feel assured, that, unless some extraordinary affliction should befall him, his children would never want at least the necessaries of life. This might be the condition of even the very poorest emigrant, who possesses industry, if he only knew where to go upon his arrival in this country; and we have often felt pained by the contrast which the destitute condition of many of our countrymen in this city presented, especially in the winter season. Again we call upon our benevolent fellow-countrymen to unite in this great work of philan-

thropy, and prevent or remove a vast amount of moral, intellectual, and physical degradation."

In pointing out for public approbation the plan of these gentlemen in New York, and in expressing our confident hope that it will lead to similar attempts in the other Atlantic cities, we must not omit to notice another praiseworthy and a most successful effort to ameliorate the condition of the Irish in America. We allude to the agricultural colony, so to call it, established by Bishop Fenwick, of Massachusetts, near the town of Lincoln, and about eighty miles from Bangor, in the State of Maine. The design of this settlement would appear to have been formed on the model of the colonies established by the Dutch, in Belgium, during the fifteen years of forced union to that country, between 1815 and 1830. But even if not, the details of those abortive attempts, — excellent in design, but greatly mismanaged, like every thing in the way of practical government tried by the late King of Holland, — might be advantageously studied, as a warning of the evils to be avoided in the progress of the undertaking. These details are to be found in the statistical works of Mr. Ducpetiaux, of Brussels, one of the most industrious and useful of the European writers in this particular branch of social economy.

The Irish settlement in Maine was begun about five years ago. Having purchased from the State a township in a district of country, in which the advantage of profitable timber was made subservient to that of a fertile soil and favorable locality, the Bishop caused the tract to be laid out in lots adapted to the means of agricultural emigrants, who were admitted as purchasers, in small proportions, at the original price of the land. Settlers were not accepted indiscriminately, or without due inquiry as to character and capability. A church and school house were erected ; and measures were taken for the progressive extension and improvement of the colony.

It now consists of about sixty families, containing three hundred persons, all Irish ; and from its complete success and the high state of moral discipline adopted by the people, it is likely to become a model for all such establishments, and an example, which it is to be hoped will by and by be extensively followed in the various States of the Union.

It is right and fitting that this great reformation movement

should have its commencement in the source where it originated, in a circle of enlightened Irishmen, and in the great city which forms the head-quarters of emigration. But every motive of genuine nationality, apart from the prejudices which degrade it, calls on the native citizens to encourage and coöperate in the plan. This was extensively the case in regard to the society set on foot by Mr. O'Connor, as appears from the statement of Dr. McNevin ; but some lukewarmness on the part of the city authorities seems to have thrown a chill upon the benevolent efforts of individuals, in an undertaking too vast in its benefits, and too universal in its object, not to require the most cordial aid of official patronage throughout the land.

Although every project for the information and protection of emigrants must naturally embrace the new comers of all nations, still it is to the Irish more particularly, that these efforts should be directed. They constitute a large proportion of the whole amount of immigrants ; and, with a due regard to the exigencies of this country, and the aptitude of Irishmen to supply them, it must be conceded that no foreigners reach these shores, whose services are more required, or whose labors are more richly remunerative to the land of their adoption ; who sympathize so entirely with its institutions, or who could be with such facility made *of* the country, while they were admitted *into* it.

The Germans, from the nature of their education, are accustomed more to the study of ancient feelings, than to the indulgence of present impulses. Their theories are founded on old forms of government, and old notions of society. They have but little practical experience ; and the consequence is a mass of abstractions in the national mind. It possesses, however, from this tone of education, a great simplicity. The sensations of the people are not overstrained or overexcited, as is the case in countries such as Ireland, where a perpetual agitation is kept up. And consequently great elements of good are contained in the public character, if they were properly brought out. But, by the policy of the various governments, they become inert and dull ; and the people, unaccustomed to the exercise of their power, bend before the tyranny, or at least resolve to fly from what they despair of being able to resist. They seek a shelter from the storm, rather than an open field for exertion. And

it is on this principle that they emigrate to America, and on their arrival shun the great marts of commerce and corruption, and retire to the quietude and seclusion of remote rural settlements.

The Irishman, on the contrary, is an ardent, enterprising, and, above all, a social animal. He loves to work, — or, if need be, to fight, — his way through life. And, if left to himself on arriving in America, he would not settle in, but bustle through the existence of, some populous city. He has been all his life accustomed to a densely-peopled neighbourhood. His little island, — not larger than our State of Maine, — contains eight millions or more of inhabitants, half as many as the whole of our great Union. To make such a man love solitude, or seek the wilderness, — to teach him

> "To sit on rocks, to muse o'er flood and fell,
> Where things that own not man's dominion dwell,"

or to make him comprehend the abstract meaning of the fine distinction in Cowper's sublime and simple sentiment, —

> "God made the country, and man made the town,"

you must hold out great inducements, appeal rather to his pride than his reason, and arouse him to the glory of conquering difficulties, rather than soothe him by the prospect of enjoying repose.

Nothing is of more importance to men who are made for the enjoyment of certain rights, than a due understanding of what they comprise. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are the inalienable rights of man," says the Declaration of American Independence ; but, without irreverence to that great charter of freedom, it may be observed, that a definition of the clause might be a puzzling task to the most profound jurist. The natural rights of man, a phrase in everybody's mouth, may be taken strictly to mean the rights of man in a state of nature. But this would by no means satisfy those theorists, who, confounding all the principles of society and government, build structures of law and justice (so to call them) no more solid than the air-built castles of the day-dreamer. A serious study of the subject is not within the reach of every individual ; but, surely, an utter neglect of it is unpardonable in those who take on themselves the office of instructing the public mind. It is, then, of absolute necessity to the common weal, that persons properly

suited to the task should be appointed to give a certain degree of general information to all foreigners who seek this country with a view to final settlement. Instead of leaving them, as they have hitherto been left, exposed to the designs of schemers, as ignorant and far more culpable than they are, they should be met on their arrival by qualified agents, at once put on their guard, taken by the hand, set in the right road of conduct, gradually instructed in the primary political knowledge adapted to their capacity, and warned against the evil ways into which so many, from want of those precautions, have fallen.

These, and many other obvious duties, would, we presume, be gladly undertaken by persons of all political opinions and religious persuasions, for a fair remuneration. We have every probability for the future, of seeing a far improved class of Irish in every emigrant ship which arrives ; and the pleasure of instructing the intelligent disciples of Father Mathew will be proportioned to their respectability. A premium for temperance might be established, in a diminution of the probationary term at present required before naturalization, proportioned to the period during which, according to satisfactory proof, the postulants have inflexibly held firm to the pledge ; and thus, the benevolent wishes of General Harrison, for making the naturalization of foreigners "*more easy*," be gradually brought into effect.

But our limits do not permit us to dwell longer on this subject. A portion of the space still left us cannot be better filled, than by the insertion of the following letter on the state of Ireland, which lately appeared in the New York "Journal of Commerce," from the London correspondent of that paper. More recent accounts confirm this statement in every particular, and leave no doubt, that the number of Father Mathew's disciples at present amounts to nearly three millions of persons.

"*London, Sept.* 31*st*, 1840.

"Ireland is enjoying a state of perfect repose, and may be truly said to be in a condition of most uninterrupted tranquillity. It is true, Mr. O'Connell is stoutly advocating repeal, and agitating for his recruits to his associations ; but this proceeding is one of the safety-valves, and, therefore, cannot be looked on as either ominous or dangerous. The various circuits of the Judges are now over in Ireland, and, from the re-

turns to the Home Office, it appears that there has been less crime than ever known. Those ruffian offences, brutal outrages, and atrocious murders, which formerly swelled the calendar of assizes throughout Ireland, have now, happily, ceased to exist. In several towns, but a few prisoners were for trial, and those on charges of a minor character, and in three large cities there was not a single prisoner to be placed before the judge. This state of things, a change so truly cheering and delightful, arises from the great confidence which the masses have in the present ministry and the Irish executive, and also from the mighty moral effects of the progress of tee-totalism.

"The tee-total movement is working a complete moral revolution in Ireland. All the accounts that we receive are confirmatory of the fact, that there are scarcely a dozen instances among the millions who have taken the pledge, of parties having relapsed into their former habits. In all the large cities, the effects are described as most curious; and, in Dublin, whole streets are devoted to the selling of clothes. The rags that formerly fluttered from the person of the drunkard, have given place to goodly garments; and butchers, bakers, bacon and butter factors, are increasing in numbers, and in wealth. Spirit stores are closing daily, and large distilleries are failing regularly about one a month. The great apostle of temperance, who has achieved this magic change, continues to devote all his energies to the cause, and is hourly increasing the number of his disciples, in manner and multitude perfectly astounding. Indeed, we must admit that Father Mathew is, without exception, the most remarkable man of his day; and, if he should succeed in rescuing his countrymen from their hitherto degraded and almost hopeless condition, and fix them in the course which they have adopted, he will, in my opinion, be entitled to more honor than the greatest general or statesman that ever existed."

In conclusion, we would seriously recommend to the consideration of all of our readers, the following truly beautiful passage from Mr. Goodrich's article, already quoted from.

"Let us by no means join in the popular outcry against foreigners coming to our country and partaking of its privileges. They will come, whether we will or no; and is it wise to meet them with inhospitality, and thus turn their hearts against us? Let us rather receive them as friends, and give them welcome to our country. Let us, at least, extend the hand of encouragement and sympathy to the Irish. Their story, for centuries, is but a record of sorrow and oppressions. They

have been made to feel, not only how cruel, but how universal are the miseries which follow a bad government ; and, even when leaving their native soil, they are obliged to carry with them the bitter memory of their country's wrongs. A people of quick and ardent sympathies, of a poetical and romantic love of country, they are, in exile, ever looking back to the Emerald Isle, with mingled sorrow and sickness of heart. How heavy is the burden which such bosoms must bear, as they wander over distant lands, in the bitter consciousness that their country is the desponding victim of oppression ! Shall not those who come to our shores, afflicted with such sorrows, find in the friends and sharers of freedom, both welcome and release ? Let us beware of adding to their wrongs. Let us remember, that there is other tyranny than that of chains and fetters, — the invisible but cruel tyranny of oppression and prejudice. Let us beware how we exercise this towards the Irish ; for it is wicked in itself, and doubly mischievous in its tendency. It injures both its subject and its object, and brings no counterbalancing good.

" Let us especially be guarded against two sources of prejudice, to which we are particularly liable. In the first place, in our personal experience, we are familiar with the most ignorant and unfortunate of the Irish nation. We see, in servile employments, those who have been exposed to all the debasing influences that degrade mankind. Is it fair to draw from these a standard, by which to judge of the whole people ? Let us rather ask ourselves, where there is another nation, who have been so long trampled down by oppression ; who have been born in poverty, and nursed in adversity ; who have inherited little from the past but sorrow, and can bequeath nothing to the future but hope ; — where is there a people so wronged, that has yet preserved so many virtues ? How gallantly, indeed, do Irish wit, and cheerfulness, and hospitality, and patriotism, ride on the wreck of individual hopes, and sparkle through the waves of adversity !

" Let us beware of prejudice from another source. We read English books, papers, and pamphlets, portraying the Irish as an untamable race, only to be ruled by the harsh inflictions of power. Let us, Americans, see that our minds are not driven from the moorings of justice, by this sinister current in which they are placed. Influenced by such considerations as these, let us, by all fair means, bring about a good understanding between the Irish emigrants and society. Let us deal gently with them, even with their errors. Thus we shall win their confidence. Thus they may be persuaded to take counsel of the good and the wise, and not throw them-

selves into the arms of those, who flatter their vices, and minister to their passions but to use and abuse them.

"Let this reasonable and just policy mark our conduct towards the grown up Irish among us ; and, in regard to their children, let us, individually and collectively, use our best endeavours to bestow upon them the benefits of education. But let us remember, that even an attempt to educate the Irish will fail, if it be not founded in a recognition of the elements of their national character, quick perception, a keen sense of justice, and ready resentment of wrong. If over these, prejudice, suspicion, and pride have thrown their shadows, let us adapt the instruction we would offer, to the light they can bear. In this way, a numerous people may be redeemed from misery to happiness, and rendered a blessing to our country. Let us thus deal with those Irish, who have left their native home to find a dwelling among us ; and, in regard to the millions that remain in "the green and weeping island," let us hope for the speedy dawn of a brighter and better day. A youthful queen now sways the sceptre of Britain ; and what may not humanity hope from the generosity of youth, and the heavenly charity of Woman ?" — *Token*, pp. 173 – 177.

Having thus brought before our readers, to the best of our ability, a fair statement of Ireland as it is, and Irishmen as they are, and such ample extracts from the wisdom and eloquence of others, on a vital subject of domestic policy, we have here only to express our hope, that they will sink into the public mind, like seed dropped into a kindly soil, and that the product will be a rich harvest of philanthropy, — "peace on earth, good will towards men."

Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Address Delivered before the Demosthenian and Phi Kappa Societies of Franklin College, Athens, Ga., on Thursday, August 5th*, 1840. By the Right Reverend John England, D. D., Bishop of Charleston, an Honorary Member of the Demosthenian Society. Published by Request of the Society. Athens. 8vo. pp. 33.

This address was delivered before a college society, called the Demosthenian, at Athens, in Georgia. The principal topic which the author discusses is the importance of relaxation, and the kind of relaxation best suited to the mind of man in the midst of the business and cares of life. After some just remarks upon the changes that take place in the amusements of a nation, as it grows more civilized and humane, he proceeds to consider the claims of classical literature; and upon this branch of his subject Bishop England speaks with the enthusiasm of a scholar. His remarks are every way judicious, and are accompanied by beautiful illustrations drawn from his own observation while travelling among scenes consecrated to the memory of the past. He finely says;

"There is in the palace of the Vatican, at Rome, a long corridor well known to the visiters of that magnificent depository of arts and of literature. As you enter, upon your right hand the wall is lined from the floor to the ceiling with fragments of marble, containing the rude and the improved inscriptions of Italy, in the days of heathenism. An immense vista opens before you, and to its extremity this monumental partition continues; the images of gods, the fragments of idols, the busts of heroes, the figures of philosophers, the figures of emperors, sarcophagi and pedestals range along its base; and the learned, the curious, the powerful, and the beautiful, the unbeliever and the pious, the gay and the grave, the libertine and the pilgrim, the British peer, the Spanish grandee, the American citizen, the Oriental sage, and the Italian peasant, in all the varied costumes of rank, of nation, of taste, and of caprice, move along the hall, reading the history of other days and admiring the works of artists who for multiplied centuries have been insensible to censure or to praise. There you may detect their living forms gliding between stern warriors frowning in marble, amidst petrified consuls and gladiators, blended with matrons, nymphs, and satyrs. One of the fathers of the church has appropriately remarked, that any one possessing eyes may look upon the characters of an illuminated volume, and admire the richness of the tints, the beauty of the letters, the decorations of the vellum; but, had he been taught to read, how much more information would he gather from the document itself? — How much more valuable would

it be in his estimation? So, to the scholar, how rich is the mine of knowledge which that corridor contains? and are not his authors and his recollections like that corridor to him who has become familiar with their contents?"—pp. 19, 20.

The Bishop's style, though flowing, is not so condensed as good taste would require; the habit of much public speaking is apt to lead to a looseness of construction, while it makes the language more copious. The printer has not done his part in presenting this discourse properly to the world. It is disfigured by many errors in mere spelling, which of course, are not the author's.

2.—*Address delivered before the Philomathean Society, of Mount Saint Mary's College, near Emmettsburg, Maryland, at the Annual Commencement, June 24th,* 1840. By Eugene H. Lynch, Esq. Baltimore: 8vo. pp. 27.

This discourse is very well written, and in general very well reasoned. The orator's purpose is to show, that two great leading philosophical views have, in all ages, divided the world. This he illustrates by references to the history of philosophy. The two views or systems are the mystical or spiritual philosophy and the philosophy of the senses, under which all systems, when analyzed, may be ranged. There is more plausibility than truth in this division; most systems recognise both facts of man's nature, and acknowledge the instinctive feeling of man, that he is a being made up of body and soul; and it is impossible, as a matter of fact, to draw any such line as Mr. Lynch attempts to draw, and as many others have attempted to draw before him. This mere theory, for it is nothing more, leads the orator to commit the injustice of making the following erroneous assertions. "The principles of the old materialists were again announced under a system generally known as that of sensualism. *Of that system Lord Bacon may be considered the father.*" In England, he says, "A system, whose ultimate and legitimate deductions were at war with all faith, flourished by the side of Christianity; and the honest defenders of religion were at the same time the ardent supporters of principles whose necessary conclusions struck at its very existence." After this monstrous absurdity, we shall be prepared for the assertion, often made elsewhere, but never sustained

by a particle of proof, and repeated here in a very authoritative manner, "Materialism, *the necessary result of the philosophy of Locke*, advocated by Condillac, was fully developed in the writings of Cabanis." Can Mr. Lynch have read Locke? His remarks upon Kant, too, are exceedingly inaccurate. Instead of establishing "the immovable convictions of faith on the basis of a thorough observation and analysis of facts," it was, in the language of a distinguished German, "only a sort of dignified resignation, a socratic confession, 'I know that I know nothing.' This system was, consequently, only the establishment of a long-cherished skepticism, and harmonizes entirely with an unbelieving age." The same writer remarks, "The philosophical century wanted an earth without a heaven, a state without a church, man without a God. No one has shown so plainly as Kant, how, with this limitation, earth may still be a paradise, the state a moral union, and man a noble being, by his own reason and power subjected to law," &c.

Many of the general statements in this discourse are equally vague, apparently from a habit of generalizing without that regard to facts, of which a closer adherence to the Baconian methods would have taught our author the importance. But still there is much to be praised. He shows a lofty spirit, and considerable eloquence; and many of his sentiments are strikingly beautiful.

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3. — *An Address on Primary Education, delivered by* M. Charles Paterson, *before the Columbian Peithologian Society, in the Chapel of Columbia College, June 3d,* 1840. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 42.

The subject of primary education is here treated with a practical knowledge, which is not often found. The views of Mr. Paterson ought to be strongly urged upon the educated classes throughout the country. It shows good sense and a patriotic spirit, in the orator, to pass over the more inviting themes that must have occurred to him, and to select this homely, but all important subject, on which to address a polite and learned audience. His statements, facts, reasonings, and conclusions, are well calculated to excite attention and

to do good, especially in the great State of New York. Many interesting facts he has presented in the Address and in the notes, with relation to the working of foreign systems of national education, as the Prussian. As republicans, we ought to hang our heads with mortification, that we have allowed ourselves to be so forgetful of our nearest interests, while the absolute despotism of Prussia has devised a system, which makes every one of its subjects an instructed man. Such men as Mr. Paterson ought to ring these facts in the ears of the people until they are compelled, for very shame, to bestir themselves, and escape the disgrace of being so completely distanced as they are now, by a monarchy without a constitution, in the career of enlightened education.

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4. — 1. *Anthon's Greek Reader. From the "New York Review."* [An Extra from the last Number of that Journal.] 8vo. pp. 12.
2. *The Knickerbocker for November*, 1840. [Literary notice of the "North American Review," No. 109. pp. 9.]
3. *Letter to the Editor of the "North American Review," New York Editors, and New England Critics.* By Patrick S. Casserly. 8vo. pp. 16.

It has been our unhappiness, by a recent notice of Professor Anthon's edition of Jacobs's "Greek Reader," to disturb the equanimity of some writers in his neighbourhood. The Review lately established in New York collects for us more terms of objurgation, than it would be convenient to rehearse in the hearing of ears polite. The "Knickerbocker" magazine, —commonly the most complaisant of the quill-armed choir, complimenting comers "from all the corners" with a carol and a coo, — now ruffles its glossy plumage, "turns up its bright eye, and pecks." Mr. Patrick S. Casserly, with whom is his son Mr. Eugene, is the last Richmond in the field. "One at a time, pray, gentlemen," said once a judge of the Emerald Isle, on an occasion of which it cannot be necessary to remind Mr. Casserly, who speaks of "the seminaries of Great Britain and Ireland, where I happened to be born and brought up."

The disturbed parties praise each other all round with an edifying assiduity. The "New York Review" commends the wit of the "Knickerbocker," and the "Knickerbocker" testifies to the ability and scholarship of the "New York Review"; while Mr. Casserly, notwithstanding his particular

little quarrel with one of them, yet gives, in both directions, his generous meed of applause. At this table surcharged with a feast of encomiums, it is only we that come not in for a crumb.

An honest business, doubtless, and a useful, is this of criticism ; and when it has been undertaken, what remains but to do it ? A thankless business, too, it is apt to be, notwithstanding. The old doctrine about the irritability of poets is not without application to the prose writers. You shall hold a man's character, and even his talents and learning, in singular esteem, and greatly value his regard, and yet, if he have not a good deal of magnanimity, or even if he have, he shall pass by you very coldly the next time you cross his way, after having followed your best judgment in finding fault with his book, or even commending it with faint praise. As far as personal relations are concerned between him and you, you shall greatly desire to adopt his offered criticism upon some third party, and yet if, by difference of opinion, or some other reason, you are obliged to deny yourself that pleasure, you are liable to find, from some early shedding of reproachful ink, that you have passed to a different place in his esteem. And, if this be so with friends, how must it be expected to be with strangers ? If gentle fault-finding is not easily borne, what is liable to follow when the censure is more decided ? And, if the mere refusal to publish unmerited praise may give offence, what is likely to ensue, when the justice of such praise in some instance is publicly denied ? It must be odd, indeed, when an author, and his publisher, and all who may have inadvertently been led to commend his book by anticipation, or without sufficient knowledge, cannot among them furnish champions to stand by him in his arraignment. Sometimes the aggrieved author becomes rabid in his own defence. Sometimes the business is taken off his hands, and battle is done for him with the same zeal which might be thought natural in himself, should he assume the controversy.*

We have ventured to suggest, that writers of prose, as well as of poetry, are an irritable race ; and we add, that, among the former, the dealers in the technics of philology, whether in the way of grammar, dictionary, translation, or annotation, are distinguished for sensibility above their kind. A merchant is hardly more moved by a question raised upon the goodness of

* As to the present instance, however, Mr. Casserly says (p. 3) ; "The Jay Professor has already shown himself more than a match for the Coryphæus of the northern confederacy." What does this mean ? As far as we know, there is nothing before the public, touching this matter, ostensibly from the pen of Dr. Anthon.

his note, than a classical schoolmaster by a doubt as to the correctness of his version of a clause, or his notation of an accent. Even in the strongest case that can be supposed, — without the pretence of even the poorest acquirements to sustain him against criticism, — it is often astonishing how much vehemence an exposed adventurer in this department will not only exhibit, but excite on the part of others, when put on his defence. It is but a little while, for instance, since we had occasion to pass some strictures on a Hebrew Lexicon, a royal octavo volume of over seven hundred pages, by a Mr. Roy, who wrote himself "Professor of Oriental Languages in New York." Never was a more trumpery production, of any learned pretension, since the press first began to be abused. Never were more pathetic wailings for the loss of four or five dollars, than were uttered by those of its purchasers, who had gone far enough in their studies to be able to take it into use. Yet for the strictures which we felt bound to make, and which all purchasers *in posse* had occasion to esteem no little kindness on our part, it was our misfortuae to be bitterly upbraided by a portion of the New York press. The echo of that outcry is scarcely yet dead on our much-enduring ear. It had been ushered into the world with a solemn array of names, some, strange to say, with academical titles, and others of persons who perhaps did, and perhaps did not, know one Hebrew letter from another ; and, while those dignified names were paraded everywhere in the advertisements in staring capitals, it is not perhaps surprising if some were so misguided as to esteem some show of defence of the merits of the book to be a point of honor.

Professor Anthon is a scholar of very different *calibre* from Professor Roy. But he has taken care to surround himself beforehand, or his publishers have taken care to surround him, with the same sort of circumvallation. He has proposed a "Series of Classical Works," now in progress, to "consist of about thirty volumes" ; and a little *brochure* is in circulation, containing recommendations of this series, from various academical dignitaries. In the list of signers, beginning with the President of one college "down east" (as Mr. Casserly loves to phrase it), and ending with the President of another so very easterly, as to deserve, if any, to be called "beyond down east," some are certainly more distinguished than others for their familiarity with the Greek and Latin classics ; some, in their apparent encomiums, may be observed to be more studious than others of a *non-committal* style ; while, though the drag-net is capacious, the reader misses altogether several names, which naturally occur to his mind in connexion with this department of schol-

arship. In the publishers' list of proposed works, accompanying these recommendations, it is further announced, that the Jacobs's "Greek Reader," since published and commented on by us, *will be*, — for it was yet "in press," — "a new edition, superior to any heretofore published in this country;" and that "Anthon's Classical Dictionary," also "in press," "will be the best and most complete Classical Dictionary ever published." We heartily wish it may be so. Such a Classical Dictionary will be a great convenience. But the sentence passed by anticipation bodes no good, in certain quarters, in respect to the impartiality of the criticism which will receive it.

We have observed this system of quackery in publication, with a sense of its mischievous aspect upon the interests of sound learning; and we have sometimes thought of pointing out, how imperfectly, in some respects, the accomplishment of Professor Anthon's works corresponded to the magnificence of their promise. Especially we have doubted, whether it was not incumbent on us to indicate some of the defects and blemishes of his "Grammar of the Greek Language," a manual, which can never come into use in any well-conducted school, where such works, as those of Mr. Fisk and Mr. Sophocles, are accessible. But, partly through reluctance to comment unfavorably upon the labors of a scholar of so much pretension, and also of so much real learning, as Professor Anthon, — a reluctance which we cannot justify to ourselves, but such is our weakness, — we have hitherto foreborne. In the instance which has brought us into this discussion, we saw what our public duty would by no means permit us to pass by without remonstrance. We cannot pretend to know every instance, in which one person helps himself to the literary labors of another. Liable as it is to grave exceptions, and deserving to be excepted against as often as the attempt is made, it is unfortunately no infrequent transaction in the book-market. But this instance we did know, and we saw it to be deserving of serious reprehension. If, in our critical capacity, we ever have a duty to discharge, it is in cases of this nature. To right such a wrong by an exposure of the circumstances is, we were about to say, one of the few things that critics are good for. But we reconsider the words. We cannot expect to right such wrongs. They are scarcely remediable; and the most we can hope is, by animadverting upon them when they are done, to obstruct somewhat their too frequent occurrence. If one work has been made from another, we do not suppose that a mere disclosure of the fact

will stop the sale of the former. There is no reason, appreciable by the mass of buyers, why it should. If, by availing myself of the labors of some other person, I have brought into the shops a salable book, of course it will sell; and, if his labors have been valuable, then, the more I have availed myself of them, the more my book will sell. The purchaser does not care by what process it has been made, provided it suits him. But, in such a case as that in question, the author and publisher of the first have sad reason to care. The writer in the "Knickerbocker" imagines, that he says something to the purpose, when he avers, that the "Reader" recently published in New York sells more rapidly than that before edited in Boston. We take the fact from him, though we did not know it before, and we admit that it is to the purpose; but, to the purpose of our argument. It is just what was likely to happen; and, had it been less likely, there would have been less reason why any critic should trouble himself to give attention to the matter. A copies with alterations the book of B, reprints it, and offers it for sale. It sells, and A is the gainer, and B has his labor for his pains. Very well. The state of B's purse is no individual concern of a reviewer, except so far as he cares for justice. But it is the concern of the public, one of whose great interests is the interest of learning. For presently the proceeding, unrebuked, becomes a practice; then B will not make his book, with the chance of its being made for A's benefit; and so the public gets it from neither hand, and starves for lack of knowledge.

This is what we charged in the present instance, and no special pleading about one or another expression in the Preface to the censured work will save it from this reproach. There is an easy way for any one, who doubts whether our charge was just, to end the strife. Let him sit down, and compare the two volumes together, and he will have perfect satisfaction in half an hour. The writer in the "Knickerbocker," with a view to discredit our remarks, as if made under an unfair bias, said, that the "Reader," published in Boston, belonged to a "series," which was competing with the series of Professor Anthon for public favor. We told him that this express statement was without a particle of foundation, — that the work belonged to no series whatever; and we are pleased to see, that he does not repeat the assertion; to retract it, would have been more graceful still. He accounted for our course, again, — and in this he is followed by the New York Reviewer and Mr. Casserly, — by alleging the influence of private interest on our part, and this we did not think it worth our while to deny,

as readers do not much mind such imputations. But perhaps it is as well now, that we should do so; and, accordingly, we inform them, one and all, — the "New York Review," the "Knickerbocker," Mr. Casserly, Mr. Eugene his son, and as many more as there may be, — that they labor in this under a mistake. We have not the remotest interest in the matter, beyond what belongs equally to other friends of good learning. Those, who are to put money in their purse by the sale of the Boston "Greek Reader," if it sells, are neither our debtors nor our creditors, neither our cousins nor our cronies; they are nothing in the world to us, that the prosperity of their work should be a motive for one judgment of ours or for another. As to our relations to publishers, no publisher has a farthing of property in this journal, or a jot of influence over its management; nor have we the slightest concern with Messrs. Hilliard and Gray, more than with the Messrs. Harper, or with Messrs. Carey and Lea, or with the abundant list of names that make up the London firm beginning with Longman. As to *sectional* prejudice, — which is another form of this *argumentum ad invidiam*, — it would be not a little strange, if, supposing it to exist in us in extreme malignity, it should prompt us to any very great concern about the comparative merit of school-books. Whether such a feeling is justly chargeable upon us, is a question which we do not propose to argue. We prefer, with a perfect confidence as to what the verdict will be, to submit to the decision of our readers, whether an instance can be found, in which our favorable or unfavorable judgment of a work can be plausibly referred to its having been produced or published in one or another part of the country. While we do not think the work now in question, in either of its forms, to be by any means so good as is demanded for the preparatory schools in the present improved state of Greek learning in this country, we feel it to be utterly superfluous to say, that, had the conditions of the two publications been reversed, — had the book copied come from New-York, and the copy from New England, — we should have spoken of the latter just as we have done. Will any one explain to us, why we should not condemn a wrong, because it happens to be done, not in New England, but in New York? That would be a sectional feeling, with a witness.

We have detained our readers with these observations much longer than we proposed, and they are weary of the whole matter. And yet, before leaving it, we hope to be pardoned for recalling to their remembrance a few particulars of the way in which our animadversion has been met, (for its force ought not to be lost sight of in the fog which has been at-

tempted to be raised around it,) and adding a few more particular remarks, called for by the last aspects of the defence.

It is to logic after the following fashion, that we and the public have been treated by Dr. Anthon's defenders. We said that, professing to publish an edition of Jacobs's "Greek Reader," he had given extracts from Greek writers, not found in that compilation; we were answered, in indignant language, that those extracts, if not in Jacobs, were in Dalzel. We complained of his mistranslation of a word (ἀφίημι) in a particular passage; his defenders led their readers through all the mazes of the Greek language to establish an undisputed meaning of that word in other passages. We found fault with his Lexicon for its frequent tautology; they replied, that the definitions given were correct. We arraigned him for inaccuracy in his notes; they flung back at us a variety of blunders, observed in other classical books published in Boston. We charged him with copying errors in accentuation from the previous Boston work; they entered into an argument to prove, that those errors were not without authority. We objected to the dictatorial tone of his notes; they retorted, that the Boston notes had faults. We accused him of giving his authority to a work not wholly his own; and they brought him off by pleading, that the Boston "Reader," (which appeared with the authority of no name,) was not all the work of one hand. And then, having scarcely met us fairly and openly on one of the questions we raised, they permitted themselves to accuse us of unfairness in argument, and of a desire to deceive our readers by a misuse of such classical learning as we possess.

In August, the "Knickerbocker" argued, that the accentuation of Ἄγις and Ἴσις was correct. In November, after our remarks on the subject, it still accents them in the same manner, but owns that it is wrong, only charging us with proving it wrong in a wrong way. The critic, in his last position, urges that the penults of these words *may* be long by the *arsis* of the foot. Why not say at once, "They may have the acute accent"? They might, if they could be proved to require it; and they might be long by the *arsis*, if they could be proved to be usually short, and in no other way. Why else, but with reference to this, should we have been at pains to say as we did, that the prosody of the lines we quoted, along with "the analogy of the Latin poets," showed the penults of the words in question to be long, "*in the entire absence of all proof to the contrary*"? Probably not one reader in a hundred understood this parade about *arsis* and *thesis*, or doubted in consequence, that the reviewer had carried

his point. A stratagem, perhaps more dexterous, follows. Unwilling to give up ἄμνος, which he had defended on the authority of a typographical error in Riemer, the critic says, without apologizing for his former blunder; — "The reviewer may read in Stephen's Thesaurus, under the head of ἀμνή, what will perhaps enlighten him on the subject of typographical errors." This was intended to convey the idea, that Stephen's authority was against us. In fact, it is strongly on our side. Under ἀμνή he says, "ἄμνη is also found, although ἀμνός" (with our accentuation) "appears everywhere." Few readers of the "Knickerbocker," it is likely, examined the Thesaurus; and so the intended impression may have been made, that Stephen was opposed to us. So the "New York Review," under its argument on ἀφίημι, parades eight sentences from Diodorus Siculus to support its positions, five of which, at least, are to the purpose of our own argument.

The "Knickerbocker" insists, that Dr. Anthon copied from the German, not the Boston, edition, and attempts to account, on that ground, for the resemblances we had noticed. A few words will show the credibility of this assertion. In Dr. Anthon's book we find the following erroneous variations from the reading of Jacobs; ὑμῶν μηδὲν for ὑμῶν, μηδὲν (p. 36); λαμβανόντες for λαμβάνοντες (p. 55, and here he copies his error into his note); κῦτος for κύτος (p. 65); αὐτοχθών for αὐτόχθων (p. 65); ὑπαργυρός for ὑπάργυρος (p. 103). All these errors are also in the Boston edition. Jacobs was right, the Boston editors were wrong, and Dr. Anthon was wrong with them. And yet we are told that he copied from Jacobs. Altogether safer here is the language of the "New York Review," which deals with the palpable fact, not in the way of denial, but of justification. The following are its words; the italics are ours.

"He has recently *seen fit to edit*, what he had an unquestioned right to do, (the work having been for thirteen years freely published in different cities by rival editors,) *the compilation, originally made in Boston*, from Jacobs's Greek Reader, and known familiarly under that name, though containing also, *in its later form*, a few poetical extracts from Dalzel's Collectanea Minora, together with notes chiefly translated from the one author, or transferred from the other, and a Lexicon, as usual, accommodated to the selected passages. *Of this received and established compilation*, as read in schools and free in the market, Dr. Anthon has this year put forth, as already said, a new critical and enlarged edition," &c. — p. 501.

Here is a description of the Boston edition, (a compilation from Jacobs and Dalzel, with certain accompaniments,) and Dr. Anthon is said to have used, and to have had a right to use it. *Quid plura?*

The "New York Review" charges us with representing the Boston edition of the "Greek Reader" as an original work. We spoke frequently of "Jacobs's work," and explained the manner in which the Boston "Reader" had been edited. We left no obscurity in our meaning. And it reproves us for unfairness in pressing on Dr. Anthon his own statements taken from his own Preface, because he "inadvertently named the German work [of Jacobs] in connexion with that selection," when, according to the defence since set up, he really took from Jacobs and Dalzel. We thought it hard that we should be charged with all the errors of so many Boston editors; it is worse if we must bear the burden of Dr. Anthon's inadvertences.

The "Knickerbocker" tells us, that Dr. Anthon's helper, Mr. Drisler, in preparing his Lexicon, read the whole Greek text and noted down every word; these words being afterwards written off alphabetically in a separate book. From these materials, it is said, the Lexicon was formed, Donnegan and Passow being the principal authorities. In our July Number we suggested, that Jacobs's Lexicon was the basis of the New York one; and on that ground we made large allowances for the similarity of the two American editions. The "New York Review" appears to have the same impression, and argues upon it. This explanation of the origin of the resemblances is, however, rejected by the "Knickerbocker," which states as above, that Mr. Drisler's Lexicon was entirely original. A few facts will illustrate the temerity of this statement.

Dr. Anthon omitted four pages of the Boston text, specimens of Greek letter-writing. The following words, *κόψιχος, κίχλη, δίκελλα, ἄσπασμα, τῆτες, ἀχρώς, εὔσαρκος, ὀρόδαμνος, μυσταγωγέω, βαθύπλουτος, πολυτάλαντος, φυλλοχόος,* occur in that part of the book, and in no other. If Mr. Drisler went to work as we are told he did, who can divine how these words, which were not in his text, should ever have appeared in his Lexicon, *as they do?* The Boston text changes the common reading *Ἀκταίονα* into *Ἀκταίωνα* (p. 3), and *Αἰθιόπης* into *Αἰθιοπίας* (p. 133). The forms *Ἀκταίονος* (genitive) and *Αἰθιόπη*, both of which were allowable, consequently do not appear in the Lexicon. Mr. Drisler omits them also, although his text required them. The Boston editor inserted more than a hundred words, not in the text, because they were primitives of words which were there. The "Knickerbocker" praises Mr. Drisler because he has omitted a few of these. A great majority of them, however, appear. He did not intend to insert any such; but these were in the Boston book, and he could not omit them with-

out risking an error. The Boston Lexicon gives *παιδία, ἐνμεγεθής* and *Κάρᾰνος* for *παιδιά, ἐνμεγέθης* and *Κάρωνος*, in the face, we believe, of every authority. Mr. Drisler makes the same error. In the face even of the authority of its text, the Boston edition makes *Ἰωλκός* masculine. Mr. Drisler does the same. And yet we are expected to believe that he made no use of the Boston edition.

We are taken to task for want of patriotism in disapproving of school books, so praised abroad as those of Dr. Anthon; and the "Knickerbocker" triumphs in the discovery, that the blunder in his Greek Grammar, mentioned in our last number, was translated from Rost. If Rost had written so inaccurately, and if all the scholars of Europe and New York sustained him, there would be no reason for us to hesitate a moment in telling them that they were wrong and proving it. European scholars have, of course, many advantages over American; but we cannot on that account go so far as the "Knickerbocker" does, and defend two different accentuations of the same word, because each has, by misprint or by design, a foreign authority. We are sorry to see, that the "New York Review" acquiesces in this singular display of patriotism, and thinks to put Dr. Anthon's notes beyond criticism, as having been approved by Dr. Boyd, of the High School at Edinburgh.

The critics we have in hand seem to think they take strong ground in arguing, that Dr. Anthon's "Reader" is good enough for American schools. The "New York Review" says, that notes like his are necessary, for that in this country an editor's notes must take the place "of a learned and an ever-present tutor"; and Mr. Casserly, speaking of our discussions on accentuation, decides; "It is quite ridiculous for the writer in the Review to make so much fuss about a matter, of which not one teacher out of twenty, nor one pupil out of one hundred, knows any thing." We protest against the introduction of such arguments. If American scholarship be at a low ebb, it is no excuse for an editor who prepares a poor school-book. Good school-books are needed only the more.

Mr. Casserly has exercised himself much in translation. As we are but dull in the language which seems to be his vernacular, we will rest in the hope of seeing an English version of his Letter. Meantime we turn him over to the "New York Review" (with which the tart note on his sixteenth page proclaims him to be at feud), and the New York Reviewer to him, only volunteering our good offices to the reviewer so far as to recommend to him to compare Mr. Casserly's Lexicon, which he has hitherto supposed to be original, with the oldest published in Boston. He will find them to be, in al-

most every instance, word for word, the same, excepting that, under some of the letters, — those nearest the beginning, and in a few detached words elsewhere, — Mr. Casserly added the derivations. Further than this, we must not be expected to interfere, even in the office of umpire, in this minor Battle of the Books ;

> "Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites;
> Et *vitulo* tu dignus, et hic."

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5. — *Memorandum of a late Visit to some of the principal Hospitals, Prisons, &c., in France, Scotland, and England. Embraced in a Letter to the Acting Committee of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons.* Philadelphia : E. G. Dorsey. 8vo. pp. 33.

This pamphlet is one of the means which are frequently resorted to by the persevering, industrious, and ambitious friends of the system of discipline pursued at the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, to direct public opinion in favor of that system. It contains no statement of facts that are important in the discussion of the question, Which is the best plan of prison discipline ? but has frequent, direct and indirect, expressions of opinion in favor of the *separate system*, as it is called ; thus endeavouring to produce the impression, that the great weight of authority is on that side. We will not assert that the pamphlet misrepresents in this particular. We are inclined to think, however, that the best and highest authorities are in favor of the Auburn plan. But we consider this a matter of little moment to ourselves. We have presumed to form an opinion upon the facts we have learned on the subject, taking care to have good authority for them ; and the quotation of the opinion of this or that governor of a foreign prison, or this or that scholar who may, or may not, know more of the matter than ourselves, we confess, has very little weight with us. Still, it is a very favorite method of our friends at Philadelphia, interested in this subject, to roll the ball of opinion, as if every accumulation must, of necessity, be a valuable addition to the weight and power of the mass.

There is an admission on the very second page of the pamphlet before us, which has a tendency to show the value of such opinions as may be collected abroad.

> "There is, at present, as you know, no system of prison discipline either in England or France. Indeed, the style of building, govern-

ing, and furnishing prisons, is far less uniform than with us, defective as our country still is in this respect." — p. 4.

Why go to France or England, then, to look for that which exists in a better form at home? Is it for the purpose of sending out such rash assertions as are contained in the following paragraph?

"In France, public opinion is settled in favor of the Pennsylvania or separate system, substantially; 1. For all untried prisoners of every grade; 2. For all juvenile delinquents; and 3. For all convicts whose sentence is for a less term than one year. And there seems to be no doubt that the same principle will soon be recognised in all terms and subjects of imprisonment. The efforts, which have been made in our country to mislead the community respecting the tendency and results of the separate system, have had an unhappy influence abroad. Statements have been copied from the reports of the Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia, by the opponents of the separate system, without the explanations which accompanied them in their original form; and hence the most unreasonable and groundless prejudices have been excited in the minds of those who rely on these garbled representations." — p. 4.

We think there is much reason to doubt whether the same principle will soon be recognised in all terms and subjects of imprisonment, either in France or any other country; because we have great reliance on the ultimate prevalence of truth, and sound argument, and experience. The charge of making efforts to mislead the community, comes with an ill grace from the friends of those who have disputed and denied facts which they have, at last, been constrained to admit. But we are not disposed to bandy recriminations. We prefer to state one or two of the reasons why we presume, that the separate system will not find favor universally, as it has done in Pennsylvania.

In the first place, notwithstanding all the architectural skill which has been bestowed upon the construction of prisons on the plan of the Eastern Penitentiary, none has ever yet been built, which effectually and perfectly accomplishes the object of preventing communication from cell to cell. And we feel justified, by experience and by reason, in expressing the belief, that no continuous building of the kind ever will be, or can be erected. If you wish to isolate the prisoner, you must put him in a cell separated from all others. A range of contiguous cells, between which all communication shall be stopped, is an impossibility. We might rest here, and ask, Why should an impossibility be attempted? But there are other topics to which we think it proper to allude, upon this and all other oc-

casions, when the subject of the Auburn System and the Separate System is under discussion.

There has been abundant experience in the world, both before and since the erection of the Eastern Penitentiary, to prove that the tendency of perpetual solitude is to produce *dementia ;* and, though the construction of such prisons may not be adequate to prevent the adroit and accomplished rogue from holding as much intercourse as he may wish with his neighbours, it is quite sufficient to produce very visible injurious effects upon the minds of those who are less hardened and skilful. For the proof of this, we refer to the annual reports of the Directors of the Philadelphia Prison. Now, we say, and we believe the world in general will agree with us, that this is intolerable. No human being, or collection of human beings under the name of a Legislature, has any right to inflict a punishment upon another, which has a direct tendency to make him an idiot, or a lunatic ; and that protracted total solitude has this tendency, is so clearly established, that few will be found bold enough to deny it, except the friends of the Separate System. All the imperfections that have been charged upon the Auburn System, if a thousand times worse than they have ever been represented, are trifling in comparison with this one indisputable and dreadful blemish, with which the Separate System is chargeable, and the Auburn System is not.

Here, again, we might stop, and ask, if such a barbarism should be permitted in this age of the world. For ourselves, it is sufficient. And, until it is clearly established, that long-continued solitude is not injurious to the mental faculties, we shall oppose the system which requires such solitude.

We have neither time nor space, at present, to go further into the discussion of this interesting subject, which, our readers will remember, has been recently treated by us at some length. * We will merely add, at present, that in all the essential points of discipline, instruction, and economy, the Auburn plan is, in our judgment, decidedly superior to the other. When we speak of instruction, we refer to religious instruction, which is as important, — more so, if possible, — to the convict, as to the free citizen. And how this can be given on the separate plan, so advantageously as on the other, surpasses our powers of imagination. There is a scheme, described in the pamphlet before us, as devised for the London model prison, by which each prisoner is to occupy a little box, opening towards the preacher, in each corridor, on Sundays, that thus several hundreds may listen at once. This plan is,

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIX. p. 1 *et seq.*

as yet, untried, the prison not being completed ; but, if it should work as well as expected, it will still fall far short of the effect of united worship in a chapel.

This pamphlet presents the subject in no new points of view ; but the subject itself is so interesting and important, and so little understood or regarded by the public, that we are willing to take every occasion in our power to turn towards it that spirit of inquiry, of sagacity, and of justice, which is characteristic of our community, and which cannot fail to establish the truth at last.

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6. — *Seleccion de Obras Maestras Dramáticas de* Lope de Vega *y* Calderon de la Barca. Por F. Sales, A. M. Boston. Jaime Munroe y Compañia. 12mo. pp. 292.

This volume contains some of the finest specimens of the Spanish drama, namely, "La Estrella de Sevilla" of Lope, and "El Principe Constante" and "El Mágico Prodigioso" of Calderon. The extreme care, with which the text has been prepared and printed, reflects great credit upon its editor, Mr. Sales of Cambridge, and can be fully appreciated only by those who are conversant with the coarse and incorrect editions of the Spanish drama current in Spain. The volume is not only carefully but handsomely printed, and adorned with a fine head of Lope.

"La Estrella de Sevilla" is one of the best of its author's heroic dramas. The plot is in the highest degree interesting ; and the characters and scenes are sketched with great dramatic power. An analysis of this play, with translated extracts, may be found in Lord Holland's "Life of Lope de Vega." The story is in general the same as that of Mrs. Butler's "Star of Seville," though the *dénouement* varies. It is founded on events in the life of Sancho el Bravo.

"El Principe Constante" is an historic drama, founded on the captivity and death of the Portuguese Prince, Ferdinand, in Africa. Though not entirely free from vagueness and declamation, it contains many stirring passages, and fine scenic effects ; as, for example, the Prince's death and the apparition of his ghost, clad in the dress of his knightly order, and leading the Portuguese army to battle.

"El Mágico Prodigioso" is the Spanish Faust, and relates the temptation, conversion, and final salvation of Saint Cyprian, of Antioch. It is a remarkable production, both as a poem and

as a drama. Shelley has translated some portions of it, which may be found among his poems.

Such, with a couple of biographical notices, are the contents of this volume, which will serve the student as an excellent introduction into the vast field of the Spanish drama.

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7. — *Michael Angelo considered as a Philosophical Poet. With Translations.* By John Edward Taylor. London: Saunders and Otley. 12mo. pp. 139.

This is a very clever and agreeable book. The author is evidently a man of taste and high literary accomplishment. He shows himself familiar with the literature and art of Italy, and particularly with the poetry of Dante. The object of the present treatise is to exhibit the character of Michael Angelo, as he has shown it in his poems; to draw from these records of the great artist's genius the views and principles and the lofty feelings, which guided him in his sublime creations. In order to illustrate his subject, the author has presented us an ingenious disquisition upon the allegorical poetry of the age. He carries his theory perhaps further than most Italian scholars would be likely to admit it; but he mingles with his general views many remarks of great value upon single points. The part of the book which pleases us particularly is the explanation of Michael Angelo's *idéal*, as distinguished from the ideal of the ancient sculptors. The following passage will be found interesting to the lovers of the poetry and art of the greatest age of Italy.

"Michael Angelo was from an early age devoted to the study of the poetry of Dante and Petrarca; it is said that he knew by heart at one time nearly all the sonnets of the latter. Much however as he admired and imitated the imagery of Petrarca, the boldness of Dante's genius was more congenial to his own. The refinement of taste in the age of Michael Angelo preferred the elegance of style, the harmonious flow, of the muse of Petrarca, who became the model of all succeeding poets. The wide difference between those great masters of the Italian language has been well defined by Foscolo in his parallel of the two. But what is most admirable in the *Rime* of Michael Angelo, is, that he so harmonizes the elegance of the one with the grandeur and solidity of the other, as to obliterate their discrepancies and to form a perfect unity of character. Out of differing elements he creates, rather than remodels, a style of poetry, and stamps it with an originality; and his frequent imitation of passages both from Dante and Petrarca gives us

more the impression of his perfect conversance with their productions, than of transcription and paraphrase. But in his poetry, as in his designs, Dante was the text-book of his thoughts, and innumerable instances in either might be cited to illustrate this. In the 'Last Judgment' Dante has furnished the artist with many thoughts from the 'Inferno' of the 'Divina Commedia'; and one of the most interesting monuments of the genius of one artist illustrated by the kindred spirit of another, was the copy of Dante's great poem which Michael Angelo had enriched with marginal designs. This inestimable treasure perished, it is well known, in a shipwreck.

"There is a similarity in the character of Dante to that of our artist, which I may here briefly notice. How gloriously is the sympathy of the two marked in the sonnets which he wrote on Dante! * The mind of the latter was wonderfully fitted by nature to meet and to resist the injuries of the world, and the still greater trial of fortitude, the ingratitude of his own country. Strengthened for the task by the deep and severe studies of the schools, he felt himself superior to injury, his spirit recoiled within itself, and a philosophic equanimity, springing from the conscious dignity and purity of his own mind, never forsook him. We can hear him exclaim,

> 'Conscienza m' assicura,
> La buona compagnia, che l' uom francheggia
> Sotto l' usbergo del sentirsi pura.'

'The power of despising,' says Foscolo, 'which many boast, which few really possess, and with which Dante was uncommonly gifted by nature, afforded him the highest delight of which a lofty mind is susceptible.'

"If the fortitude of Michael Angelo was not subjected to the same test, it was tried in another way. He had not to undergo banishment and persecution; but, in the ardent pursuit of his art, he was crossed by the constant efforts of a petty jealousy to thwart his designs and divert from him the favor of the great and powerful. These mean artifices filled him with a just but silent contempt. He was above stooping to resentment; for, as he himself observed, 'He who contends with the worthless must always be a loser.' His pride showed itself to those only who were mean; he was naturally of a kind disposition, ever free and anxious to impart information and advice to others in his art; but toward supercilious ignorance his spirit was unbending, and he could as ill brook an unmerited indignity from a pope as from a peasant. When Julius II. refused him an audience time after time, Michael Angelo indignantly returned home, saying, 'If his Holiness wants me from this time forward, he must seek me elsewhere.' The same night he left Rome. The Pope sent five couriers to bring him back; but, when they overtook him, he was beyond the papal jurisdiction. They delivered the Pope's letter, which ran thus; 'Return immediately to Rome, on pain of our displeasure.' But his spirit refused to bow, and he wrote the following reply; 'Being expelled the antechamber of your Holiness, conscious of not meriting the disgrace, I took the only

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"* See Mr. Southey's admirable translations of these in Duppa's 'Life of Michael Angelo.'"

course left me, consistent with the preservation of that character which has hitherto rendered me worthy your confidence. *Nor can I return;* for, if I were undeserving of your esteem yesterday, I shall not be worthy of it tomorrow, unless by the caprice of fortune, which can be as little desirable to your Holiness as myself.' A reconciliation afterwards took place at Bologna, whither Michael Angelo went to meet the Pope after his subjection of that territory to his allegiance."

The translations in this volume seem to be very close and correct.

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8. — *Poems.* By J. N. McJilton. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 360.

Mr. McJilton describes his Muse, in the Preface, as an "inoffensive" one. He says truth. Nothing can be more inoffensive than are most of her doings. Writing such poetry is undoubtedly one of the most harmless in-door amusements for a rainy day, that have ever been hit upon. It is peculiarly eligible, from being adapted to the capacities of so many, who might not be able to get on, if any thing more tasking were imposed upon them. In this age of rapid and easy composition, it is the easiest thing in the world to hitch into rhyme a series of common-place truisms, mingled with feeble sentimentality, and to make it pass with good-natured friends for poetry, — in fact, to make it look very much *like* poetry. There is a vast mass of pretty expressions, half lines, epithets of excellent aspect, and comparisons and other figures of speech that have only been used since the days of Homer, and that may be had "as cheap as" — any refuse. Persons of amiable temper and youthful inexperience are very apt, especially young gentlemen with sisters and maiden aunts, to let themselves be cheated into the notion of their being poets, because they can work up these abundant materials into the forms of verse. This sort of poetical genius is a disease incident to early life, like the measles and hooping-cough; but, if the patient survives to years of discretion, it commonly leaves no permanent effects on the constitution. It is desirable that the friends of the young sufferer should watch it with some care, and keep its poetical ailments as much as possible within the family circle. But this is what friends are not sufficiently accustomed to do. The complaint is apt to get out; next-door neighbours are pretty sure to hear of it; then the newspapers take it up;

and all hope of having the disease go off in the natural way, and with the quiet which is so desirable, is at an end.

Such has been the fate of Mr. M^cJilton. He says as much in his Preface. His plea is, that, "had it not been for the threat of one, for whom the author entertains a high regard, that he would publish upon his own responsibility such of his pieces as he could collect, it is highly probable that the public would have been spared," &c. It was wrong, very wrong, for that individual to make such a threat, and to compel the coy author to publish under the terrors of a surreptitious edition. To bind him over to keep the peace would have been wiser than to yield to the menace. In that surrender, the "Muse" of Mr. M^cJilton did not show herself so "independent" as he says in his Preface she is.

The truth is, there is no justifiable cause for printing poems of this quality. Beyond the average of the poetical style, whether of language or of thought, which is at the command of all well-educated young gentlemen, there is nothing in these pieces from beginning to end. They are highly moral, abound in good feeling, and have the usual expressions about the "Tomb of Bozzaris," "Retrospection," "Time," "Love's Appeal," "The Stars," "Childhood's Hopes," "Thou Speakest Still," "Midnight," "Infant Memories," and so on through the chapter. There are the usual set words, affected quaintnesses, pretty turns, and that feebleness of thought and language which is the universal badge of a much too numerous tribe. Then we have such oddities as this;

> "He gazed in fancy from the mount of bliss
> On years of pleasure that invited him
> Their endless ocean of delight to swim."

We submit that a reasonable man, placed on the "mount of bliss," would think twice before jumping into an "ocean of delight," for the purpose of swimming.

Greece is called

> "a burning diadem
> Upon the brow of earth,"

for no other reason than that "burning diadem" is a stereotype expression of the forcible-feeble school.

Mr. M^cJilton ought not to make his readers mispronounce so well-known names as are hitched into the following lines;

> "The great Archimedes found rest."
>
> "A Miltiades for every age."

Of the pet words, "anear" occurs some dozen times; "Anear a little foot." "Anear the broad Patapsco." Then

we have "Adown the purple west," "Adown whose side," and many other like childish affectations. The author has a bath for almost every thing. We have "To lave in the light," and again in the same poem "And bathe in the light." Also we have "to gloom" as an active verb.

But the absurdest thing in the book is the ballad of "Guenever," in imitation of the old English writers. The imitation consists entirely in putting together a long series of very silly words, which the author mistook for simple, and spelling them all ways but the right way. The poem has not the slightest touch, therefore, of the genuine old ballad style. What old English poet ever said such a thing as this?

"And on her steed, coal-blacke and sleeke,
She oft through the chase did *whip*."

or,

"They answered one, and answered alle,
'Sir Cradocke, *we'd rather go*,'" &c.

or,

"Nor I'd turn my heel my head to save."

What a taste the good Queen Guenever must have had in the article of riding-dresses;

"All in her *crimson sarke* so gay
She rode with the ladyes bright;"

and afterwards;

"Her crimsone sarke on the closete laye,
Neglectede and coverde with duste;
'T was neither worne by nighte nor daye,
But lefte alone in its ruste."

Quere; What *did* she wear, and what is the ruste of a sarke? But this is not the last of the sarke. The hint of the following elegant proceeding must have been taken from certain notorious incidents connected with the recent elections.

"Midste of their joye, in Carliele parke,
Once they assemblede for glee;
On a pole they hunge a crimsone sarke,
In mockerie sporting free."

There is a beauty in the following lines, which is not often found in English poetry.

"'And now Sir Cradocke, my love,' she cried,
And she cried moste bitterlie;
'If thou and these knightes our steade wont bide,
'T is a terrible thing for we.'"

Flatly a plagiarism from Mrs. Gilpin's arrangement for her

lord, when, after settling that her own little family and her sister's should occupy the chaise, she says ;

"So you must ride
On horseback after we."

We hope that the author of these poems is by this time convalescent. He has had the disease in a virulent form.

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9. — 1. *The School Library ; published under the Sanction of the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts.* Volumes XI. — XIX. Boston : Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 12mo.
2. *The School Library ; published under the Sanction of the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts. Juvenile Series.* Volumes III. — XII. Boston : Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 12mo.

In a former Number* we explained, and in the present have briefly brought again to view, the plan of the Massachusetts Board of Education for supplying the School Districts with a Select Library. We endeavoured to show the advantages that might result from such a work, if well executed ; and, after noticing the first ten volumes, we ventured to predict, "from the further progress of both series of the School Library, a succession of instructive, suggestive, and thought-nourishing works, which will do much to cure both young and old of the habit of reading merely for pastime, or for appearance only, and to excite the desire and lay open the field for serious reflection and diligent study, on many subjects of the highest interest and moment."

Thus far, the result has fully equalled our expectations, and we have before us nine volumes of the second decade, and twelve volumes of the second or Juvenile series, executed in the most substantial manner.

The very appearance of this Library *speaks volumes* in its favor ; and, as in a crowd of individuals, most of whom are dressed gaudily, or primly, or slovenly, we cast the eye with satisfaction upon him, whose rich but plain and well-fitting garments indicate competence and good taste, so from the crowded

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* See *North American Review*, Vol. L. pp. 505 *et seq.*

shelves of the bookseller we take up one of the handsome but plain and strong volumes of this Library, with the assurance that, under such a substantial outside, we shall find valuable matter. Nor are we disappointed ; the paper is white and strong ; the typography clean and distinct ; the engravings are well designed and well executed ; the indexes, glossaries, &c., full and perfect.

We have no hesitation in saying, that the work is produced in a style altogether superior to any thing of the kind in any country. Nor does this apply to the mechanical execution only, for there has been a vast amount of labor expended upon the editorship of these volumes, which can be appreciated only by those who sit down to read them ; and labor such as, we believe, has never been bestowed upon any books designed for a similar purpose. Indeed, they afford a very striking contrast with the books usually manufactured for our schools, those crude productions of crude authors, hastily printed on dirty paper, glued between two pieces of pasteboard to a yellow leathern back, which stubbornly resist the endeavour to open them, but, when once opened, as stubbornly refuse ever to be shut close, and which must rather create a disgust for literature in the minds of the young, who know nothing of it but through these unsightly and dog-eared appendages of common schools.

We have spoken, in an earlier part of this number, of the good which such books will do. They should also be welcomed to a large circulation, in view of the evil which they will prevent. People have learned to read, and will not rest content with the newspapers and the almanacs ; and those, who cannot get access to the "garbage of the circulating library," will buy of the book-pedlers, who often pander to vice by selling books of an immoral tendency. It is in this view of the subject, and with earnest solicitude for the welfare of the young, especially in the less populous neighbourhoods, that we would zealously promote the foundation and increase of District School Libraries. The learned and the professional men in the country can order their own books from abroad ; the inhabitants of the cities can select theirs from the tens of thousands which crowd the shelves of libraries and booksellers' shops ; but the poor youth in the country, — they to whom a hundred volumes would be a vast library, — they have a strong claim upon their more favored fellows, who, by a little effort, can place fountains of instruction and delight within their reach. Of all the various plans for promoting intelligence and virtue among the people, we know of none more practical in its character, or more certain in its results, than this. It is philanthropic, and it is purely democratic ; for it aims at en-

lightening and elevating a class who have the least opportunity for enlightening themselves.

We have no space left to enlarge upon the merits of the volumes issued since our last notice of this series. But this is hardly to be regretted for any purposes of recommendation, since most of them are the productions of men whose names are almost a guaranty for their excellence.

Volumes XI. and XII. contain Dr. Bigelow's useful and popular "Technology," modified by himself to suit the class of readers for whom the Library is prepared. The work, in this edition, represents the present state of the science, containing a notice of all important mechanical improvements of recent date. There are about a hundred pages of new matter in the Appendix, besides numerous additions in the text, and a Glossary and copious Index to each volume, — the latter very different from the meagre index with which the work had before been furnished. The engravings are nearly all incorporated into the text, instead of being placed at the end ; and there are many new ones.

Volume XIII. is "Story on the Constitution," which may be considered a new work. It is much more extensive than the "Constitutional Class-Book," containing new matter to the amount of nearly two hundred pages. It has a valuable additional document on the Federal Constitution, and a very complete Glossary and Index.

Volumes XIV. and XV. contain the well known work called "Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties," published in England by the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." It is edited by President Wayland ; and enriched by Notes, an Index, and a Glossary.

Volume XVI. is the "Farmer's Companion," the last work of the late excellent Judge Buel. His "prominent object, in presenting the volume to the public, was to aid in the improvement of American husbandry ; " and ably has he accomplished the purpose. This book must be of very great value to the farmer ; and it is accompanied by such explanations, and by so full a Glossary, that it is comprehensible by all.

Volume XVII. is entitled "Great Events by great Historians," edited by Dr. Lieber. But, with all its author's eminence, we own we dislike the plan of the work so much, that we have hardly looked at the manner of its execution.

Volume XVIII. is the "Fire-Side Friend," by Mrs. Phelps, much altered and improved. It is based upon her "Lectures to Young Ladies," the success of which in the United States, in England, and in Scotland, seems a warrant of its merit.

Volume XIX., by Edward Everett, is entitled, "Importance

of Practical Education and Useful Knowledge." It is made up principally from his Orations, Addresses, &c., by selecting all that bears upon education. Some parts of it, however, have never appeared before ; and it has been adapted to its present purpose by the author himself, who dedicates it "to the rising generation of the country with ardent wishes for their improvement, virtue, and happiness."

The Juvenile Series is composed of the following works, viz.

Volume I. "Pictures of Early Life," by Mrs. Emma C. Embury.

Volume II. "The Pleasures of Taste"; being selections from the writings of Jane Taylor, by Mrs. S. J. Hale.

Volume III. "Means and Ends," by Miss Sedgwick.

Volume IV. "Juvenile Budget Opened," a selection from the writings of Dr. Aikin.

Volume V. is entitled "Historic Tales for Youth." It was written for the Library by Miss Mary E. Lee.

Volume VI. on "Things by their Right Names," is made up of selections from the writings of Mrs. Barbauld, by Mrs. S. J. Hale.

Volume VII. is a very valuable work, entitled "Scenes in Nature," prepared, we believe, by Dr. Webb, from Mrs. Marcet's excellent and popular work, entitled "Land and Water."

Volume VIII. "The Juvenile Budget Reopened," contains further selections from the works of Dr. Aikin.

Volume IX. is "Country Rambles," prepared for the Library by Mrs. Ellet.

Volume X. we have not seen, and believe it has not issued from the binder's hands.

Volume XI. "Lives of Columbus and Vespucius."

Volume XII. "Lives of Balboa, Cortez, and Pizarro."

The last two volumes were written for the series by a lady (of Boston, we believe,) who has not chosen to place her name upon the title-page, but who is entitled to the assurance, that she has conferred a great benefit upon the young, by the care and skill with which she has prepared these volumes.

The pains and fidelity with which the Glossaries, Notes, and other explanatory apparatus of these works, have been prepared, is worthy of all praise, and constitute a rare merit in their execution.

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10. — *Grandfather's Chair ; a History for Youth.* By Nathaniel Hawthorne, Author of "Twice-told Tales." Boston : E. P. Peabody. 18mo. pp. 140.

The plan and purpose of this little volume are thus sketched by the author in his Preface.

"In writing this ponderous tome, the author's desire has been to describe the eminent characters and remarkable events of our early annals, in such a form and style, that the YOUNG might make acquaintance with them, of their own accord. For this purpose, while ostensibly relating the adventures of a chair, he has endeavoured to keep a distinct and unbroken thread of authentic history. The chair is made to pass from one to another of those personages, of whom he thought it most desirable for the young reader to have vivid and familiar ideas, and whose lives and actions would best enable him to give picturesque sketches of the times."

The characters in the book are the grandfather, who occupies the chair, and relates the stories, and four grandchildren, of various ages from five to eleven years, who compose his audience. The subjects of the stories are Lady Arbella Johnson, Endicott's adventure with the Red Cross, Roger Williams, the Pine-tree shillings, the Quaker persecution, the missionary enterprise of Eliot, and his translation of the Bible into Indian, and Phips's romantic adventure in recovering the sunken treasure. The children are drawn with a delicate and discriminating pencil, and their different characters are sustained in a manner which shows a nice observation of childhood, as well as no inconsiderable dramatic power. The stories are beautifully told, in that pure, graceful, translucent English, which has given Mr. Hawthorne, in his other productions, so high a rank among our native writers, and with a vein of sound reflection, elevated moral feeling, and, here and there, a touch of quiet humor, which make it to be every thing which one could wish in a book for children. The subject, at first blush, would not seem a very attractive one; yet, in the hands of genius, it has become as interesting as a fairy tale. We give it our emphatic and unqualified approbation as one of the very best books for children we have ever seen; and, if we may venture to speak from the delight with which we ourselves read it through from beginning to end, we assure those whe are no longer children, that it is well worthy of their notice. We hope Mr. Hawthorne will give us more stories from Grandfather's chair, as he has half promised to do in the concluding chapter. The field is comparatively new, that is, so far as the literature of the nursery is concerned; and, as he has shown himself so well qualified to make a good use of the ample materials which may be found there, we hope he will repeat his visits to the ages that are past, and bring us back more treasures from their dark, sequestered stores of incident and adventure. In the mean time, let every little descendant of the Puritans read this book, and from its true and beautiful sketches learn to reverence the wise and great men who laid the foundation of the happy community in which they dwell.

11. — *Poem, spoken at Cambridge, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, August 27th*, 1840. By Francis C. Gray. Boston : Charles C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 36.

We are glad to see this excellent production published in so beautiful a form. It is a poem of a grave and didactic character, carefully written, and polished to a degree quite unusual in these times. The style is nervous and vigorous English, utterly free from the affectation, and intensity, and vagueness of most poetry of the present age. The thought is solid, well-weighed, and important ; and the versification, in general, very elegant and harmonious. The good old heroic couplet has been judiciously selected by Mr. Gray, and he has shown himself a master of its beautiful rhythm and cadence. The march of the verse strikes us as resembling that of Cowper in his minor pieces, more than that of any other standard poet. The spirit of the composition is thoroughly patriotic and American ; and this we rejoice to see, for Mr. Gray is deeply read in the literature of Europe, and knows, by personal observation, what there is attractive in foreign associations and foreign modes of life. His mind is richly stored with various and accurate knowledge, gathered by study and travel; and he can judge, if any man can, what sources of poetical inspiration are to be found in American history and scenery, as compared with Europe. The glowing strain, that patriotic feeling dictates to so enlightened a mind as Mr. Gray's, cannot fail to make a strong impression.

The following passage will convey an idea of the characteristic vigor and purity of the composition.

> " A trade! — to man new virtues to impart,
> And mould and guide at will the human heart;
> High, like Tyrtæus, on the watchtower stand,
> The patriot spirit rouse, and save the land;
> Or with a wing of fire through nature rove,
> People the air, the ocean, and the grove;
> Make hill and vale with strains of rapture ring,
> Give tongues to trees, and soul to every thing;
> Or, nobler still, truth's vestal torch display,
> Which pours upon the mind its moral ray,
> Gleams on that page, which tells of guilt forgiven,
> Allures the erring pilgrim back to heaven,
> And, to no single soil its beams confined,
> Shines a directing star to all mankind!
> Not all Peru could buy the breath divine,
> Nor India's wealth the power to write a line.

Fond hope, to mock by glittering gold's display
The kindling radiance of the god of day;
On Memnon's lyre to cast a mimic light,
And bid it sound, when all around is night.
Pensions, bestowed where no Apollo fires,
Are vain, — superfluous if his breath inspires.
Hid in the shade, or basking in the light,
The genuine poet cannot choose but write.
Vain are the Muse's efforts to control
The voice prophetic struggling in her soul;
Through her whole frame its sacred impulse flies,
Full of the god, — she breathes it, though she dies."
— pp. 9, 10.

The poet thus replies to the complaint, that imagination is exhausted, and there can be nothing new.

"All is achieved! — Why thus, ere Milton sung,
From mouth to mouth the withering descant rung.
'We live too late. The ancient poets claim
The highest summits of the hill of fame;
And all, to which the moderns can aspire,
Is not to emulate them, but admire.'
Thus before Virgil wrote, whose lines survive
The world's Imperial Mistress, and shall live
Till time her very ruins shall destroy,
And Rome become as fabulous as Troy,
The critic bade aspiring bards beware,
And Homer view with wonder and despair.
And thus, ere Homer reared that pile sublime,
Whose adamantine fabric laughs at time,
A thousand timid voices joined the cry;
'All monuments of human power must die,
Toil as we will, be prosperous as we can,
All, all must perish, like their maker man.'

"Yet not for this did they relax their force,
Or lag one instant in their generous course;
Nor ever will the genuine son of song,
Who feels the powers, that to his art belong.
Where deep in thought, and shunning vulgar light,
The Muse in secret meditates her flight,
Though Doubt and Fear may whisper at her side,
And Pleasure court, and Ridicule deride,
She heeds them not, but, once the impulse given,
Springs from the dust, and wings her way to heaven;
No lure, no menace can her flight restrain,
And Envy coils around her wings, — in vain." — pp. 17, 18.

We cannot leave this poem without giving the finely-drawn characters of Kirkland and Bowditch.

"Such she now mourns, and more, since he is gone,
Who o'er yon halls so long illustrious shone,
Kirkland; — in wisdom clad, by genius graced,
And sportive humor, and unerring taste,
With power at once to rule, instruct, and please,
Mild dignity, and unaffected ease.
He stooped to lead the humblest on his way,
His bounteous hand was open as the day,
He roused indifference, recklessness controlled,
And cheered the timid, and o'erawed the bold;
In swift obedience all were proud to move,
The bonds of discipline made light by love.

"And in the sacred desk, how apt to teach!
Clothing in rare felicity of speech
His thoughts, original, acute, profound,
He seemed to scatter truth and wisdom round,
While every ear in rapt attention hung,
To catch the treasures dropping from his tongue.

"In social life not less his worth appeared,
By all, who knew him, honored and revered;
With careless air, yet penetrating ken,
Gifted to look quite through the deeds of men,
Their hidden feelings, motives, thoughts he knew,
Measured their strength, and saw their weakness too;
Yet ne'er, — how few thus gifted to refrain, —
Ne'er did he touch that weakness to give pain,
Nor rend its veil away, — but, all the while,
Saw through its folds with pity or a smile.

"His writings with his character agree,
Stamped with an elegant simplicity.
And though clouds, gathering o'er his closing day,
In darkness hid the intellectual ray,
The brief eclipse is now for ever past,
And his worn spirit finds its home at last.
The record of his mild and brilliant reign
In Harvard's annals will its rank retain,
And, while her walls shall stand or name survive,
So long his memory and his praise shall live.

"Nor less she earlier mourned, when Bowditch gave,
His soul to heaven, his body to the grave.
We wept not then, as when compelled to shed
Untimely tears o'er some Marcellus dead,
Preëminent in talents and in fame,
Only to be an earlier, surer aim
For death, — a greener garland for the tomb; —
Wept not as erst o'er manhood's early doom,
When Buckminster, our ornament and pride,
Ardent McKean, accomplished Thacher died,

When fate the bright career of Ashmun crossed,
And Frisbie's fervid eloquence was lost.
Then might you weep, beholding beams so bright
Eclipsed at noon, and midday turned to night;
But not for him, who closed with placid ray
The tranquil evening of a well-spent day,
And, all life's honors earned, its duties done,
Sank in full radiance, like a cloudless sun.

"We wept not him, who, even from boyhood's prime,
Felt the inestimable worth of time,
Who threw no opportunity away,
Nor ever once, like Titus, lost a day.
He never failed to find, whate'er befell,
Time to do all things, and to do them well.
Was but a scheme for public good displayed,
His the best counsel, most efficient aid;
And 'mid the busy world's cares, toil, and strife,
His leisure bore the harvest of a life,
A work, that on his name sheds long renown,
And adds a jewel to his country's crown.

"From earliest youth, upon himself alone
Depending, none he feared, he flattered none,
But showed, throughout his life's consistent plan,
The self-reliance, that makes man a man;
Fearlessly followed what he thought was right,
And did whate'er he did — with all his might.

"To latest age, he kept the stainless truth,
The modesty, the playfulness of youth;
With rock-like firmness, joined to liveliest zeal,
Calm to resolve, but oh, how quick to feel,
Too frank to feign, too shrewd to be beguiled,
'In wit a man, simplicity a child,'
Free from suspicion, selfishness, or art,
He spoke and acted only from the heart.

"His was the life, the real sage to bless,
A life of high exertion, and success.
His was the death, the sage's life to crown;
Calm, grateful, full of trust, he laid him down,
'Mid those he best loved, and who loved him best;
And happy in their love he sank to rest,
While even their grief was mixed with joy and pride,
To think he thus had lived, and thus had died."

— pp. 32–35.

The general character of this poem may be fairly judged by the passages we have given. It has a few tame and prosaic lines; but it is, for the most part, strong, picturesque, and brilliant.

12. — *M. Fabii Quintiliani de Institutione Oratoria e Libris Excerpta, ex Editione Spaldingii. Selegit et accuravit* Josephus Alden, S T. D., &c. Bostoniæ: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, et Webb. 1840. 12mo. pp. 239.

Rollin, in his selections from the writings of Quintilian, constituting an octavo volume, omitted the parts less important in modern education, leaving still an admirable treatise, divided into chapters, over which were placed appropriate titles. Dr. Alden, in his Preface, makes no other allusion to Rollin than to state that he has borrowed his titles. He has of course followed him in taking a part of his selections. His own labor has consisted in printing from Spalding (the latest and best edition) with the exception of a few corrections taken from Zumpt, and adding three pages of Latin notes (all selected, and all relating to the first seventy-three pages of the two hundred and thirty-nine), and some dozen brief English glosses, a part of which are erroneous or inadequate.

The work is well enough printed; but it should have been announced as being a part of Rollin's selections, with his divisions and titles, printed from a later and better text.

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13. — *Physiology for Schools.* By Reynell Coates, M. D., Vice-President of the Philadelphia Medical Society; Corresponding Member of the National Institution, Washington City, and the New York Lyceum of Natural History; Member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, &c. &c. Philadelphia: Marshall, Williams, & Butler. 12mo. pp. 333.

This work is, in the main, exceedingly well adapted to the object in view, that of affording instruction in regard to the functions of living beings, in such a manner as to be interesting and useful, particularly to young persons. The author begins with pointing out the difference between bodies that have, and those that have not, life; that is, between organized and inorganized matter. The comparison is naturally made with the simpler animals, which are described somewhat in detail, and their functions explained with a variety of happy illustrations. From these the transition is easy to those properties of life in the higher orders of animals, that have the closest affinity to those which are the sole properties in the lower orders, beginning with assimilation and locomotion. The prin-

cipal functions, and the apparatus by which they are carried on, embraced in the complicated structure of man, are described in their order ; that is, in the order which seemed to the author most natural ; yet, after all, it matters little what method is pursued in the description, provided the mutual dependence and just relations of the several parts are properly exhibited. The anatomy of the different organs is given sufficiently in detail to enable the reader to comprehend the nature of the offices which they are designed to perform, and their manner of performing them. The facts and opinions are in general in accordance with the latest and best established observations. On some points, we should probably differ from the author, but they are not of such importance as to render it necessary for us to assert our views here.

In addition to the physiology of man, there is interspersed a great amount of information in regard to the structure and functions of other animals. This, besides the value of the information itself, although it sometimes bewilders and distracts the attention, oftener affords a clearer illustration of the principal subject, and enlivens it where it might otherwise become dry. The style is in the form of address from the author to the reader in the first and second persons. This, perhaps, adds somewhat to the animation and vivacity of the description, and, if so, doubtless adds also to the distinctness and permanence of the impression on the memory. But we are not sure that these advantages, if such they be, are not more than counterbalanced by the occasional awkwardness of phraseology and appearance of dogmatism, which it occasions. The language is not always elegant, but is in general correct and expressive.

On the whole, although we may not quite come up to the estimate which the author's Preface seems to set upon the value of the book, we do regard it as a work of no ordinary degree of merit, containing a large amount of information, and in a form to engage the attention of that class of readers for which it is designed. Such information is well adapted to be useful, in many ways, besides the benefit of a simple increase of knowledge. The intelligent reader will draw from it many practical inferences, which can hardly fail to exert a favorable influence upon his comfort and health. In some instances, these practical results are left to the judgment of the reader; in other and important examples, they are distinctly and forcibly stated.

NOTE TO ARTICLE VIII.

Since the above-named article passed through the press, our attention has been called to certain writings, — under the signature "Grattan," — of a person, who, among the intemperate newspaper writers engaged in the late Presidential election struggle, made himself conspicuously obnoxious to censure (besides doing serious mischief to the cause he advocated) by his false accusations against eminent individuals. The allusion in the speech of General Harrison quoted above on p. 220 had reference to a passage in an article in the Washington "Globe," subscribed with the name dearest perhaps of all others to Irishmen, stating that "General Harrison was one of the vilest Orangemen in America," and that he had declared that he "cared nothing for the opinions of those who came three thousand miles across the water."

In another of the *tirades* of this writer, in the same paper, he made the still more monstrous assertion, that "Daniel Webster was reposing on a couch, in *his marble palace* at Boston, and enjoying from his windows the conflagration of the Charlestown convent in 1836, while a word from him might have put a stop to the devastation."

It would be a waste of time to refute this intense absurdity, for those who know the sentiments of Mr. Webster, or the localities of the city of Boston, or who can measure, even in memory, the mass of buildings, for full three miles, between Mr. Webster's brick house in Summer Street, and the ruins of the Mount Benedict convent. But these easily-exposed slanders are even more pardonable than the sin of affixing to them a name memorable from having been borne by one of the greatest orators and most honorable men of any age, and which is moreover possessed by a writer of our own day who has been for some time resident in this country. The living and the dead are thus remorselessly libelled together. A quadruple injustice is at once inflicted; — on one, who cannot from his patriot grave resent the insult; on another, who is forced, from his high station, to refute the calumny; on a third, who most likely holds it in scorn too great for his notice; and on a fourth, who may be saddled with the odium of its authorship. We verily believe the last is the most, — although it be but negatively, — aggrieved. The fame of Henry Grattan is sufficient to repel the wrong done by this usurper of his patronymic. The reputation of Thomas Colley Grattan might suffer seriously under the imputed enormity of his *soi-disant* namesake's *style*, to say nothing (the real value) of his opinions. Such writers of political philippics should, in common honesty, go back for their *noms de guerre* to the dark ages, where names may be found of obscurity congenial to their own.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

The Youth's Keepsake. A Christmas and New Year's Gift for Young People. For 1841. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 16mo. pp. 192.

The Lady's Annual Register, and Housewife's Almanac, for 1841. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 12mo. pp. 120.

Friendship's Offering. Edited by Miss Catherine H. Waterman. For 1841. Philadelphia: Marshall, Williams, & Butler. 16mo. pp. 320.

The Literary Amaranth; or Prose and Poetry. By Nathan C. Brooks, A. M. Philadelphia: Kay & Brother. Baltimore: Cushing & Butler. 16mo. pp. 264.

The Rose of Sharon; A Religious Souvenir for 1841. Edited by Miss Sarah C. Edgarton. Boston: A. Tompkins. 16mo. pp. 304.

The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not. A Christmas, New Year's, & Birthday Present for 1841. Philadelphia: Henry F. Anners. 18mo. pp. 180.

The Annualette. A Christmas and New Year's Gift for Children. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 18mo. pp. 142.

The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the year 1841. Boston: D. H. Williams. New York; Collins, Keese, & Co. 12mo. pp. 312.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

The Life and Writings of Samuel Johnson, LL. D. Selected and arranged by the Rev. William P. Page. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. Vols. I. and II. pp. 322 & 323.

Memoir of Mrs. E. B. Dwight, including an Account of the Plague of 1837. By Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, Missionary to Constantinople. With a Sketch of the Life of Mrs. Judith S. Grant, Missionary to Persia. New York: M. W. Dodd. 12mo. pp. 323.

EDUCATION.

First Principles of Chemistry; being a Familiar Introduction to the Study of that Science. For the Use of Schools, Academies, and the lower Classes of Colleges. By James Renwick, LL. D., Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry in Columbia College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 444.

The Mount Vernon Reader; a Course of Reading Lessons, selected

with Reference to their Moral Influence on the Hearts and Lives of the Young. Designed for Junior Classes. By the Messrs. Abbott. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 18mo. pp. 162.

The Mount Vernon Reader, a Course of Reading Lessons, considered with Reference to their Moral Influence on the Hearts and Lives of the Young. Designed for Middle Classes. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 18mo. pp. 252.

The Principles of English Grammar, comprising the Substance of the most approved English Grammars extant, with copious Exercises in Parsing and Syntax, for the Use of Academies and Common Schools, (on the Plan of Murray's Grammar.) Third Edition, revised and corrected. By the Rev. Peter Bullions, D. D., Professor of Languages in the Albany Academy, Author of "Elements of the Greek Language." Albany: Oliver Steele. 12mo. pp. 187.

The Principles of Greek Grammar; comprising the Substance of the most approved Grammars extant, for the Use of Colleges and Academies, Second Edition, revised and corrected. By the Rev. Peter Bullions, D. D., Professor of Languages in the Albany Academy, Author of "Principles of English Grammar." New York: Collins, Keese, & Co. 12mo. pp. 312.

Scripture Truths, in Questions and Answers, for the use of Sunday Schools and Families. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 18mo. pp. 75.

The Young Learner; a Book for Children and Youth. By a Teacher. Andover: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 18mo. pp. 107.

An Abridgment of Leverett's Latin Lexicon; particularly adapted to the Classics usually studied preparatory to a Collegiate Course. By Francis Gardner, A. M., Instructor in the Public Latin School in Boston. Boston: Wilkins & Carter. 8vo. pp. 418 and 318.

A Grammar of the German Language, systematically arranged, on a new Plan, Brief, Comprehensive, and Practical. By Caspar J. Beleké. Philadelphia: George W. Mentz & Son. 12mo. pp. 228.

My Little Primer, going before "My First School Book," to get me ready for it. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 18mo.

The Village Reader, designed for the Use of Schools. By the Compilers of the "Easy Primer," "Child's Guide," and "Intelligent Reader." Springfield: G.& C. Merriam. 12mo. pp. 300.

The Young Mother's Delight in the Guidance of her Child's Intellect. By William Martin. Also, The Duties of Mothers. By the Rev. E. N. Kirk. Boston: James Loring. 18mo. pp. 216.

C. Cornelii Taciti Germania, Agricola, et de Oratoribus Dialogus. Ex Editione Oberlinianâ. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ. Curâ C. K. Dillaway, A. M. Bostoniæ: Perkins et Marvin. 12mo. pp. 177.

A Greek Reader, for the Use of Schools; containing Selections in Prose and Poetry, with English Notes, and a Lexicon. Adapted particularly to the Greek Grammar of E. A. Sophocles, A. M. By C. C. Felton, A. M., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. Hartford: H. Huntington Jr. Cambridge: John Owen. 12mo. pp. 442.

HISTORY.

Historical Sketches of the Revolution, and the Foreign and Civil Wars, in the Island of St. Domingo. By Peter S. Charotte. New York: W. Applegate.

Reminiscences of the Last Sixty-Five Years, commencing with the Battle of Lexington. By E. S. Thomas. Hartford: Case, Tiffany, & Burnham. 2 vols. 12mo.

Indian Wars of the United States, from the Discovery to the Present Time. From the best Authorities. By Wm. V. Moore. Philadelphia: R. W. Pomeroy. 12mo. pp. 321.

JUVENILE BOOKS.

Birthday Stories. By Mrs. Eliza Leslie. Philadelphia: Henry F. Anners. 18mo. pp. 179.

Alnomuc; or the Golden Rule. A Tale of the Sea. With twenty-four Engravings. Boston: James B. Dow. 18mo. pp. 144.

Interesting Stories for Young Children. With Engravings. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 16mo. pp. 126.

Old Ironside. The Story of a Shipwreck. Boston: James B. Dow. 18mo. pp. 144.

Grandmamma's Book of Rhymes, for the Nursery. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 18mo. pp. 54.

Truths and Fables. New York: J. P. Giffing. 18mo. pp. 70.

The Well-bred Girl. An Addition to the Hints on Good Manners contained in the Well-bred Boy. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 18mo. pp. 131.

Law among the Birds. In Three Parts. To which is added, The Sparrow's Ball. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 18mo. pp. 67.

Jemmy's Journey. New York: J. P. Giffing. 18mo. pp. 64.

Jack and the Bean-Stalk. A New Version. To which is added, Little Jane and her Mother. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 18mo. pp. 70.

LAW.

Report of the D'Hauteville Case. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, at the Suggestion of Paul Daniel Gonzalve Grand D'Hauteville, *versus* David Sears, Miriam C. Sears, and Ellen Sears Grand D'Hauteville. Habeas Corpus for the Custody of an Infant Child. Philadelphia: Wm. S. Martin. 8vo. pp. 295.

A Manual of Parliamentary Practice, composed originally for the Use of the Senate of the United States, by Thomas Jefferson, with Reference to the Practice and Rules of the House of Representatives; the whole brought down to the Practice of the Present Time; to which are added the Rules and Orders, together with the Joint Rules of both Houses of Congress. Philadelphia: Hogan & Thompson. 18mo. pp. 204.

The Right of the United States of America to the North-Eastern Boundary claimed by them, principally extracted from the Statements laid before the King of Netherlands, and revised by Albert Gallatin, with an Appendix and Eight Maps. New York: Samuel Adams. 8vo. pp. 179.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. By Octavius Pickering, Counsellor at Law. Vol. XXII. Boston: Little & Brown. 8vo.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Appeals of Maryland. By Richard W. Gill & John Johnson. Vol. IX. containing Cases in 1837–8. Baltimore. 8vo.

A Treatise on the Law of Easements, by C. J. Gale, Esq., and I. D. Whatley, Esq., Barrister at Law. With American Notes, by E. Hammond, Counsellor at Law. New York: Halsted & Voorhies. 8vo.

A Treatise on the Law of Fire Insurance, and Insurance on Inland Waters. In Two Parts. With an Appendix of Forms. By Elisha Hammond, Counsellor at Law. New York: Halsted & Voorhies. 8vo.

Reports of Cases argued and adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, January Term, 1840. By Richard Peters. Vol. XIV. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwaite, & Co. 8vo.

A Digest of the Reported Cases, decided by the Supreme Court of Errors of the State of Connecticut, from 1786 to 1838, inclusive. With Tables of the Names of the Cases and of the Titles. By Thomas Day. Hartford: T. M. Day. 8vo.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

A System of Practical Medicine, comprised in a Series of Original Dissertations. Arranged and edited by Alexander Tweedie, M. D., F. R. S., &c. &c. Diseases of the Nervous System. With Notes, by the American Editor. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 551.

Medical and Physiological Commentaries. By Martyn Paine, M. D. New York: Collins, Keese, & Co. 8vo. 2 Vols.

Hints on the Medical Examination of Recruits for the Army; and on the Discharge of Soldiers from the Service, on Surgeon's Certificate. Adapted to the Service of the United States. By Thomas Henderson, M. D., Assistant Surgeon of United States Army, &c. &c. Philadelphia: Haswell, Barrington, & Haswell. 8vo. pp. 44.

The Use and Application of an Improved Apparatus for particular Fractures and Dislocations of the Extremities. Illustrated by Cuts and Cases, with Remarks. By Luke Howe, M. D. Republished from the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal. Boston: D. Clapp, Jr. 8vo. pp. 16.

MUSIC.

The Boston Musical Institute's Collection of Church Music; comprising a great Variety of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Chants, Sentences, and other Set Pieces, original and selected from the most eminent Composers; the Whole intended for Congregational and the Church Service, with an Accompaniment, adapted to the Organ and Piano-Forte. Arranged and composed by T. Comer, Organist of King's Chapel, Boston, &c. &c. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. pp. 352.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Boston Book. Being Specimens of Metropolitan Literature. Boston: George W. Light. 12mo. pp. 352.

Beauty; illustrated chiefly by an Analysis and Classification of Beauty in Woman. By Alexander Walker, Author of "Intermarriage," &c. &c. Edited by an American Physician. New York: J. & H. G. Langley. 12mo. pp. 390.

Views of the Architecture of the Heavens. By J. P. Nicholl, LL. D., F. R. S. E., &c. From the last London Edition, with Notes. New York. H. A. Chapin. 12mo.

The Case of the Seneca Indians in the State of New York, illustrated by Facts. New York. 8vo.

Bacchus. An Essay on the Nature, Causes, Effects, and Cure of Intemperance. By Ralph Barnes Grindrod. First American, from the eighth English Edition. Edited by Charles A. Lee, A. M., M. D. New York: J. & H. G. Langley. 12mo. pp. 512.

Applications of the Science of Mechanics to Practical Purposes. By James Renwick, LL. D., Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 327.

Chymistry applied to Agriculture. By M. le Comte Chapatl, Member of the French Institute, &c. &c. With a Preliminary Chapter on the Organization, &c., of Plants, by Sir Humphrey Davy, &c. &c. Translated and edited by Rev. Wm. P. Page. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 359.

The Flower Garden; or Chapters on Flowers, a Sequel to Floral Biography. By Charlotte Elizabeth. New York: M. W. Dodd. 12mo. pp. 329.

An Attempt to determine by Experimental Research, the true Theory of the Pneumatic Paradox. By Joseph Hale Abbott. Boston: Little & Brown.

Proceedings in the Controversy between a Part of the Proprietors and the Pastor of Hollis Street Church, Boston, 1838 and 1839. Boston: S. N. Dickinson. 8vo. pp. 60, 60, 8, 15.

Correspondence between a Committee and the Pastor of Hollis St. Society, upon the Subject of a Second Ecclesiastical Council. From Oct 26 to Nov. 12, 1840. Boston: S. N. Dickinson. 8vo. pp. 23.

Emancipation; by William Ellery Channing. Boston: E. P. Peabody. 12mo. pp. 111.

Female Beauty, as Preserved and Improved by Regimen, Cleanliness, and Dress; and especially by the Adaptation, Color, and Arrangement of Dress, as variously influencing the Forms, Complexion, and Expression of each Individual, and rendering Cosmetic Impositions unnecessary. By Mrs. A. Walker. Revised and amended by an American Author. New York: Scofield & Voorhies. 12mo. pp. 400.

A Letter to Mechanics and Working Men on the Wages of Labor. By Paul Inglis, Carpenter. New York. 8vo. pp. 16.

Federalism, or the Question of Exclusive Power, the True Issue in the Present Monetary and Political Discussions in the United States. By John W. King, M. D. Cincinnati: Shepard & Stearns. 12mo. pp. 24.

A Review of the Late Canvass, and R. Wickliffe's Speech on the "Negro Law." By A. M. Clay. Lexington, Ky.: N. L. Tinwell. 8vo. pp. 18.

Report on the Phrenological Classification of J. Stanley Grimes. By E. N. Horsford, Professor of Natural History and Mathematics in the Albany Female Academy. Adopted by the Albany Phrenological Society, September 3d, 1840. Albany: J. Munsell. 12mo. pp. 28.

Remarks concerning the late Dr. Bowditch, by the Rev. Dr. Pal-

frey, with the Replies of Dr. Bowditch's Children. Boston: Charles C. Little & Co. 8vo. pp. 26.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

Mercedes of Castile; or, The Voyage to Cathay. By the Author of "The Bravo," "The Headsman," &c. &c. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 12mo. 2 Vols. pp. 260 & 232.

Scenes from Real Life; an American Tale. By Lucy Hooper. New York: J. P. Giffing. 12mo.

Quodlibet; containing some Annals thereof, with an Authentic Account of the Origin and Growth of the Borough, and the Sayings and Doings of sundry of the Townspeople; interspersed with Sketches of the most Remarkable and distinguished Characters of that Place and its Vicinity. Edited by Solomon Secondthoughts, Schoolmaster. &c. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 12mo. pp. 350.

Howard Pinckney. A Novel. In Two Vols. By the Author of "Clinton Bradshaw," &c. &c. Philad lphia: Lea & Blanchard. 12mo. pp. 227 & 216.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

Address to the Democratic Republican Convention of Georgia, July 4th, 1840. By M. Hale McAlister. 8vo.

Address before the Philoxenian Society of Columbia College, May 17th, 1840. By B. L. Haight, A. M. New York. 8vo.

An Introductory Lecture delivered before the Medical Class of the University of Maryland, Sept. 1840. By Wm. E. A. Aiken, M. D., Professor of Chemistry & Pharmacy. Baltimore. 8vo. pp. 32.

History of Embalming, and of Preparations in Anatomy, Pathology, and Natural History; including an Account of a New Process of Embalming. By J. N. Eannel. Translated from the French, with Notes and Additions, by R. Harlan, M. D. Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 264.

Centennial Address delivered at Cherry Valley, Otsego Co., New York, July 4th, 1840. By William W. Campbell. New York: Taylor & Clement. 8vo. pp. 60.

Introductory Address to the Students of Medicine of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the University of New York. Delivered Nov. 6th, 1840. By Chandler A. Gilman, M. D. New York. 8vo.

A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D. D., LL. D., late President of Harvard College; pronounced on Thursday, June 5th, 1840, in the New South Church in Boston, before the Pupils of President Kirkland, and the Government and Students of the University. By John G. Palfrey, a Member of the Class graduated in 1815. Second Edition, with an Appendix. Cambridge: John Owen. 8vo. pp. 66.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

The Politicians. A Comedy in Five Acts. By Cornelius Matthews, Author of the "Motley Book," "Behemoth," &c. New York: Benjamin G. Trevett. 12mo. pp. 118.

Christian Ballads. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 12mo. pp. 138.

The Moss-Rose, A Parting Token. Edited by C. W. Everest. Hartford: Gurdon Robins, Jr. 32mo. pp. 184.

American Melodies; containing a Single Selection from the Productions of Two Hundred Writers. Compiled by George P. Morris. New York: Linen & Fennell. 18mo. pp. 286.

Original Charades, prepared for the Fair in Aid of the Bunker Hill Monument, held in Boston, Sept. 1840. Boston: S. N. Dickinson. 16mo. pp. 96.

The Course of Time, A Poem by Robert Pollok, A. M., with an enlarged Index, a Memoir of the Author, &c. Revised edition. Boston: B. B. Muzzey. 18mo. pp. 286.

Ensenore. A Poem. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo.

The School for Politicians. A Non-Committal. A Comedy, in Five Acts. New York: Carvill & Co. 12mo.

Muscipula Cambromymochia; The Mouse Trap, or The Battle of of the Welsh and the Mice; in Latin and English; with other Poems, in different Languages. By an American. New York: M. W. Dodd. 12mo. pp. 96.

THEOLOGY AND SERMONS.

On the Benevolence and Rectitude of the Supreme Being. By Asa Shinn. Philadelphia: James Kay, Jr., & Brothers. 12mo.

A Book for the Sabbath; in Three Parts. I. Origin, Design, and Obligation of the Sabbath; II. Practical Improvement of the Sabbath; III. Devotional Exercises for the Sabbath. By J. B. Waterbury. Andover: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 12mo. pp. 222.

Haying Hayed; A Discourse delivered before the First Congregational Society in Sudbury Massachusetts, July 26, 1840. By Norwood Damon. Published by Request. Boston: Little & Brown. 12mo. pp. 12.

The Table of the Lord. By the Author of "The Listener." Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 12mo. pp. 261.

A Manual on Christian Baptism; or the Nature, Subjects, and Mode of this Divine Ordinance pointed out and defended. By the Rev. Anthony Atwood. Philadelphia. 18mo. pp. 226.

Oxford Divinity compared with that of the Romish and Anglican Church; with a special View to the Illustration of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, as it was made of Primary Importance by the Reformers, &c. &c. By the Rt. Rev. C. P. McIlvaine, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio. Philadelphia: Joseph Whetham & Son. 8vo. pp. 546.

The Heart's Ease, or a Remedy against all Troubles, with a Consolatory Discourse to those who have lost Friends or dear Relatives. By Symon Patrick, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo.

Justification by Faith; a Charge delivered before the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Ohio, and at the 22d Annual Convention of the Diocese in St. Paul's Church, Steubenville, Sept. 13th, 1839, &c. &c. By the Rt. Rev. C. P. McIlvaine, D. D. &c. &c. Columbus: J. N. Whiting. 18mo. pp. 156.

The Scripture Doctrine of Regeneration. By the Rev. C. W. Upham. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 40.

The Worship of the Soul. A Discourse preached to the Third Congregational Society in Chelsea, at the Dedication of their Chapel on Sunday Morning, Sept. 13th, 1840. By S. D. Robbins. Boston: B. H. Greene. 8vo.

The Memory and Example of the Just. A Sermon preached on All Saints Day, to the First Church. By its Minister, N. L. Frothingham. Boston: J. T. Buckingham. 8vo.

The Power of Unitarian Christianity to produce an Enlightened and Fervent Piety. By William E. Channing, D. D. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 43.

The Family a Religious Institution; or, Heaven its Model. Troy, (N. Y.): Elias Gates. 12mo. pp. 204.

The Frame-Work of Liberty; a Sermon delivered in the Pearl Street Presbyterian Church in the City of New York, July 5th, 1840, in Commemoration of National Independence. By Henry A. Rowland, Pastor of the Church. New York: 8vo. pp. 18.

Christ seen by Every Eye, and a Pastor's Farewell Address to his People; Two Sermons preached to the Congregational Church in Somers, June 30, 1839. By the Rev. Rodney Gore Dennis. Hartford: E. Geer. pp. 23.

Our National Sins; a Sermon preached in St. Paul's Church in the City of Albany, on the Evening of the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity. M DCCC XL. By William Ingraham Kip, M. A. Rector of St. Paul's Church. Albany: J. Munsell. 8vo. pp. 21.

The Gospel adapted to the Wants of the World. A Sermon, preached in Providence, R. I., Sept. 9, 1840, before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at their Thirty-First Annual Meeting. By Nathan S. S. Boman. Troy, N. Y. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 8vo. pp. 31.

The Official Character of the Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D.; taught and shown, in a Sermon on his Life and Death. By the Rev. Thomas Williams, A. M. Boston: Ferdinand Andrews. 8vo. pp. 80.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

The Flag Ship; or A Voyage Around the World, in the United States Frigate Columbia; attended by her Consort, the Sloop of War John Adams, and bearing the broad Pennant of Commodore George C. Read. By Fitch W. Taylor, Chaplain to the Squadron. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 388 & 406.

Texas in 1840; or, the Emigrant's Guide to the New Republic. By an Emigrant, late of the United States. New York: W. W. Allen. 12mo.

Cruise of the Frigate Columbia around the World, under the Command of Commodore George C. Read, in 1838, '39 and '40. By William Meacham Murrell, one of the Crew. Boston: B. B. Muzzey. 18mo. pp. 230.

Around the World; A Narrative of a Voyage in the East India Squadron, under Commodore George C. Read. By an Officer of the United States Navy. In Two Vols. New York: Chas. S. Francis. 12mo. pp. 336 & 343.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CXI.

APRIL, 1841.

ART. I. — *The Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in* 1774 *and* 1775, *and of the Committee of Safety, with an Appendix, containing the Proceedings of the County Conventions; Narratives of the Events of the Nineteenth of April,* 1775 ; *Papers relating to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and other Documents, illustrative of the early History of the American Revolution.* Published agreeably to a Resolve passed March 10th, 1837, under the Supervision of William Lincoln. Boston. Dutton and Wentworth, Printers to the State. 1838. 8vo. pp. 778.

THE administration of Governor Everett deserves honorable notice, not merely for the fidelity with which he discharged the responsible duties of his office, but for his suggestions concerning the preservation of documents relating to the colonial history of Massachusetts. In the year 1836, pursuant to the authority vested in him by the Legislature, he appointed William Brigham, Counsellor at Law, "Superintendent of the printing and publishing the Laws of the Old Colony." Before the close of that year, the work was completed in a manner which met the Governor's approbation. It is entitled "The Compact, with the Charter and Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth, together with the Charter of the Council at Plymouth ; and an Appendix containing the articles of Confederation of the United Colonies of New England,

and other valuable Documents." Fifteen hundred copies were printed in conformity to the vote of the Legislature; enough to perpetuate this portion of our political history, should the manuscripts, by any casualty, be lost or destroyed.

During the same year another undertaking was commenced, in which the Governor took a great interest; namely, the collection and arrangement of the papers in the public archives. These, being in manuscript often difficult to be deciphered, and not placed together either with a regard to chronological order, or to similarity of subjects, presented a chaotic mass, frightful to any but a bold and single-hearted antiquary. Such a one was found; and he has gone on, not only patiently, but joyously, save when his eyes remonstrated, until he has well nigh completed the gathering of these papers, — before scattered like the leaves of the Sibyls, — into large volumes securely bound, each containing kindred matters in chronological order, with full indexes.

In the year 1837, the Governor was authorized by the Legislature to procure the publication of the Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. It was at his suggestion that measures were taken for accomplishing this work. Discretion was given to publish also such papers connected with the Journal, "as illustrated the patriotic exertions of the people of the State in the revolutionary contest." The undertaking was committed to a gentleman who was competent to perform it; and this is demonstrated by the fidelity, sound judgment, and skill, manifested in the work itself. It is not the work of a mere scribe, or a superintendent of the press. It is one which was encumbered with difficulties. Of the first Congress, which convened October 7th, 1774, and continued with some intervals to December 12th, nothing but the bare Journal remains. All the letters, petitions, and various documents have been lost. The Journal of the second Congress was mutilated before it was deposited in the public archives, and the records of the last eight days of the session, namely, fr m May 21st to May 29th, are missing. The Journal of the third Congress shows that the records of proceedings were made by the secretary with haste unavoidable under the embarrassment of his multiform duties.

Much, therefore, remained to be supplied by the Editor of the Journal, by means of diligent search. The fruits of his

diligence are manifest in the completing of the Journals where they are defective, and in recovering and restoring many resolutions and papers from contemporary newspapers and publications, and other authentic sources. But the text of the original Journals, he informs us, has been carefully preserved, and the variations and additions are indicated. "Documents elucidating subjects of action or debate have been placed in connection with the proceedings of each Congress." The collecting of these, and giving them their appropriate places, must have been a severe part of his labor; for which we doubt not he will feel it to be some reward, if the public judge with us, that the value and interest of the work is increased in proportion to the pains thus successfully bestowed upon it.

We propose to explain briefly the occasion of the assembly of delegates who assumed the name "Provincial Congress," and to give some account of the doings of the successive bodies so denominated.

Almost at the beginning of the government of Massachusetts, the freemen, together with the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants, were called "the General Court." This name was given in 1631, the year after Governor Winthrop, with the Deputy Governor and Assistants, arrived with the company by which they were appointed to those offices. In consequence of the increase of population no doubt, a change took place in the government in the year 1635, by which the freemen of the several towns elected representatives to the General Court, instead of assembling in a body. But the same name for the government has stood its ground; during the period of the original charter, under which the people of the colony chose their own governers; during the new charter of 1692, by which the governors were appointed by the King; and during the period which has passed since the adoption of the constitution, by which the "people agreed to form themselves into a free, sovereign, and independent body politic or state, by the name of The Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

The temporary existence of a Provincial Congress sprang from an emergency occasioned by the conflict between the Colony and the British Government. This conflict, however, was not the result of sudden provocation on the one

part, or of feverish excitement on the other. It was a conflict between the pride of dominion in a government acknowledged to be supreme, and the consciousness of civil rights in the breasts of the governed. Ten years before the first Provincial Congress convened, the disputes between the people of Massachusetts and the Parliament of Great Britain had assumed a threatening aspect. At a much earlier period, indeed, it required no very minute observation to perceive the germ of revolution, or of essential change, in the political condition of the people. They were Englishmen of the sternest and most stout-hearted sort; they felt themselves to be Englishmen; they prayed fervently for their rights as such; prayer was followed by prophecy, which in due time was to be fulfilled. When poor and few in number, they submitted indeed to parliamentary enactments deemed oppressive, but not without remonstrance; always hoping and praying, often it may be believing, that the hearts of their rulers would be changed.

In process of time, after supplications had proved unavailing, or their petitions, if complied with, had been answered with such reservations as made the compliance of little value, they began to *assert* as rights and fundamental principles, what they had before *pleaded* for as common privileges of British subjects. During one of the sessions of the General Court in the year 1765, it was resolved unanimously by the House of Representatives, "That there are certain essential rights of the British constitution of government, which are founded in the law of God and nature, and are the common rights of mankind." Among these rights they placed the security of property, which cannot justly be taken from any man without his consent; and affirmed that on this principle is founded the right of representation in the same body which exercises the power of levying taxes. The power of levying direct or internal taxes, any taxes except reasonable imposts incident to the regulation of maritime commerce, they now denied, as had often been done before; and they concluded their resolutions with the solemn inference from reasons going before, "that all acts made by any power whatever, other than the General Assembly of this province, imposing taxes on the inhabitants, are infringements of our inherent and unalienable rights as men and as British subjects."

Here we have the great principle concerning which the

Colony of Massachusetts and the British Parliament were at constant issue for ten years before hostilities commenced ; to say nothing of the remonstrances of the colony against previous acts imposing taxes. The right to levy taxes at pleasure was never abandoned by Parliament, but was ungraciously avowed, even when its most odious acts were repealed. On the other hand, the right of Parliament to levy taxes in the colony, without the consent of the people by their representatives, was never acknowledged, even when that assumed right was exercised in its least offensive form. The representatives of the people claimed the exclusive power of internal taxation ; they could tolerate a recommendation, and would sometimes comply with it ; but when they chose, they prescribed their own conditions. Sometimes when they granted an excise or internal tax to his majesty, it was with the express reservation that it should be applied for the benefit of the Province.

Foiled in the attempt to raise a revenue by direct taxes, Parliament became exorbitant in its acts prescribing duties and imposts, securing to Great Britain the principal profits of trade, and oppressing the mercantile interests of the Colony. Hence rose the question of the right of Parliament to impose duties for the sole purpose of revenue ; and though the right to regulate trade and the doctrine of the supremacy of Parliament were not denied, yet it was insisted upon, that there must be reasonable limits to that supremacy, and that, under pretence of the regulation of trade, it was not to be rendered worthless. Then came recommendations of a restrictive policy by the representatives of the Province, and non-importation agreements by the merchants, and non-consumption agreements by the people, as expedients for avoiding either forcible resistance or silent submission. Massachusetts, firm and settled as she was in her opinions, thought it time to seek for concert with other colonies in resisting oppression ; — she sought and found it. She was the first colony, in the existing contest, attempted to be overawed by a military force stationed in her capital ; but when called on to furnish companies from her own militia for manning forts, or for other purposes not exactly defined, or inexpedient, she claimed and exercised the right of judgment and decision in the case.

In the midst of all the matters of complaint on the part of the people of Massachusetts, some of which we have curso-

rily noticed, no threats were mingled with remonstrances. The people and their representatives resolved that while they would not be slaves, they would maintain their ground in the calm spirit of freemen. In times of the greatest excitement they did not, by any public acts or resolutions, hint at the alternative of slavery or forcible resistance, while they expressed their determination, by all lawful means, to maintain their liberties as English subjects.

The embarrassment of the colonial governors, appointed as they were by the crown, and bound as well to sustain the measures of the ministry and Parliament as to promote the well-being of the people of the Colony, was, as may be supposed, truly severe. Yet we can easily conceive of men who might in that office have mediated with some success between the conflicting parties, a course wholly alien from the acts and speeches of Bernard, and Hutchinson, and Gage. As if any attempt to conciliate the people would sully the dignity or endanger the authority of the British Government, they erred grossly in the spirit of dictation, and in the imputation of bad motives and designs, by which their addresses to the representatives were generally characterized. These speeches were met by replies far from soothing to men jealous of their authority, and suspicious of the plans and measures, of those whom they addressed. The ability and pungency of these replies, and, above all, the profound views they contain of constitutional freedom, and the eloquent utterance they give of the resolution and determined will of the people to maintain that freedom, must secure them an exalted and enduring place in the annals of civil liberty.

The time was at hand when the contests between the governors and representatives of the Colony must put an end, for a season, to that form of government called the *General Court.* In September, 1774, precepts were issued by Governor Gage, requiring the several towns to return representatives to the General Court to be held at Salem on the coming 5th of October. But the resolutions passed by the people in county meetings, and the instructions given to the representatives by Boston and some other towns, relating to the disputes between the Colony and the British Government, near the time appointed for the session of the Court, were so adverse to the acts and claims of Parliament, as to induce the Governor to postpone indefinitely the meeting of the repre-

sentatives. His proclamation to that effect was issued on the 28th of September, seven days before the time appointed for the meeting. The General Court had more than once been abruptly prorogued or dissolved, when measures were in progress which were disapproved by the Governor; but to discharge the representatives from the duty of assembling at the appointed time for which they were expressly elected, in obedience to the will of the chief executive magistrate, was a novelty. Some towns had made no choice, and some members failed to attend in consequence of the Governor's proclamation; still, ninety representatives met at Salem on the 5th of October. Finding that he adhered to the intention he declared in his proclamation, not to meet the General Court at the time appointed, and that no magistrate appeared who had authority to administer to them the oaths of office, they formed themselves into a Convention on the following day, of which John Hancock was chosen chairman, and Benjamin Lincoln clerk.

A committee was appointed to consider, and report upon the proclamation. The report was submitted on Friday, the succeeding day, and was accepted. After a preamble, stating the circumstances under which they had met, it was resolved, that the conduct of the Governor in preventing the meeting of the General Court "is against the express words as well as true sense and meaning of the Charter, and unconstitutional; more especially as by Charter his Excellency's power 'to adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve all great and General Courts' doth not take place after said courts shall be appointed, until they have first 'met and convened.'" The second resolution complains of the Governor for alleging that the "Province is in a tumultuous and disordered state," while, on the contrary, the people, even when the constitutional government is attempted to be superseded, and annulled by a military force, have "discovered the greatest aversion to disorder and tumult." The third resolution declares that the alleged cause of the Governor's proclamation is insufficient, and that this act "ought to be considered as a disrespectful treatment of the Province, and an opposition to that reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies, so ardently wished for by all the friends of both." The resolution concludes with the expression of a conviction that the Governor's proclamation affords "a further proof not only of his Excellency's disaffection towards the Province, but of the

necessity of its most vigorous and immediate exertions for preserving the freedom and constitution thereof."

It was then voted, "that the members do now resolve themselves into a Provincial Congress, to be joined by such other persons as have been or shall be chosen for that purpose, to take into consideration the dangerous and alarming situation of public affairs in this Province, and to consult and determine on such measures as they shall judge will tend to promote the true interest of his majesty, and the peace, welfare, and prosperity of the Province."

John Hancock was chosen chairman, and Benjamin Lincoln clerk, and the Congress was adjourned to Concord, to meet on Tuesday, October 11th. The vote by which they proceeded to the choice of a chairman and clerk was reconsidered on that day, and John Hancock was elected President, and Benjamin Lincoln Secretary.

The first act (October 13th) was a message addressed to Governor Gage, and sent by a large committee, stating those grievances which rendered it an imperious duty for the assembly then convened as delegates from the people, "to concert some adequate remedy for preventing impending ruin, and providing for the public safety." They appealed to the Governor, especially, whether it would not indicate "a state of insanity" to acquiesce in the hostile preparations making on Boston Neck, and entreated him "to remove that brand of contention, the fortress at the entrance of Boston." The Governor, in his reply, four days after the address was voted, treated the alarm of the inhabitants at the military preparations, as a thing of nought, and said that what they "call a fortress, unless annoyed, will annoy nobody." He concluded by warning them of the "rock they were upon," and required them "to desist from such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings." On the 20th of the same month, a replication to the Governor's answer to the address of the Congress was voted, containing nothing of supplication, and administering deserved rebuke to his Excellency for the "manifest insensibility and disregard" with which he had treated their "importunate applications."

In the following paragraph, we find a stronger expression of resentment, occasioned by the military preparations which threatened the peace of the Colony, than in any preceding public document.

"It must be matter of grief to every true Briton, that the honor of British troops is sullied by the infamous errand on which they are sent to America; and whilst, in the unjust cause in which you are engaged, menaces will never produce submission from the people of this province, your Excellency, as well as the army, can only preserve your honor by refusing to submit to the most disgraceful prostitution of subserving plans so injurious and so notoriously iniquitous and cruel to this people."

A feeling approaching to a revolutionary spirit had been rapidly gaining strength, from the time that British troops were stationed in Boston, before the recall of Governor Bernard; at whose instigation it was then believed, and afterwards known, that they were sent. In town meetings of the citizens of Boston, it was condemned as violent and unconstitutional to quarter a standing army upon the citizens in time of peace. Instructions corresponding with this sentiment were given to the representatives. And when the representatives of the colony took their stand on the same ground, and besought the Governor to cause the troops to be removed to Castle Island, the irritation of the people was increased by the fact avowed by the Governor, that this standing army was not subordinate to the civil authority. In answer to all entreaties and complaints on this subject, he replied that he had no authority to interfere. It was not till after the insolence of the soldiers and the excitement of the people led to the affray which terminated in the death of several citizens, who were shot by the troops on the 5th of March, 1770, that any regard was paid to the expostulations of the people. The citizens of Boston then determined that they would not cease from their importunities, until the troops were removed. And though Governor Bernard had declined all action in the matter, for want of authority, the Lieutenant Governor, Hutchinson, (Bernard having now returned to England,) found that a way could be invented to cause that to be done, which he could not do himself. The troops were accordingly removed, for the time being, to Castle Island.

But, returning to the grievance of a standing army in time of peace, as viewed by the Provincial Congress, and their justification of their proceedings, as the representatives of the people, — we cannot forbear to present a passage from the

closing paragraph of their "replication" to the answer of Governor Gage to their address.

"The power placed in your Excellency, for the good of the province, to convene, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve the General Court, has been perverted to ruin and enslave the province; while our constituents, the loyal subjects of his Majesty, have been compelled, for the laudable purpose of preserving the constitution and therein their freedom, to obtain the wisdom of the province in a way which is not only justifiable by reason, but, under the present exigencies of the state, directed by the principles of the constitution itself, warranted by the most approved precedent and examples, and sanctioned by the British nation at the revolution; upon the strength and validity of which precedent the whole British constitution now stands, his present Majesty wears his crown, and all subordinate officers hold their places."

The revolutionary ground is here firmly taken. It had been taken before less strenuously. It was taken virtually on all those occasions in which the representatives, without calling in question the supremacy of the Parliament, denied their authority to do a manifest wrong; to pass acts oppressive to British subjects, who, though colonists, felt and claimed their right to equal privileges with the rest; to tyrannize over them in any way inconsistent with their charter or the British constitution. Hence it was that they so often made such clear distinctions between the legitimate exercise of power and its abuse, and pleaded unanswerably their natural and unalienable rights, no less than their constitutional rights. As it had become impossible that the operations of the colonial government could any longer go on under its existing organization, the delegates of the people, in forming themselves into a Congress independent of executive power, were fully conscious that it might be regarded as a revolutionary measure, and did not shun the responsibility of an issue on that ground. They already regarded the army placed at the capital, which had been the means of keeping them so long from assembling in their legislative hall, as an enemy, though they had not yet branded it with that name. But all action in respect to military preparation, and all precaution for husbanding the means of the Colony, like all the previous war of words, were merely defensive. As yet they did not lisp the word independence, however often it must have been that

men of such wisdom and foresight could not fail to perceive that the final issue must be independence or submission.

The next day after their first address to the Governor, Congress passed a resolution, advising all collectors of taxes, and officers having "county moneys" or "province moneys" in their hands, not to pay them to Harrison Gray, the provincial treasurer, but that the collectors of taxes should observe such directions as should be given them by the several towns and districts by which they were chosen, and that officers, having province moneys in their hands, should retain them until the further advice of a provincial congress, or order from a constitutional assembly of the Province.

After this resolution was passed, on the eighth day of the session, Congress was adjourned to meet at Cambridge on the following Monday, October 17th. It was then that they received the answer of General Gage to the address of which we have spoken.

Next to the precautions taken to guard the money from passing into the adversary's fingers, they proceeded to choose a committee to inquire minutely into the state and operations of the army, and a committee to consider what was necessary to be now done for the defence and safety of the Province. These committees were composed chiefly of military men, as well they might be; for captains, majors, and colonels are the *prænomens* of a large portion of the members whose names appear in the record. Thus, for instance, "Captain Heath, Major Fellows, Colonel Thomas, Captain Gardner, and Colonel Pomeroy" constituted the first of the above-named committees. No less scrupulously does the record perpetuate the titles of Esquire and Deacon, all which, in these degenerate times, are merged in the common address of Mr., in the journals of our deliberative assemblies. We shall speak presently of the results to which these committees were led. In the mean time Congress was busily at work on various matters. Among the grievances of the Colony which excited great disaffection, was the appointment of counsellors by the King, in conformity to an act of Parliament changing the form of government, and violating the charter. Counsellors chosen by the representatives had often been set aside by the Governor's negative. This, though vexatious and matter of complaint, was tolerated. But the *mandamus* counsellors, as they were called, were looked upon by the

leading politicians with utter abhorrence. Congress having no authority but what was derived from influence on public opinion, or consonance with it, were not parsimonious in terms of reproach intended to nullify the authority of these unconstitutional advisers of the military governor. After a preamble, in which the acceptance of the appointment is pronounced to be detestable and disgraceful, it was resolved that the persons who had accepted the appointment "who shall not give satisfaction to this injured Province and continent, within ten days from the publication of this resolve, by causing to be published in all the Boston newspapers acknowledgments of their former misconduct, and renunciations of the commissions and authority mentioned, ought to be considered as infamous betrayers of their country." The names of those who should fail so to do, it was resolved, should be repeatedly published, "that the inhabitants of this Province, by having them entered on the records of each town as rebels against the state, may send them down to posterity with the infamy they deserve, and that other parts of America may have an opportunity of stigmatizing them in such way as shall effectually answer a similar purpose." It was further resolved, "that it be recommended to the people so far to forgive the obnoxious persons who shall have given the satisfaction required, as not to molest them for their misconduct."

These resolutions may appear vindictive; but it must be considered that the object was not personal revenge, but an expression of uncompromising hostility to the office, — an office intended to second the operations of despotic power. Aware that they were not authorized to enforce their acts by pains and penalties, Congress sought the sanction of public opinion to give efficacy to their proceedings, and appealed to moral and patriotic feelings for producing mutual sympathy and energy of operation.

The malediction against a persevering *mandamus* counsellor, therefore, may be regarded as a figure of speech, in which the officer is put for the office. Somewhat akin to this is the resolution soon after passed, denouncing *tea*, which, it will be perceived, is a little peculiar in its phraseology.

"Resolved, that this Congress do earnestly recommend to the people of this province an abhorrence and detestation of all kinds of East India teas, as the baneful vehicle of a corrupt

and venal administration, for the purpose of introducing despotism and slavery into this once happy country, and that every individual in this province ought totally to disuse the same."

Now, there were probably very few of the good patriots of that time, men or women either, who felt any abhorrence of tea, as such, and it became hateful only from the revolting associations which the naming or using of it brought into the mind. A *mandamus* counsellor might be a pleasant and refreshing companion, as pleasant and refreshing in common fellowship as tea is wont to be as a social beverage ; but the counsellor, regarded as a political assassin, and the tea as a poison of the body politic, were alike detestable.

We come now to the measures adopted for the defence of the Colony. The report of a committee previously appointed "to take into consideration what quantity of powder and ordnance stores are now necessary for the Province stock, and estimate the expense of the same," reported in detail on the 25th of October, when the report was accepted. The estimated expense was nearly twenty-one thousand pounds ; no small sum, at that time, for the beginning of military operations.

On the 26th of the same month, the committee before appointed "to consider what is necessary to be done for the defence and safety of the Province," made a report, which was accepted almost unanimously. The preamble sets forth the outrages of General Gage, particularly that of fortifying the capital against the country, seizing large quantities of ammunition in the arsenal at Boston, and committing to the custody of his troops, the arms, ammunition, ordnance, and warlike stores of all sorts provided for the use of the Province ; at the same time disregarding the assurance given by Congress of the pacific disposition of the people of the Province. The preamble also disclaims the intention of any offensive measures, adding, that Congress "will consider and treat all measures tending to prevent a reconciliation between Britain and the colonies as the highest degree of enmity to the Province." Still, as a point of prudence and self-defence against threatening evils, it was resolved, that a Committee of Safety be appointed, in order to watch for any movements that might be made to the injury of the Province, and clothed with authority to call out such portion of the militia as they should think necessary, in case the call should be required for the safety

and defence of the inhabitants. A thorough organization of the militia, and constant readiness for duty on the part of officers and soldiers, were earnestly recommended. The Congress then proceeded to choose commissaries and general officers. For "the chief command, Honorable Jedidiah Preble, Esquire, was chosen;" for the "second in command, Honorable Artemas Ward, Esquire;" for "the third in command, Colonel Pomeroy." A committee was appointed to sit in the recess, with instructions to prepare a plan for the most effectual regulation and discipline of the militia, with reference to the defence of the Province.

To carry into effect the recommendation formerly voted, — namely, that the taxes and provincial moneys not already paid to Harrison Gray, the treasurer of the province, should be withheld, — a Receiver-General was chosen. Honorable Samuel Dexter was elected, and being excused from serving, for reasons assigned by him, Henry Gardner, Esquire, was chosen.

Resolutions were passed approving of the "non-importation and non-consumption agreements" entered into by the greatest part of the inhabitants, and recommending it to the people to refuse to purchase any articles of those sordid merchants who continued to import goods as heretofore. Such parts of the various proceedings as were important for public information, or for their influence on public opinion and conduct, and not requiring secrecy, were from time to time ordered to be printed. After a session of twenty-three days, begun at Salem, adjourned to Concord, and then to Cambridge, the Congress adjourned on the 29th of October, to meet again at Cambridge on the 23d of November. Previous to the adjournment, the Committee of Safety, who were to sit during the interval, were desired to write to the Continental Congress, showing the grounds and reasons of the proceedings of the Provincial Congress, and to enclose a copy of its votes and resolutions.

After the Congress reassembled, they devoted themselves as before, with great constancy, to their important work. A committee was appointed to correspond diligently with Montreal and Quebec, in order to obtain information of movements in Canada. Resolutions were passed expressing thanks to the colonies which had by donations assisted the inhabitants of Boston, and further measures were adopted for their

relief. A delegation was chosen "to represent the Province at an American Congress to be held at Philadelphia" in May following. The persons chosen were John Hancock, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine; the same gentlemen (substituting John Hancock for James Bowdoin) who were elected by the House of Representatives in June of the same year, for the Continental Congress, whose session had closed October 26th.

On the 5th of December, resolutions were passed by the Provincial Congress approving the doings of the General Congress, — such as the "American Bill of Rights," the exposition of the "ruinous and iniquitous measures, which, in violation of their rights, at present convulse and threaten destruction to America," and "the judicious plans adopted for defeating them;" and expressing grateful acknowledgments to "the truly honorable and patriotic members of the Continental Congress, for their wise and able exertions in the cause of American liberty." It was the purpose of these resolutions to strengthen the hands of the General Congress by the only sanction which made their proceedings valid, namely, public opinion. Another means to promote the same end was an address to "all the ministers of the gospel in the province;" in which address the Congress recommend to them to assist in averting slavery, "by advising the people of their several congregations" to abide by the resolutions of the Continental Congress, "as the most peaceable and probable method of preventing confusion and bloodshed, and of restoring harmony between Great Britain and the colonies."

Public attention was called to the importance of agriculture, domestic manufactures, and economy, with considerable minuteness in the resolutions that were passed. The recommendations contained in these resolutions had regard to subsistence and defence, and were prompted by the wise desire of rendering the Province as independent as possible of foreign countries, and especially of England. For the purpose of carrying these resolutions into effect, it was recommended that associations should be formed for introducing such arts and manufactures as could not be established by individual effort. At the same time, the people were exhorted to give the preference to colonial manufactures over those of other countries.

Among the last acts of this Provincial Congress, was the adoption of an Address to the People, reported by the committee on the state of the Province. It is temperate and dignified. If the wise men from whom it proceeded used fewer expressions of loyalty than on some former occasions, they still professed to have "confidence in the wisdom, justice, and goodness of the sovereign, as well as the integrity, humanity, and good sense of the nation;" believing that the royal ear had been abused, and the nation led astray by falsehood and calumnies proceeding from the malignant enemies of the Colony. Aware of all the difficulties of the Province and its miserable preparations for defence, with the true moral sublimity of men bearing up under burdens which threaten every moment to sink them, they averred, "with the utmost cheerfulness," their "determination to stand or fall with the liberties of America." In correspondence with this spirit they exhorted the people to prepare for the dangers which threatened them, and to comply with the provisions for military defence already recommended by the acts of the assembly.

The whole period of the sessions of this Congress, whose journal is filled with many important records, besides those of which we have given an imperfect outline, was but forty-one days. Having exceeded, as that assembly supposed, the time which the people thought would be necessary for the continuance of the session, it was voted on the 10th of December, 1774, after the passage of a resolution recommending to the towns and districts to choose delegates to represent them in a Provincial Congress, to be held at Cambridge, on the first day of February next ensuing, that this Congress be dissolved.

A very large proportion of the members who composed the first Congress, were returned to the second. John Hancock was again chosen President, and Benjamin Lincoln Secretary. The same calmness and energy of action which marked the proc edings of the former Congress, were manifested in this. Many of the acts then passed were revised and matured. The duties of the Committee of Safety were prescribed more specifically, their powers were increased, and motives were presented to the militia and the body of the people, and urged upon them, to insure their compliance with the requisitions of the Committee. It was made the

duty of the general officers, with their subalterns, and so many of the militia as might be required by that committee to assemble, "effectually to oppose and resist such attempts as shall be made for carrying into execution, by force, an act of the British Parliament, entitled 'an Act for the better regulating the Government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England.'" The "inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay" were again addressed as "friends and fellow-sufferers," instructed in their rights and duties, warned of their dangers, and exhorted to adhere, as they hitherto had done, to the resolutions of the general and the provincial Congress, whose acts are founded on the authority delegated by the people. Strong appeals were made to the patriotic feelings of the militia, on the principle of self-defence, exhorting them to be in constant readiness to meet any attempt that might be made to attack them by surprise. Encouragements were offered for the manufacture of materials and implements of war. Committees of Correspondence were chosen to communicate with other colonies, in order to insure unity of feeling and action.

In the progress of the session it was deemed necessary to go beyond mere exhortations for securing sufficient aid from the militia for self-defence; and accordingly a series of "Rules and Regulations for the Massachusetts Army" was reported by a committee chosen for that purpose, and adopted. Besides what pertains solely to military discipline, to the relative powers and duties of officers and soldiers, to the extent and limitations of authority prescribed for the officers, and the corresponding laws of obedience laid down for the direction of privates, the regulations extended also to their moral and religious duties; to their attendance at religious worship; to the prohibition of profane swearing, of quarrels and frays, and of duels, which were made penal offences, the penalty being left to the discretion of a court-martial.

In the adoption of these rules and regulations the voice of authority comes in place of entreaty. By the choice of delegates to a second Congress, the people had virtually reposed in them all the power that the exigencies of the times demanded. Delegates were appointed to report to Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, to inform the authorities of those colonies of the preparations making in Massachusetts for raising and establishing an army. County

Committees were chosen, whose duty it should be to meet at stated times, and ascertain from the Committees of Correspondence of the several towns, whether they had executed the measures adopted by Congress for preserving the liberties of the country.

On the 15th of April, 1775, the Provincial Congress adjourned to the 10th of May following. On the 19th of April, in the same year, the march of the British troops to Concord took place, the fatal consequences of which are well known. But on the day previous to this, a committee of Congress, constituted of members in several of the towns nearest to Boston, and clothed with discretionary power to call a meeting of that body before the 10th of May, sent messengers with a request for the immediate attendance of the members. This call was occasioned by intelligence received of a reinforcement of British troops having sailed, and by "the preparation making by the troops in Boston for a march into the country."

Congress met at Concord on the 22d of April, and adjourned to Watertown. On the afternoon of the same day, "Mr. Gerry, Colonel Cushing, Colonel Barrett, Captain Stone, Doctor Taylor, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Watson, and Esquire Dix," were chosen "a committee to take depositions *in perpetuam*, from which a full account of the transactions of the troops under General Gage, in their route to and from Concord, &c., may be collected, to be sent to England by the first ship from Salem." Dr. Church, Mr. Gerry, and Mr. Cushing were appointed a committee to draw up a narrative of the massacre at Lexington. The depositions taken established the important fact, that the British troops, besides making the first hostile movement, committed the first fatal act of hostility, by which eight men were killed and several wounded, on the plain of Lexington. An account of this "tragedy" was immediately sent to Dr. Franklin, the agent of the colonies at London, together with an address to the "Inhabitants of Great Britain," who were invoked, as "friends and fellow subjects," to think upon the wrongs inflicted on the Colony, to afford their sympathy, and lend their aid in changing the counsels of the nation. In this address the Congress still affirm that they are loyal and dutiful subjects of their royal sovereign;" but, they add, "to the persecution and tyranny of his cruel minis-

try we will not tamely submit. Appealing to Heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free." The agent was requested to give the utmost possible publicity to this address, and to the other papers transmitted to him; thus furnishing evidence of their consistency, and affording proofs of what the people by their representatives had always professed and practised upon, — namely, that their measures and modes of resistance to oppression were wholly defensive.

The next day after the Congress reassembled, — Sunday, April 23d, — it was resolved, that it was necessary that an army of thirty thousand men should be raised immediately, for the defence of the colony; and that thirteen thousand should be raised immediately by the Province of Massachusetts. It is sufficient to add, that the principal business now consisted in provision for defence. The resources of Massachusetts in men and money, and the various instruments and materials and supplies of war, claimed the principal attention of the assembly, and to those things their inquiries and acts were chiefly confined. The assistance of the other New England states was sought, and a ready coöperation took place. Early in May, after the Continental Congress were assembled, the Provincial Congress communicated their doings to that body, praying for approbation as well as for direction and assistance. To prevent the "enemies to the rights of mankind and the interest of America," or, in shorter language, the *tories*, as they were popularly called, from thwarting the general will, it was recommended to the authorities of the towns, that all such enemies to the country should be disarmed, and that no inhabitants, preparing to move their goods to Nova Scotia or elsewhere, in order to avoid the burdens incurred for the defence of the Province, should be permitted to convey them without authority from the Committee of Correspondence or the Selectmen of the town. No countenance was given to injurious assaults on their persons or property.

In the course of the session, the Continental Congress was again addressed with particular reference to the government of the Colony. Compelled to raise an army for its defence, and holding it to be a fundamental principle in free governments that the sword should be subject to the civil power, the Provincial Congress prayed for advice respecting the institution of a local government, on such a plan as should best promote the interests of Massachusetts and the general good of the

colonies. A resolution in answer to this request was passed by the Continental Congress, June 9th, after the third Provincial Congress had met, in which it is declared that no obedience is due to the act of Parliament altering the Charter of Massachusetts, or to the governor acting under it; that "the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor are to be considered as absent, and their offices vacant;" that in the existing state of the Colony it is best that representatives should be chosen by the towns, in obedience to a precept issued by the Provincial Congress; that the representatives so chosen should elect counsellors; "which assembly and council shall exercise the powers of government, until a governor of his Majesty's appointment will consent to govern the colony according to its charter."

We have said that injurious assaults on the persons or property of the internal enemies of the Colony were not countenanced by the Provincial Congress. This, though true in its most obvious import, may need some qualification; for, as the revolutionary spirit waxed warmer, they declared those who are inimical to the colony, among whom they named by way of eminence the *mandamus* counsellors, to be so odious, that "every friend to mankind ought to forsake and detest them, until they shall give evidence of sincere repentance;" and not only so, but they decreed that "no person within the colony shall take any deed, lease, or conveyance whatever of the lands, houses, or estates of such persons." But no encouragement was given for personal violence, such as was sometimes indulged by a portion of the people.

Among the important acts of this session was the issuing of paper money, in notes of various denominations, payable in one year, with interest at the treasury, and receivable at the treasury for all payments. They were also declared to be a legal tender. The ultimate results of the paper-money system, without any substantial basis, is well known. The notes of which we here speak were issued for the advance payments of the army, the whole sum not to exceed twenty-six thousand pounds. Towards the close of the session, it was announced in an address of Congress to the inhabitants, that subscriptions were opened for a loan of one hundred thousand pounds, for which the treasurer was authorized to issue notes payable with interest, at six per cent. per annum, in two years; and all who had means were earnestly entreated to lend

their money for the defence of the Province, in default of which, they might not only lose their property but their liberties.

The second Congress was dissolved on the 29th of May, and the third assembled on the 31st of the same month, in 1775, at Watertown. The Honorable Joseph Warren was chosen President, and Samuel Freeman, Secretary.

Besides the details of business relating to the defence of the Province, measures were adopted for conciliating the Indians of various tribes, and for acting in concert with the other New England colonies for mutual protection by military force. On the 12th of June, General Gage issued a flaming proclamation, declaring the Province to be in a state of rebellion, and offering, in his Majesty's name, pardon to all who should lay down their arms and become peaceful subjects; "excepting only from the benefits of such pardon SAMUEL ADAMS and JOHN HANCOCK, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." After proclaiming "law martial," since it had become impracticable to administer the law of the land, he promised, in his peroration, lasting benefits to all who should manifest their allegiance to their king. On the 16th of June, a proclamation was prepared and accepted by Congress, and ordered to be printed and published through the Colony, in which they state the steps taken by the Colony in defence against agression, and in their turn declare all persons who shall give any aid or relief, or hold any communication with General Gage, Admiral Graves, or the army or navy &c., "to be enemies and traitors to their country, and that they shall be treated as such." Pardon was offered to all "offenders against the rights and liberties of the country, excepting only Thomas Gage, Samuel Graves, those counsellors who were appointed by *mandamus* and have not signified their resignation, and all the natives of America, not belonging to the navy or army, who went out with the regular troops on the nineteenth of April last, and were countenancing, aiding, and assisting them in the robberies and murders then committed; whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment."

The battle of Bunker Hill took place on the next day, consequently before this proclamation could have been published. The day following the battle, — Sunday, — it was ordered "that the records and papers of the Provincial Congress be

secured by the Secretary, and that the committee of supplies procure a horse for the Secretary, to be ready for any emergency." No direct notice of the battle appears in the journal of that day. On the morning of the 19th, it was resolved "that three o'clock, P. M., be assigned for the choice of a president of this Congress in the room of the Honorable Joseph Warren, supposed to be killed in the late battle of Bunker Hill." The Honorable James Warren was elected. A summary account of the battle, as reported by a committee chosen for the purpose, was adopted on the same day, to be communicated to the Continental Congress.

A resolution was passed on the 26th of June, for a respectful reception of General Washington, who had been appointed Commander-in-chief of the American forces; and of General Lee. After they arrived, they were respectively addressed by Congress on the first day of July, and appropriate replies were made by them. A committee had been appointed to receive them at Springfield, and escorts provided at that place to their head-quarters at Cambridge. The whole business was conducted with great simplicity and economy, and the expenses amounted to twenty-eight pounds, five shillings and ten pence, lawful money.

The business of the session was brought to a close on the 13th of July, at which time the assembly adjourned to the 19th. Letters had been previously sent to the several towns, requesting them to return representatives, "to serve in a great or general court, or assembly, to be held at Watertown on the last-named day." But during the six days' recess of Congress, it was thought prudent to authorize the Committee of Safety, on any day before that term should expire, to summon, if necessary, forty at least of the members of the body who could be most expeditiously assembled. No call being made, the assembly came together on the 19th of July, when the Congress was dissolved.

The records of this session fill two hundred and twenty-two closely printed pages in large octavo, and the matters recorded are chiefly minute details of business relating to the organizing, equipping, and supplying of the army. It is impossible, without going further into this detail than our limits will allow, to convey to our readers an adequate idea of the embarrassments and perplexities by which this assembly was met at every turn. It was composed, indeed, of the representatives

of the people, but without instructions, and without constitutional limits to mark the boundaries of their authority. The highest penalty they could inflict was that of consigning over the offender to popular indignation, which in times of excitement might degenerate into popular violence, however much it was discountenanced. The very absence of civil government tended to lawless trespasses, and in some parts of the Colony there were strong symptoms of degeneracy. Every appeal to public opinion and feeling was intended to be an appeal to the virtue and patriotism of the people. Such an appeal, in almost any other community, would have been a feeble sanction of the laws. Here, though sometimes abused, it was a powerful sanction, and the degree of its success was wonderful. Nothing but the determination of the people to sacrifice, if need were, their lives and fortunes in the cause of freedom, a determination so often reiterated, by their representatives, could have enabled those, who acted under responsibility, so steadily to look devastation and death in the face. Without a constitutional government, with no revenues, with no power to pledge the faith of those who, under another form of administration of public affairs, might come after them, every recommendation or decree proceeding from a body acting with undefined authority, was a matter of voluntary observance, except when the timid were made to submit to the resolute, and the dissenting few were overawed by the zeal of the many.

To the want of money was added the want of the instruments and materials of war. Guns without bayonets or powder, were no better than clubs ; and such was the deficiency of powder, that, after ascertaining the quantity in the several towns, it required all the ingenuity of Congress to apportion it so as to do justice to the inhabitants of different parts of the Colony, exposed to invasion. The frugality required for its preservation was manifested in the orders given by the Congress to General Ward, commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces, concerning his reception of Washington ; namely, that every thing should be done that was required by military respect, "without, however, any expense of powder." An example of the ingenuity of this Congress in increasing weapons of defence, which we adduce in this connexion, would be amusing, were it not for the gravity of the subject. On the 24th of June, a week after the battle of

Bunker Hill, "Colonel Porter was appointed to procure a scythe, and carry it to a blacksmith to be fixed for a spear in such a manner as he thinks fit, and bring it before this Congress when fixed;" thus inverting the description of that happy prophetic period, when spears shall be turned into pruning-hooks.

We have much exceeded the length to which we expected to extend our account of the doings of the Provincial Congresses; and we have found it a more difficult undertaking to make such a use of the massy materials as we intended, than it was foreseen to be. Though our business has been mainly with facts, we could not have failed to show our sympathy with the patriots of the revolution in the Colony of Massachusetts, even had a period of twenty generations passed, instead of two. It is not that we look with complacency upon civil war, or war between independent nations: they are both among the abominations which our soul hateth. In civil contests, however, there are impediments to the adjustment of matters in controversy, which do not exist in regard to disputes between nations. Those who form the aggrieved party make known their real or supposed injuries as petitioners and suppliants. The authority to which they appeal, claims to be the sole judge of right; the submission to an arbiter of a dispute between the sovereign and his subjects is a measure foreign to the relations of the parties. The sovereign parts with no portion of his power without grudging; and what is obtained from him, being in a manner extorted, is usually just enough to allay present discontent. Nothing of prerogative being yielded, it is retained to be exercised in another form equally hateful or oppressive. Such was the mistaken policy of the British sovereign in regard to Massachusetts and her sister colonies. The people of Massachusetts were peaceably disposed, as well as patriotic and religious. They stood for their rights as British subjects, and no other; their patriotism was the patriotism of British subjects, and no other, until they were alienated by denial of justice. Their patriotism was sanctified by religion. They were in prayers oft, and in fastings oft, under a full faith in divine providence. The people were drawn by the force of circumstances, into a defensive war, which they dreaded for its foreseen disastrous consequences. We say, the people; for with them rested the decision between unqualified submission and forcible resist-

ance. As confident as we are that war can be avoided, and will more and more be avoided, in the world, as governments become more firmly fixed on constitutional principles and equality of popular representation, we cannot find an application of any such casuistry to the war of defence on the part of Massachusetts and the colonies ; believing that to the distinguished patriots who carried out the will of the people in their struggle for civil liberty, it was not permitted, in faithfulness to their trust and their consciences, to avoid an issue destined to form such a remarkable era in the history of nations.

Art. II. — *The Builder's Guide, illustrated by Sixty-six Engravings, which exhibit the Orders of Architecture, and other Elements of the Art ; designed for the Use of Builders, particularly of Carpenters and Joiners.* By Asher Benjamin, Architect, Author of "The American Builder's Companion," "The Rudiments of Architecture," &c. &c. Third Edition. Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 4to. pp. 83.

This work is a treatise upon certain branches of architecture suited to the wants of builders and mechanics, and especially of such as cannot consult with an architect. It is full of hints to those unacquainted with the science of construction, and of excellent designs for those who have not known and cultivated it as an elegant art. The first part of the book is occupied with descriptions and drawings of the Etruscan and the Grecian orders, the measurements and proportions of which are taken from the most approved models ; the succeeding part gives directions and designs for rooms, windows, doors, fireplaces, cornices, porticoes, balconies, and all the other constituent parts of our domestic architecture ; and remarks on the subject of carpentry conclude the treatise. It is executed with exemplary suitableness to its object. The text is clear and simple in its style, and the illustrations are quite as neat and beautiful as those of any similar European work. It is, perhaps, a little too brief; especially in its instructions and admonitions to young mechanics. Such experience as that of the author, might be made of great advan-

tage to them, in pointing out the way to the accomplishments of their trade, and preparing them to acknowledge and be guided by the true standards of taste. As much appears to be done to this end in the present work, we cannot but wish for more, in the same fair style and excellent spirit.

That a work so expensive as this, should have passed through three editions, is an excellent sign. It shows an eagerness for the study of construction, for which American mechanics hardly have credit, and which must be eventually evidenced in buildings throughout the country. It is a little surprising, that they have not more taste and knowledge of architecture. It would very much increase the profit and interest of their occupation. But the fault partly lies with those, who have the requisite knowledge and ability to instruct them. They are as eager for light upon this subject as upon any other, as is shown by the welcome given to such a work as Mr. Benjamin's. We hope that he and other architects will look upon this reception of his book as an indication of a want, and furnish the public with other works of more copious instruction. The field for good influence is very wide, the subject is new, and all portions of the community are in need of knowledge.

In turning over the pages of this work, we were led into some reflections upon subjects of rather recent, but certainly curious interest. We merely break ground upon them, aiming at no more than to open the surface.

Speculations upon the character and developement of our times, in all their features and complexions, are now so common, that the subject seems fathomed. Its necessary phraseology is wearisome and trite, and has introduced us to it, in all its lights and bearings, until a child talks with fluency upon great truths, which lay dim in the distance to the mental sight of a Bacon or a Burleigh. We should not approach this venerable tree of universal knowledge, if we did not fancy we saw upon it one green sprout, just budding forth, still young and tender, promising to blossom and bear great fruit, if untimely blasts do not injure it. Hitherto, to speak of American Art, was to speak of a thing hardly in existence. But the greatly increased number of American artists within the last few years, the awakened public interest concerning them, and the magnitude and character of many of the subjects of their late works, authorize us to hail the genuine birth of the young

spirit among us, and to crown it with the laurel of prospective fame.

It will be useless, perhaps, to inquire, why we Americans have been so long without a school of art. But an obvious reason appears in the necessity for the developement of the physical resources of the country, for reducing lands to cultivation, for building towns, opening communications, bringing, in fact, our continent into a habitable state for civilized man. The time, expense, and labor, bestowed upon this object, are enormous, and bear a comparison with the industrious efforts of any European country. We have changed the outward features of a quarter of the globe. Barren forests are turned into waving grain; mighty rivers, formerly navigated but by the solitary canoe, have become the common highways of a numerous people; roads connect points at vast distances; and cities and towns have been sown over the wilderness. Infant Rome, with her battles and her colonies, her public works, her aqueducts and temples, did not achieve greater things than these, nor the great historical wars of a Philip or Cæsar, with their hosts of armed men, effect so much as the same number of men in this country, at war, not with transient human opposition, but with the eternal and intrinsic obstacles of Nature. We have for the last two centuries been preparing the land for a national habitation; and rapid has been the preparation, though still the limits of our industry and ability were hemmed in by the necessities of the work. But does it follow from this, that we are incapable of every other? and that, as for a few generations we have been the pioneers of civilization, our ambition and progress will be limited to this task? Rather from this time will the elder part of our people make similar progress in all that makes and honors a civilized nation, in science, in literature, in philosophy, in *art*. It is on this broad basis, built by the brawny strength of our ancestors, that we are now to rear the lasting fabric of a moral, intellectual, and national character.

The adaptation and utility of Art to us Americans may be strongly urged upon the broad grounds, of our want of occupation for our leisure hours; of our deficiency in subjects of elegant cultivation, affording occupation to the class of non-working men in the old world, a class, which though as yet by no means abundant, must spring up with our increased wealth, and

greater subdivision of labor; of their counteracting the overworked, business, anxious character of our community; of their diffusing elegant enjoyment and real refinement over the few leisure moments of each day, and giving employment to those born to fortune, as well as to those, who, having acquired it, still labor on in the acquisition, for the want of better pursuits, even when the most exorbitant wishes for wealth have been long satisfied. We are almost without the means of amusement and wholesome recreation, and the want glares upon us in the frequency of diseases, originating in or brought out by, mental over-excitement and labor; in our too serious temper and manner; in the thoughtful expression of countenance, and in the total absence of hilarity and jovialness, in which the American of the Eastern States departs so widely from his ancestral English character. Where can we innocently quench the rational thirst of the mind for recreation, separated from application, and of the body for rest, stimulated by enjoyment, which strengthens, not exhausts, but in the cultivation of the exhilarating, inspiring arts?

During all periods, and among all nations, have they answered this purpose; both when they have sprung up the natural product of the character, genius, and climate, and when, as exotics, they have been introduced by conquest or wealth, to fill the vacancy which competency and idleness always produce. All history shows how naturally and perfectly they have answered these ends, and how admirable is their use in that state of society, which must soon be ours, where leisure and cultivation may be combined; how often they have proved a peaceful resource against the dangers of popular, turbulent idleness, as well as a promoter of the sister graces of life, and of all the high attainments of civilization; how often they have essentially contributed to elevation of character, to the developement of a great moral sentiment of mankind, — a sentiment at all times earnestly cultivated with us. As illustrators of moral subjects, they can delight and strengthen the noblest feelings. Their power is in nature, and no repetition can diminish their freshness. Heroic sacrifice, devoted faith, sufferings endured for principle's sake, joy the reward of virtue, happiness the gift of a kind Providence, can be severally transported from the world of the imaginary and ideal into actual and glowing existence, by the colors of the canvass, or the outlines and mellow surface of the marble. If all the

occasions of affecting feeling, or noble actions, sparkling throughout our brief history, could be preserved to us by the arts, disengaged from all commonplace accessories, what fuel would be given to honorable ambition, what light to virtue! Does not even the pictorial exhibition, or the sculptured form, accurate in the representation of one we have learned to admire, excite those wholesome feelings, which their living presence would do? No one could stand before a statue of Washington, perfectly expressive of the character of the man, embodying his noble mind in the lineaments of his face and form, without awe and admiration, without carrying away some of the inexhaustible influence which breathes around it, without experiencing a pious awe, and rising for a moment into a fuller conception and enjoyment of the matchless virtues of the man. Such an effect or influence is permanently valuable. The statue which constantly produces it, should rank with the gift, bequeathed to his country and to man by his biographer, the most precious gift which can be offered by a citizen or accepted by a nation. In the same way, no one could stand without delight before the definite, tangible representations of the poetical conceptions of Scott, and see them plainly figured to the before vaguely excited imagination, clothed in the garb of living pictures or statues. It is disclosing them to the mind through a new sense, which doubly deepens their impression.

But, in reply to these remarks, admitting their truth, it may be urged, that certain periods of national existence, peculiar stages of civilization only, are favorable to the developement of the arts; that this age and country are not the time and place for their rise; that art must spring from an irresistible impulse, independent of patronage; that it is a bursting-out of a succession of geniuses with their followers, who influence all around them, and command admiration and respect, duly granted to the preëminence of their powers and productions; that with us, nothing like this has appeared, or is likely to appear; that we are, of all people, the furthest removed from the ideal in our intellectual character, and from leisure in our manner of life; that we cannot comprehend the beauties of art, when presented to us, much less may we hope to create them. It may be said, that we are born for different objects, trained to opposite pursuits. We grapple with the actual and outward world; we struggle for support, advance-

ment, competency ; busy life here knows no leisure, no recreation ; all are swallowed up in the absorbing pursuit of business ; how could art be born, how live, in so uncongenial a soil ?

These are pressing objections, but they may be met by an examination into the national character, which seems to us remarkably adapted to a keen relish for the arts, and capable of the highest productions in them. We Anglo-Americans have a tendency to excitement, great enthusiasm, deep sensibility and sympathy, an undertone of strong feeling constantly breaking out. We have lost, from long separation and difference of circumstances, much of our ancestral English phlegm, hardness, and composure, and have become quick, inventive, easily absorbed in any exciting profession, and constant and earnest in any attractive pursuit. This is the sort of character, which the artist most easily impresses, and one form which he himself is most apt to spring ; for it is one awake to historical allusion, sensitive to touches of character, alive to all the influences of the beautiful.

It is no contradiction to this statement to allow, that the taste of the community is most crude, extravagant alike in its praise and blame. The fault lies in its insufficient acquaintance with the works of art, and the want of a true standard of judgment, to be gained only by a study of the best works, which we, for a long time, must be without. But no picture of merit ever enters this country, that it is not enjoyed and felt, not from a spirit of fashionable imitation, but from a natural love and relish, not so keen, of course, and discriminating, as that of the connoisseur, but still furnishing a deep foundation for the highest cultivation of the popular taste. For art with us must be popular, enjoyed by the people, supported by the people. We have no privileged class to sustain it. Hence its progress may be more gradual, but it will be more fruitful, more rich and various in its maturity, and more lasting.

In England we doubt if there is, or can be, a popular taste for the arts. It is not in her character or condition. Art is liberally patronized ; but is it not for the sake of the patron, rather than of the people ? It seems an exotic, supported by the immense wealth and luxury of the nation. Its native fruits have never been of the rarest kind or quality. Hogarth and Flaxman have exhibited the most original genius, and in

their way have been unsurpassed; but the school cannot be said to have ever arisen to general characteristic eminence or influence.

There is much to be hoped for from the spirit of emulation amongst us. In this respect we may anticipate advantages, similar to those enjoyed by the Italian states of the middle ages. A generous rivalry must spring up between the artists of different states and cities; various schools will be originated, each with a pride and reputation of its own. The same spirit has done wonders for us, in internal improvements and public works; its influence must be equally happy in the peaceful rivalry of the arts.

But above all, we have liberty, the soil from which every heavenly gift to man springs with most vigorous growth. To art it is particularly essential, and has accompanied it, wherever it has arisen to its natural and palmy state. The artist must feel no restraint over his hand or his thoughts; his touches cannot be guided by another; his subjects must be the meditations of a free and manly mind. Patronage, when forced upon him, may support a sickly representative of art; but, like poetry and eloquence, when bridled, it loses its noble gait and graceful bounds, it becomes tame and impotent. No people enjoyed greater comparative liberty, than the artists under the Medici and their contemporaries; and, although living at a time when aristocratic tyranny was beginning to smother popular liberty, they always kept alive among their own class the spirit of personal freedom. No man's life was more free from sycophancy or servility than Michael Angelo's. His just, though modest estimation of his own merit, and of what was due to his art, led him into many a contention with those, whose power over him could condemn, if they dared, to imprisonment and misery.

Personal effort and talent, during all the flourishing times of Italian art, were the only security for success; and the benefits of patronage fell, with but few exceptions, and with a remarkable appropriateness and justice, upon merit and character. Whenever cases of neglect do occur, they may be traced to the fault of the individual, who obscured his merit by caprice, indolence, irresolution, or treachery. The artists came forward to struggle in the arena of fair public contention, and in that contention they acquired the vigor, manliness, and boldness of their style and subjects; through danger and

difficulties they won their way up to the then lofty eminence of distinction; like Leonardo di Vinci, they painted, girded and armed, with the drawn sword by their side, to protect themselves from the treachery of rivals, or the violence of fellow-citizens, in whose feuds their ardent tempers had joined. Like knights of chivalry, they watched, mailed and equipped, for their beautiful visions, and a greater purity and softness were imparted to them from their contrast to the dangers, which lurked around their studio. Their enthusiasm was kindled by difficulties, and their devotion worshipped more fondly the creations of peace and purity, which elevated and sanctified life to them. It was in the midst of such struggles and dangers, that art found for itself a home, and grew, and produced its richest fruit. We do not mean to say, that these dangers and difficulties were the parent of art, or its appropriate atmosphere; but they show, that, as its creations are of high and difficult execution, so they cannot be obtained without a corresponding exertion and sacrifice, without the whole mind of the artist being bent to his work, and impressing those around him with the vigor and influence of his genius.

But, again we would repeat, that freedom is an essential, vital element in the condition of the arts; its very atmosphere and light. How necessary it is to them, is shown by this; that they make it, when they do not find it, or die in the attempt. Political and popular freedom is best, as favoring the whole class of artists; whereas individual freedom favors only the single artist. The arts may have gleamed up during a despotic age, but it was when they were the fruit of a preceding period of freedom, and not the growth of the times in which they actually appeared; and, as soon as the hand of compulsion has pressed upon them for a time, we shall find them becoming meagre and barren. Architecture may possibly be an exception to this, as many Roman emperors, who ruled with a bloody sword, devoted their wealth and magnificence to architectural structures. But even in the present ruins of these structures, the design and original plans seem less striking and beautiful than the gorgeous and meretricious richness. Pure taste declined with the lengthening line of the Cæsars.

With us, artists have not to struggle against oppression, compulsion, rude disorder, or an uncivilized state of society,

but against ignorance, and the uncultivated taste of the public. Yet, even in this contention, their independence and character will be fully tried. For no ordinary resolution is requisite to cling to the pure and difficult path ; to purge the fancy from those creations, which attract our still unformed taste ; to turn from temporary reputation, and add a portion to the influences, which lead to a higher state of the arts. Still, let the aim of each be lofty, and, whatever point he reaches, that point will be in the right line to eminence. Let them labor for their art itself, in its highest perfection, and then, if a misjudging public bestow no applause, they may be conscious how much their efforts have surpassed that public, and shot beyond the backward taste of critics.

There is no want of patronage towards native artists. Merit, in general, meets with as much reward with us as perhaps anywhere. In Europe, there may be instances of greater rewards to prominent individuals ; but a proportionably greater number swell the list of the neglected and starving. But the word *patronage* seems a term inapplicable to the employment of artists here. It is more of an equitable and natural compensation for labor and talent ; a purchasing of an intellectual gratification.

It would be better, perhaps, for our arts, if there were men of patronage, in the European sense of the word ; that artists, being less dependent on the wishes and tasteless instructions of their employers, might exercise a freer choice of subjects. Much of the time now wasted in committing to canvass the head of some master of a family, or his favorite son or daughter, at half price, for the sake of turning a better penny, deserves to be employed upon the more difficult execution of worthier subjects, so as to lead through the path of constant practice to the perfect expression of conceptions of noble interest.

There is no lack of artists among us. The number at present is very great for a new country, particularly of sculptors. Painting has never been without its more or less distinguished votaries ; but it is a little remarkable, that sculpture should spring up in a country so far removed from every specimen of it, that hundreds of thousands have never seen a statue. In some individuals, the taste for it, as a pursuit, has been excited by influences so slight, and in places so remote from its objects, that it is to inspiration alone, not the faint images

of art wafted from abroad, that we must look for an explanation of the phenomenon. It was the impulse of genius which led Mr. Powers from his inauspicious beginnings in waxen figures, to the attempt of embodying in stone, not the features and lines alone of the human face, but the expression, the mind, the light and force of character. There is something very striking in the career of such an individual, springing from an humble beginning, pushing his way forward beyond the doubts of his situation, beyond home and friends, and carrying his triumphant course across the Atlantic, into a land, the very garden of art, there to wrest the palm of superiority from the most accomplished competitors. Would not the slightest distrust of his genius, or a timid admiration of his pursuit, have led him to remain at home, and earn the easy admiration of his countrymen, without entering the lists with rivals trained from infancy to their work, and living under the influence of the purest models of ancient and modern times? Does not a natural impulse speak out in such a career? Does nature ever induce such privation and labor but for success? Ours is a day of wonders, but this certainly might rank among the remarkable things. A sneering foreign critic might remark upon such a course, with some apparent aptness, as the height of an alleged national self-sufficiency; but surely the historian, noticing the various developements of our character from time to time, might quote the example of this artist as a noble instance of its energy, enthusiasm, and high-wrought determination, and adduce his success as a proof of the sagacity and discernment which direct it.

Yet similar has been the career of two other American sculptors, to one of whom, Greenough, belongs the additional merit of having opened the path to Italy, and, by successfully trying the experiment, led on the young career of our arts. How prominent his success, his high name among us amply shows; and yet, that name cannot be more than dawning, since his greatest works have not yet appeared, and he himself is scarce entered upon that period of life, which is the flower age of the artist. His productions exhibited in this country show great purity and delicacy, a spiritual tone, and freedom from all servitude to the common and prevalent Italian tastes and subjects. The developement of his higher powers belongs to those grander works, ordered by our govern-

ment, one of which is so popular, and at the same time, dignified, that it will naturally call forth all his genius. An excellent characteristic of this artist was his early and constant attention to the very highest objects of his art. He aimed at the ideal and poetical, to be expressed by the whole figure, and seldom or never reached by busts alone ; he appears to have felt, at the outset, the extent of his art, and to have grasped it all. The same may be said of Mr. Crawford, led by a love of his art to desert an American studio for Italy. Devoting himself in Rome to a close study of the antique, he purified his taste, whilst he improved his practice with the chisel and clay. His ambition led him, in his earliest efforts, to a daring attempt, and produced his Orpheus, representing the bard, just in the act of descending into the shades of hell, to reclaim his Eurydice ; a statue most poetical and original in its conception, and extremely difficult of execution ; the body being thrown forward, and motion diffused throughout the whole figure. The hardihood of a young artist attempting a subject so new, and a position so difficult, including points to be settled by his sole judgment, without the authority of the antique, could only be justified by a sight of the statue itself. As the production of a young man, it is wonderful, and might grace the studio of any living artist, and add to his reputation.

The most apparent road to success, with young sculptors in America, is that of taking portrait busts. The professional improvement made in this occupation is at best doubtful. Mechanical ingenuity and skill may be acquired, but taste is not exercised, nor invention called out. Nature is studied, not to idealize upon, or to combine her various excellences into one perfect whole, but merely to copy with minute accuracy, to make a *fac simile*. The mind of the artist is not taxed, and there is no fair opening for those characteristic touches, which are the essence of expression. The hand and the eye may be improved, and it is a gratifying and useful proof of power, to bestow upon a family and friends the almost living resemblance of one perhaps dead, though still familiar in their recollections. But, beyond this, the advantages of such practice are very doubtful. The artist who aims at the highest excellence in his art, would do well to quit this branch of it, when his emergencies cease to require it.

One word upon the popular notion, that the arts are a source

of corrupting luxury, and unfavorable moral influence, and we leave this portion of our subject. It is apparently a prejudice, springing from the association of the fine arts with the character of times when they most flourished, and which happened to be times of general corruption and licentiousness. Thus the vices of the Italian character are interwoven with our notions of Italian painting, and sculpture, and music, and we foolishly anticipate, from an introduction of the latter, an inundation of the former ; whereas they are no more cause and effect, than Italian poverty and Italian statuary, or political subjection and frescos. Doubtless there may be an immoral picture, and an immoral statue, but they are not more necessarily so than books ; and it would be as reasonable to condemn English literature, because " Tom Jones " and " Don Juan " could be found in it, as to condemn painting, because Titian courted the applause of his countrymen by his corrupting representations of Venus. It is wiser and better to deny at once the authority of the common prejudice, that pleasure and purity, leisure and morality are incompatible ; and to regard as nearer the truth the opinion, that love of innocent enjoyment, of beauty, the gratification of fancy, the indulgence of taste, are among the original, strong, good principles of our nature, the developement of which will ward off corruption, and complete and perfect the social man.

There still remains one branch of the fine arts, which we have left to the last, as for this country the most important and influential of all, — Architecture. Let us take the word in its widest and most popular signification, as a term including all those predominant and distinguishing characteristics, which mark and constitute the style of buildings in different ages and among various nations. In this wide sense, all periods, from the most savage to the most civilized, have their architecture, and we may jump at once out of the limits of the five orders, and, ranging through all history and all countries, find everywhere this interesting and popular art developed. It is in this signification that it claims the merit of being the most historical of the arts, not alone as marking the chronology of its builders, but as distinguishing, in its forms, materials, and uses, the character and advancement of the period and people, which gave it birth. By it we can rightly sketch the progress of man from the earliest times downwards. It marks, in imperishable

characters, in the pyramids of Egypt, the despotic vanity of the ruler, and the slavish subjection of the subject, compelled to years of labor upon a useless mass raised to perpetuate only a single name. In the elegant temples of Greece, we admire the pure, well-balanced, heightened, intellectual character of the Athenians, prolonging its influence to the present day. In the ampitheatres, the long aqueducts, the paved ways of Rome, we recognise the grand popular spirit and heroic character of the republic, and, in the gorgeous palaces, the overgrown luxury of the empire. The mixed architecture of the middle ages carries us back to a time of confusion and ignorance, when the little light of the world was borrowed from the past, and whatever was graceful and humane was but the broken and distorted reflection of former days. Then followed the Gothic, grand, majestic, and spiritual ; vast in its compass, to hold the mighty myriads of the northern hordes, simple and sublime in its main divisions and proportions, indicating the high and daring tone of their character, yet complicated and puerilely minute in its ornamental details, to mark the barbarity of that character. Thus, too, the ruined castles upon the Rhine are the great historical proofs of the once feudal state of the country. The numerous and gorgeous churches of Rome mark the ascendency of religion, and its union with temporal power ; and the barred and fortress-like palaces of Florence, the times of turbulent party spirit, of warring aristocracy, and struggling democracy. The opening of Pompeii has probably made us more intimate with Roman manners and customs, and styles of living, than all the learning and criticism of modern Europe ; yet little but the buildings and their ornaments remained. It is in this broad definition of the term, that we can speak of architecture in America ; for to consider it otherwise, or as the science of construction based upon the strict arbitrary rules of the five orders, would make it a subject of painful and fruitless contemplation. If we examine the character of our buildings, we shall find them reflecting our state of society, our form of government, and our prominent occupations. Our State-houses and town-houses mark our representative and legislative authority ; our banks and storehouses, our high commercial activity ; and our numerous and various churches, the flourishing, but divided and independent, state of religion. These are the objects of our architectural ornament and display, and

they are precisely those characterizing our condition. Hence we see that architecture is the great expression of national character, and that every great period of society has its significant style.

Again, it is the most popular of the arts. We mean, it influences and gratifies more than any other the mass of men. Pictures and statues require, for their full enjoyment, some degree of cultivation ; but the rudest will be impressed with the imposing piles of architecture. Fine buildings are the household furniture of a city, and as influential upon the disposition of its inhabitants, as domestic furniture upon the good manners and character of the family circle. They are ever present companions to the citizen, confronting him in his daily walks, gradually affecting his mind and tastes, and binding round their well-proportioned members, the chains of renewed and strengthened association. They go to make up a large portion of the pride felt in home and country. If the citizen of an ornamented city be absent for a time, he misses its customary outward influences, and returns with zest to the well-ordered arrangements, the majestic fronts, the pleasing interior, of his own public buildings. He acquires a feeling of ownership, and even of care, for these precious ornaments of his land ; and his vanity is gratified by pointing them out to strangers as marks of the taste, wealth, and cultivation of his countrymen.

Since, then, architecture is so popular and influential, it is highly important that it be not neglected, as all our hopes rest upon popular cultivation. It is in fact one of the most natural and apparent means of producing that refinement, ease, and profitable enjoyment of leisure, whose absence mars our society, and takes from its true beauty and worth. The solid qualities of character are possessed by this people in as great perfection as by any other ; but these alone do not constitute the full enjoyment of life. We have yet to supply occupation for many leisure minutes of each day, which are now shaded over and darkened by the trespassing cares of our business occupations. This art is peculiarly adapted to effect this, as study and attention to it awaken in the mind the liveliest images of beauty and grandeur, and inspire it with the full enjoyment of embodied grace. And even the mere occupation of construction is a useful and exhilarating stimulus. The interest of planning a house, or su-

perintending its erection, is very great. How much greater that of erecting a large public building, the receptacle of multitudes assembled for the most serious and lasting objects, to deliberate upon national interests, or meditate upon the sublime truths of religion. Then we build for centuries, for remotest generations, carrying the associations of the present far beyond the recollections of living witnesses, into the furthest future ages ; associations free from the factiousness and ill-blood of political excitement, and awakening a generous pride of citizenship, and an enthusiasm for national glory and honor.

The popular disposition is always to embody its feelings of admiration and enthusiasm in such objects, and thereby to give them a locality, a habitation, and a name. Even religion gains power and support from the imposing house of prayer.

We are too apt to despair of ever seeing any thing like a national school of architecture. Certainly there is much ground for the feeling. But it is unfortunate to indulge it now, when we are requiring so many public buildings of a permanent character ; and, unless these are erected with taste and care, they will stand a source of perpetual annoyance to succeeding and more cultivated generations. Most of our cities are now of a size to erect buildings for the various public offices of religion, of legislation, of finance, of education, &c. They are rich enough to furnish materials of the best description, and in suitable abundance ; and the skill of the mere builder is not wanting to make them durable for ages. But the mind of the artist is wanting. No one has yet appeared to captivate the popular admiration by new and appropriate forms. That our people do not express more interest in their public buildings, or more indignation at their imperfections, is in no way surprising. They have as yet never fairly known what enjoyment is to be derived from a fine building. They have never seen one which comes home to their associations, their ideas of fitness and excellence, or their notions of grandeur and majesty.

At present, our public and private buildings present constant violations of the simplest rules of architecture, but of none more than of proportion of parts and propriety of ornament. Proportion gives enjoyment even to the most un-

cultivated eye, though none but the most skilful hand can create it. It is only to be obtained by long and patient study, by poring as it were over the models of acknowledged merit, and catching the spirit of their beauty, not the mere measurement of their lines. It must be the habitual expression of the hand of the artist, as beauty is that of the mind of the poet. But there are few, if any of the works of American architects, which are stamped with this truly artistic character, and many of our most pleasing buildings are those planned and erected by English artists during the colonial times; such as the King's Chapel in Boston, and the Episcopal Church, at Cambridge, in every line and combination of which we see the hand of an accomplished draughtsman.

Breadth of effect, dignity, and imposing appearance are also most uncommon; not so much from the size of our buildings, as from the cutting up, and minute division of parts. The *façades* of most houses are made complete sieves for the admission of light, and it is doubtful, in some, whether windows or blank wall predominate. This, of course, gives a fragile and summer-house like effect to the outside, which should be as massive and stable in appearance as possible, and is equally prejudicial to the good appearance of the interior, as admitting various cross lights, instead of one broad mass.

Ornament, too, is lavished with the most tasteless and unnecessary profusion, as if the beauty of ornament consisted, not in its appropriateness and finishing effect, but in its costly extravagance. Simplicity and unity are the ground work of beauty, and this trick of subdivision, and running to miniature and incongruous details, is utterly at war with it. In no buildings is this confusion and display of ornament so manifested, as in our Gothic modern churches, cottages, and barns. The ornament of the genuine Gothic impresses us, in the grand original buildings, partly from the richness of its united effect in a great mass, and partly from the lightness which it gives to such solid materials as stone or marble. But this richness and its effect degenerate into childish display upon a small building, especially if the material be frail; and, as two or three clumped pillars, and a small fretted vault, have little reference or similarity to the thick-studded grove, or its broad but delicate canopy of leaves, (the origin

in nature of the Gothic order,) still less may these unhallowed cuttings and carvings of the carpenter's chisel, so common with us, claim any alliance with the lofty magnificence of the Gothic, which they imitate in so ghastly a manner. Imitation is bad enough in its greatest perfection; but we are flooded with miserable imitations of transatlantic buildings, deficient in the points most worthy of imitation, their beauty of proportions and solidity of materials.

There is another disregard of propriety in our buildings, highly injurious to their good appearance, even if they were more worthy of admiration, — their being crowded one against another, so as to allow no space for the spectator. Trinity Church, in Boston, is a striking instance of this defect. Viewed from the Common, down Winter Street, it strongly impresses the spectator with the idea of its solidity and grandeur; but approach it, and the neck is twisted off, in trying to enjoy its massy proportions. And so Saint Paul's, in the same city, having a portico remarkably harmonious in its proportions and color, rarely attracts the eye, disturbed on the one side by the encroaching row of brick dwelling-houses, and by the rather fantastic Masonic Temple on the other. The new Custom House is far more happy in the relation of its proportions to the space in which it will be viewed.

Striking, however, as are all these defects of American architecture, it is obvious, that a great improvement, a higher taste, and a desire for better things, are manifesting themselves. The wants and wishes of the country are expressed in such buildings as Girard College at Philadelphia, the New Custom House at New York, and that at Boston, which do honor to American genius and taste, and will be favorable witnesses, as long as they shall stand, to the degree of present advancement. Now, then, is the time for the man to arise, who will give originality and power to the creations of the architect, and new direction and influence to these symptoms of dawning luxury. The people are fast parting with the obstinacy and conceit, which led them to interfere with the plans of the architect, resigning them for that better wisdom, which acknowledges and follows a guide well skilled in his profession. The country abounds in materials of the richest description, daily consumed, and worked up into the form of churches, banks, warehouses, and city halls, only needing the ordering

mind of the architect, to spring into shapes of elegance and fitness. The task of making a fine building is quite as easy as that of making an ugly one, and only requires resolution on the part of the artist to resist interference, and to manage and guide and persuade his employers. There is no reason to fear that our people will not acknowledge beauty and orderly arrangement, when they see them, and with them the merit of the artist. In fact, the bar to beautiful structures does not exist so much in the incapacity of the people, as in that of the artist himself. Though we have had men of merit, we have had none equal to the high and difficult task; none with the creative and energetic mind, the enterprising spirit, the soul overflowing with the love of art, the memory teeming with all its past productions, the imagination exercised in all the varieties of combination, the self-devotion, the determination to effect, the continued sacrifice of all other pursuits and interests. These are the elements of the required character, and until they come to fashion the man, we cannot say to what extent he may not influence a people, young and easily moulded, or how far he may not show, that imagination and sensibility are accompaniments to every state of man, that acceptable food must be supplied to them; and proud, happy, and long revered will be the memory of the artist, who slakes from the great well-spring of his own creative genius, the thirst of our nature for ideal beauty materialized and brought within the limit and intercourse of our senses.

Let us imagine, as a closing picture, the course of such an architect, to whom nature had given the true elements of vigor and genius. The reports of the treasures of the old world would soon lead him across the waters, to draw, from the relics of three thousand years, instruction, improvement, and inspiration. He would peruse each order, and each national style, with deference to the taste and character of its inventors, studying them as eagerly as a scholar the literature of the past, copying, and recopying them, selecting what was good and pure, and rejecting the bad, until the whole peculiar spirit of their beauty had passed into his mind. Then would he watch their changes and combinations, as they passed on, improving or degenerating, into the new forms of succeeding times; observing the while, that the imagination is as sportive and changing, as readily adapting itself to each new feature of society, with the trowel and chisel, as with the pen. He

would learn, that, though one age might boast of its preëminent purity of taste, yet none was without its expression; that, if the simple Doric, or the graceful Ionic, might exhibit an almost divine beauty in the Attic temple, still the Greco-Gothic cathedral was not without its barbarous quaintness, nor the Moorish villa without its rich, imaginative, fantastic Asiatic air. He would see how powerfully the frowning palaces of Florence brought back the turbulent, dark, savage times of their constructors, and awed the memory into historical recollections, less joyful and exhilarating perhaps, than those awakened amid the rich ruins of Ephesus and Delos, but not less fascinating. Then, seeing how modern civilization, with its thousand sacrifices to comfort and convenience, had marred his art, he would tax his ingenuity to give beauty to even its minute structures, knowing that all form is capable of expression, and that the artist has almost the power of divinity over his materials, binding all things in beauty. His hand and his eye would be taught to execute with unerring fidelity the conceptions of his imagination, and these would be guided by that deep knowledge of the wants, habits, and character of his fellow men, which constitutes the philosophy of his art, without which he cannot hope to influence or impress the popular mind. Let him, after such a tuition, return to America, coming not like a pupil, still clinging to the leading-strings of the master spirits of the dead past, but confident in his own light, braced by nature and study to the noble task of writing in stone and marble, all over the country, the imperishable record of our condition, so new, so fresh, so unexpressed. Let him rightly combine, in his works, the great elements of his art, producing what is truly national and emblematical to the American people, and it is impossible that he should not strike home to their admiration. Have we not feelings, passions, prejudices, associations, as strong and as lively as any people on earth? and where lies the reason, that they should not be addressed by wood and stone, as well as any of those of the hundreds of nations, who have risen and sunk into the tomb of history, leaving nothing but their temples, palaces, and fortifications, as a tangible memorial of their existence? Is there any thing more delusive in the anticipation of a future brilliant career of the arts in America, than in the hope, that we may see a national literature, or a national school of science, or of philosophy? The time may or may

not come within this or the next century, but come it certainly will, and we venture to affirm, that with regard to one of them, Sculpture, its day will have arisen, when the marble personified image of Washington lands on the shores of the Potomac.

Art. III. — 1. *Annual Reports of the Boston Academy of Music, from* 1833 *to* 1840 *inclusive.*

2. *Address on the Opening of the Odeon, August 5th,* 1835. By Samuel A. Eliot. 8vo. pp. 17.

3. *Report to the School Committee of Boston, August 24th,* 1837. By T. K. Davis. 8vo. pp. 20.

4. *The Musical Magazine,* conducted by H. T. Hach. 1839, 1840.

A great revolution in the musical character of the American people has begun, and is, we trust, to go forward, like other revolutions, till its ultimate object be attained. If its progress continue to be as rapid as it has thus far been, it will be another signal instance of the railroad velocity with which the Americans are apt to convert a seemingly distant futurity into a present reality. Before we refer to the means by which this remarkable change has been begun, we intend to speak of the reasons which justify the attempt to produce it; or, in other words, to set forth the true claims which music has upon the respect and interest of this community and of all communities. We are led to do this partly by the subdued tone that we perceive in several of the productions the titles of which we have placed at the head of this article; in almost all of them there seems to be a restraint on the expressions of the authors, as if they feared to say the whole truth on the subject, lest the public should turn an incredulous ear, or smile at the hitherto unheard warmth of their language. The time has now come, however, at least in this vicinity, when no one need fear to speak out all his thoughts, or give utterance to all his feelings upon the art; and when it may be useful, not only here but in all parts of the country where our voice can be heard, to exhibit the reasons why the change which is in progress should be vigorously promoted, and the means by which this may be accomplished pointed out.

Of all the fine arts, music is the most extensive in its influence. There are more persons, in all countries and in all stages of civilization, who are agreeably or powerfully affected by music, than there are who can enjoy any other art. Strangely as this assertion may sound to those who were taught, as was commonly believed twenty years ago, that an ear for music is a rare endowment, it is nevertheless literally true. The rarity is, to find one who has not an ear for music, or who cannot be affected by it in any manner. We care not how simple, or coarse, or uncouth it may be, — if it be as inartificial as the accompaniment of an Indian dance, or as monotonous as a death song, still if one be excited or touched by it, he has an ear for music, which needs nothing but suitable cultivation to be educated to enjoy the most complicated harmony of a symphony by the most scientific composer.

There is many a mathematical mind that cannot conceive of a charm in the poetry which proves nothing ; there is many a miser who sees nought in architecture but the waste of money upon ornament. There are those, even among cultivated persons, who cannot be made to perceive, still less to enjoy, the beauties and wonders of painting or sculpture. But neither they, nor the most withered miser, nor the most devoted mathematician, nor the most worldly speculator, will fail to be moved by some kind of exhibition of that art which appeals at once to the senses and the soul. The sweet, innocent voice of the child will cause some chord of the heart to vibrate ; or the spirit-stirring music of the military band will awaken a slumbering emotion ; the song of the accomplished artist will please ; or the church choir and the solemn organ will excite reverence in the heart of the most cold, calculating, or selfish. We have heard of such a thing as a person who was insensible to the beauties of other arts, nay we have seen such, but never have we heard of one who was utterly indifferent to all kinds of music. We believe no such human being to exist, and therefore we say that the influence of music is universal.

If not absolutely universal, (and we are willing to allow there may be exceptions, though we have never heard of them,) it is so nearly so, that the thing becomes important from this circumstance alone. If the effect produced upon an individual were trifling, yet the aggregate, upon all individuals, must be a considerable matter. But so far from the

effect being insignificant, we contend, that it is worthy of the attention and demands the careful consideration of statesmen and lawgivers, parents, teachers, and philanthropists. The well-known *dictum*, "Let me make the people's ballads, and I care not who makes their laws," was founded not merely on a knowledge of human nature, but on an acquaintance with the means by which a deep and permanent impression is to be made on men's minds and character. And no one who reflects for a moment upon the part of our nature to which music appeals, or upon the effects which have been produced by it, can doubt that it may be made, for it has been made, a means of powerful influence for good or for evil. It addresses itself to the emotions, the passions of men; it excites them, it represses them; it is the universal stimulus, and the natural, irresistible expression of the feelings. Who can doubt that men are governed more by feeling and impulse than by reason and reflection? Who can question, then, the power of the art by which the active capacities of our nature are so much affected? It excites the imagination, too, in a degree scarcely surpassed by the most powerful of its sister arts, and by this combination of influences becomes more efficient than poetry itself. The experience of the world, in all ages and nations, not excepting our own practical, mechanical, busy age and nation, confirms the assertions we are making of the power of music. Without referring to the stories which have come down to us from antiquity, we will only express our conviction that an additional *impetus* was given to the French revolution by the popular airs and songs which were then circulated; that the national anthem of "God save the King" has produced a positive effect upon the nation who have so long sung it, and that it has in fact saved the King from many a revolutionary impulse. We believe, too, that the aid of music was invoked, not in vain, in our own late elections.

But it is not for purposes of temporary excitement, merely, that music is available. The permanent effect produced upon the national character by the habitual practice of the art is so obvious as always to have been a subject of applause or reproach, according as refinement was thought to be produced, or effeminacy imputed as its consequence. We do not think there is any danger of weakening the real strength of the character, by the love or the practice of any of the arts of embellishment; least of all by that of music, which exercises

and developes at once the physical, intellectual, and moral powers. The marble is not softened when the jagged corners of the block are cut off, its rough surface smoothed, and it is converted from a shapeless mass into the rounded, light, and graceful figure. There is so much of inertness, selfishness, and ferocity inherent in human nature, that we think it of the utmost importance to cherish every thing which has a tendency to excite the kind and gentle feelings to activity. Music, properly cultivated, has this tendency to a very great extent, — far greater than either of the other fine arts. It has some advantages, which add to its power, and therefore to its importance, in comparison with other pursuits. Of these we propose to speak briefly.

It is preëminently a social enjoyment. A man may, to be sure, sing or play when alone, but the presence of one who can accompany him, much more than doubles his pleasure. He will seek association with others, therefore, which cannot fail to render necessary a greater or less degree of yielding to their wishes and opinions ; and every instance of this strengthens his sympathy and benevolence, and in the same ratio diminishes his selfishness. The pleasures of harmony can scarcely be obtained at all without the coöperation of numbers ; and some of the most valuable qualities, intellectual and moral, are brought into action by combinations for such a purpose.

Not only must there be an association of individuals for high musical productions, but there is an almost necessary combination of arts in that of music, which

"De cent plaisirs fait un plaisir unique."

Poetry is so intimately connected with vocal music as to be nearly always joined with it ; while the art of oratory, or rather of elocution, which certainly does not stand in the lowest rank of intellectual efforts, has an indissoluble connexion with it. There is no such necessary combination in the other arts. They stand separate, and have their distinct and peculiar beauties ; while music draws her sisters around her, and the fascination of each is heightened by the mingled charms of her companions.

There is another combination in which music is peculiar, namely, in the powers it calls into exercise. Nothing else that we know, excites at once the physical, intellectual, and moral

powers of human nature, — in other words, our whole nature, — to the degree that music does. By other pursuits, we may improve one faculty at a time ; by this, we improve at once every part of our nature.

There is one other union we will mention, which, though not peculiar to music, is more manifest in that study than in almost any other, the union of amusing or pleasing occupation with that which is useful. " Useful ! " we see our readers mentally exclaiming ; " we acknowledge the art to be a pleasing accomplishment, but what is its utility apart from its agreeableness ? " We do not wish to be considered as enthusiasts, or the utterers of mere extravagances which can neither be believed nor regarded as of the least practical consequence. We think we can show that we use the words of truth and soberness ; and we will therefore state in what consists, in our opinion, the value of music as an intellectual exercise. The mathematics are generally considered as particularly useful in giving to the mind habits of precision and method, without which true results cannot be obtained. It is the same with the study of the elements of music. The division of notes by their length, and their separation by interval, is a study of the very same nature with mathematics, while accuracy, method, and order are not less indispensable to the attainment of pleasing results. Music is, as it were, mathematics in action, and what is an important addition to the youthful student, in agreeable action. He can learn to add, subtract, multiply and divide by whole, half, and quarter notes, as well as he can by Arabic figures ; while tones and semitones, with the exponent flats and sharps, may give him a practical idea of fractions as accurate as the rules of Colburn or Emerson. He cannot help learning something beside music. In gaining a competent knowledge of that, he is learning arithmetic as surely as by the use of the slate and pencil ; and he is acquiring habits which cannot fail to benefit him in every other pursuit of life.

Reading well is usually considered a very good test of the talents and attainments of the scholar, because it implies the knowledge of the proper mode of expressing the sentiments conveyed by language, as well as the sensibility to feel them. The very same thing is doubly requisite in singing. Expression is of the essence of music. There can be no good singing, and but little good playing without it,

and, as the art of expressing sentiment well and appropriately is much more difficult in singing than in speaking, it is, of course, a higher intellectual effort. Those who have acquired the more difficult accomplishment will rarely fail to read and speak with expression and effect. These auxiliary powers and advantages of the study render music a very important branch of youthful education; and there are other qualities it possesses which still further increase its value as an instrument in the hands of the teacher of youth. It is found by experience to be a very strong attraction to the school-room. Those who are often absent on other days, are sure to be present when the music lesson is to be given; and no punishment is so efficient as being deprived of the privilege of attending it. It aids the young mind in its progress through drier studies, by the partial and pleasant relaxation it affords to the intellectual powers, often unreasonably taxed by those who have little acquaintance with their strength; and it is a better recreation than a game of foot-ball, or any other merely physical exercise, for it gives a healthy activity to mind and body too, and is applicable to all ages and both sexes of youth.

Another circumstance which renders music of extraordinary and almost inappreciable value in this country, is the necessity of discipline, strict conformity to rules, the subordination of the different parts and voices, and the distinctness of each department. In music, every one, from the highest to the lowest, has his appointed, fixed place, which he can neither quit nor neglect without marring his own enjoyment, as well as that of others. What an inestimable incident is this, in any study to be pursued in this country, where every man is so apt to entertain the idea that he is born with a genius for any thing he may choose to undertake, and that he not only may acquire, but actually possesses, as much knowledge as anybody else upon any given subject. We are self-made, or we are born, statesmen, orators, mechanics, and merchants, as well as poets, painters, and sculptors. It is quite unnecessary for anybody to undertake to instruct us; and serving an apprenticeship to any art or trade is a thing entirely exploded from the modern system of society. Submission to authority was all very well in earlier and simpler periods of the world; but now even respect for the opinions or reasonings of the ablest and best of our contemporaries is quite behind the

spirit of the age, and the march of mind. The organ of reverence is in a fair way of being obliterated from the American brain; and the time has already arrived when the attempt of one portion of society to restrain another to any degree beyond its own convenience, is universally considered unconstitutional, and interfering with those natural rights which cannot be alienated nor abridged. States nullify, whenever it suits their pleasure; towns comply with State requisitions, if convenient; individuals obey town laws, if they find it for their interest; children obey their parents when it is not more desirable that the parents should obey them; teachers are at the mercy of their pupils, and master and servant is a relation no longer known to exist. Every one, in short, places himself on his reserved, natural right of rebellion; and the constitution itself is made to maintain the most self-destructive doctrines. We consider it providential that there is one pursuit of an attractive character, which cannot be thus inverted; in which learners must submit to teachers, the less advanced must yield to those who are more so, and where every one must take his appropriate place, and not seize upon another for which his natural and acquired powers do not fit him. The bass cannot sing soprano, nor can the bassoon play the violin part. Neither can one voice or one instrument say to another, "I have no need of thee." All are wanted, and so long as they will submit to be governed at once by nature and by the rules of art, all are indispensable to the production of great effects. But the moment that disobedience or carelessness is suffered to prevail, the charm is broken, music takes her flight, and the air is filled with "wild confusion's dreadful noise."

It is well there is something left to remind us occasionally that all wisdom and all knowledge were not born with us, and that it is scarcely likely they will die with us; and we esteem it the especial duty of every American who has the opportunity to exercise any influence on the subject, and who has any just value for the peace and order of society, to exert himself in the promotion of the study of that art, which will do more than all other studies to impress on the minds of youth the importance, the necessity of discipline, order, and subordination in the affairs of this world.

The physical benefits of the study of music, especially vocal music, are not less striking than the moral and intellectual ad-

vantages we have mentioned. Exercise gives vigor, and there is no part of the human system which requires more attention for the acquisition of a desirable degree of strength, than the vocal organs which are called into healthy action by singing, and which are so often fatally deranged by exposure in our rough climate. This is no chimera. The personal experience of many a singer may be appealed to, in confirmation of our assertion; and if there be one thing which is likely to check the seemingly peculiar tendency to consumption in our population, it is the early, and systematic culture of the vocal organs in singing.

Professional observation combines with personal experience in support of this opinion. We quote the following from Mr. Davis's report to the School Committee.

"'A fact,' says an American physician,* 'has been suggested to me by my profession, which is, that the exercise of the organs of the breast by singing contributes very much to defend them from those diseases to which the climate and other causes expose them.' A musical writer in England,† after quoting this remark, says, 'the Music Master of our Academy has furnished me with an observation still more in favor of this opinion. He informs me that he had known several persons strongly disposed to consumption, restored to health by the exercise of the lungs in singing.'‡ But why cite medical or other authorities on a point so plain. It appears self-evident that exercises in vocal music, when not carried to an unreasonable excess, must expand the chest, and thereby strengthen the lungs and vital organs." — p. 4.

The amount of exercise derived from the practice of singing is much greater than would be imagined by those not versed in it; and the fatigue incident to prolonged exertion in singing, is as positive as that which follows sawing wood, or riding on horseback. During a residence of nine or ten months in Germany some years ago, we were much struck with the fact, that diseases of the lungs of all sorts, were far less common there than with us. Is there any difference in the situation or habits of the people, to which this result may be ascribed with so much probability, as the different customs of the two nations with regard to vocal music? In Germany, everybody sings; in America, nobody. In Germany it is

* Dr. Rush. † Gardner. ‡ Boston Academy's *Manual of Vocal Music.*

an art honored and loved; in America it is treated with an indifference at once strange and hurtful.

We have dwelt so long on the incidental advantages to be derived from the study of music, that it is time for us to speak of the direct inducements to its cultivation. As a fine art, it takes the lead, not merely from the permanent effects it is capable of producing, but from the pleasure it is adapted to yield. We agree with the author of the address at the opening of the Odeon, in the view he takes of its charm.

"What a pleasure is that derived from music! There are many refined and high gratifications, which, by the goodness of God, we are permitted to taste. Every sense is made the means of enjoyment. Every nerve conveys pleasurable sensations to the perceiving mind. We cannot look on the works of the Creator, we cannot open our eyes, without pleasure; we cannot satisfy our appetites without at the same time gratifying our palates. We cannot breathe the fragrant air without delight. But though every sense has thus its appropriate pleasures, which are neither few nor small, which are spread around us, if we will but observe them, with an abundance which nothing but infinite beneficence could have drawn from the stores of infinite wisdom and infinite power; yet I cannot hesitate to place foremost in these gratifications of sense, that which flows in upon the ear, from the sweet, the rich, the ever-varying combinations of music. Is there any thing which can be compared to the liquid harmony of well-selected instruments; the graceful air upon the soft reed; or the delicate touch of the vibrating string; or the noble swell of the soul-thrilling organ; unless, indeed, it be the simple strain of a rich voice, or the skilful modulations of one well cultivated? But when these are united and combined as scientific composers know how to use them; when we listen to the air, the chorus, the overture, the accompaniment, the vocal and the instrumental sounds which are mingled and varied, alternately separated and joined together in exquisite melodies, or grand harmony, we drink in a delight which nothing else in nature or art can give; we revel in an ecstasy waked by the living lyre, which cannot be produced by any, the happiest combinations, of the other senses."

Though this may be warmly expressed, yet it will be admitted to be substantially true by all who have the taste to enjoy, and the habit of listening to the delightful effects of music. If we look, therefore, simply and directly to increasing the means

of happiness of our fellow creatures, to what can we give our attention that will repay our care with such a rich harvest of innocent enjoyment? One of the peculiarities of music in this respect is, that it gives pleasure to those in all stages of progress; to the beginner, the connoisseur, and persons of every degree of cultivation. In other arts a work must be good in the judgment of the cultivated, or it will please nobody when directly compared with a really excellent production. But in music the child is pleased at every step of his progress; and every diversity of taste in the adult may be gratified. There are those, who, upon deliberate comparison, prefer the musical style of Mr. Henry Russell to that of John Braham, Mrs. Wood, or Caradori Allan; and who would rather listen to Billings's Anthems than to Mozart's Requiem, or Rossini's Prayer. Be it so. We quarrel with no man's taste; but, on the contrary, we claim it as one of the advantageous distinctions of our favorite art, that it is able to adapt itself to all stages and degrees of cultivation; to give delight to the learner and the proficient, to the rude and the refined, the learned and the unlearned, and to lead all to the common source of beauty and happiness, by elevating the mind above low pursuits and pleasures, and purifying the heart from selfishness.

If there be truth in what we have now urged with regard to the beauty and the value of music, it has been truth for centuries; truth, however, unknown, or unappreciated, neglected, and we are tempted to say, scorned in this community. It is so now in most parts of the United States; and in many places it is still as it was here little more than thirty years ago, when all the music that could be heard in Boston, was from half a dozen instruments in the orchestra of the theatre, and the so-called *singing* of the several church choirs, with the accompaniment of the violoncello. It was a deplorable noise, but was the nearest approach to music that was to be heard in most of the congregational churches, one or two only of which possessed an organ. The first public efforts at reform, and the introduction of a better taste, were made by the late lamented Buckminster, who took great and successful pains to make this part of public worship generally interesting in his own church. His efforts, however, were limited to that object, setting an example that was slow to be followed by the other churches. It is nearly thirty years since "The

Handel and Haydn Society " was formed, and collected all the persons in the city and vicinity who were able to perform Handel's music ; and we recollect very well that it was thought a great achievement to sing the " Hailstone Chorus " through, without stopping.

Twenty years ago, another Boston congregation followed the example of Buckminster's, and a better style of music was introduced at the West Church by the personal efforts of one, who, had he lived longer, would doubtless have effected much more for the cause of music. But the early death of W. H. Eliot deprived the community of a zeal and efficiency, the loss of which was felt in more than one department of the public welfare. These individual and associated efforts, however, produced little general effect. There was a gradual, though very slow improvement in church music, and concerts and oratorios began to be given and attended. But there was nothing like the general impulse towards music, which for two or three years past has made it all the rage, and has begun what we called in the outset, a *musical revolution*. We propose to state what we believe to have been the means, the second causes, of the immense change which is acknowledged to have taken place here ; and although the topic may seem too local, yet if the example of those who have here exerted themselves in the cause should be followed elsewhere, in consequence of our having taken notice of it, we should think ourselves doing as much as we can do in any way to promote the best welfare of our readers and our country.

In the years 1832 – 3, the public were surprised and delighted by the exhibition of the musical attainments of a class of very juvenile performers, who had acquired their skill under the direction of Messrs. L. Mason, and G. J. Webb. Never shall we forget the mingled emotions of wonder, delight, vanquished incredulity, and pleased hope, with which these juvenile concerts were attended. The coldest heart was touched, and glistening eyes and quivering lips attested the depth and strength of the feelings excited in the bosoms of parents and teachers ; while the happy little pupils themselves seemed to have acquired a new sense, as they certainly had gained a new source of enjoyment. Their excitement was so great as to make frequent repetition dangerous, and the concerts were soon discontinued, notwithstanding the urgent solicitation of many to whom they were equally new and de-

lightful. But it was manifest that the object had been gained; a deep and lasting impression had been made on the public mind and the public heart. This might, to be sure, have passed off and left no trace behind; but in this case, it was not destined to die without issue. An association of gentlemen was immediately formed, and assumed the name of "The Boston Academy of Music," the object of which was to promote musical education in the community in every way which was within the reach of their efforts. They were none of them professors of the art, nor had most of the founders of the society a knowledge of even its elementary principles; but they loved it, and saw what effects might be produced by it, and had a full perception of its importance as a means of education, enjoyment, and improvement. They gave immediate proofs of the heartiness of their zeal by co-operating cordially with the professors above named, and by incurring an expenditure of about twenty thousand dollars for an organ, and a large hall for concerts and other purposes. In 1835, the Odeon was opened, and the address above quoted was delivered by Mr. Eliot, who had that year been chosen President of the Academy. Concerts were given the succeeding winter at the Odeon, and have been kept up every year since, with a great variety in the kinds of music performed, and with a manifest improvement, in many respects, in the style of performance. No large choir had previously been so well trained in Boston.

The next prominent step in the progress of the Academy was the formation of a class of teachers of music, who have found it for their advantage to assemble annually, and hear lectures on the more important branches of the profession. A musical convention has sprung from this annual assembly, of which others are members besides the pupils of the Academy, and which will doubtless serve to extend the influence and the utility of the profession. It is one of the promising and satisfactory signs of the times, that the number of those who are induced to devote themselves to music, as a means of subsistence, is constantly increasing, thus proving the increase of the number of pupils.

The next, and the most important step taken by the Academy, was the introduction of vocal music, as a branch of elementary education, into the public schools. By this measure, not only is every child in the schools, (two thirds of the whole juvenile population of the city,) receiving a valuable

and delightful addition to his stock of knowledge and means of happiness, but every parent of every child is acquiring an interest in the art; although they may know little about it, yet they feel that their children are made happier and better by it, and they become attached to it from their natural fondness for their offspring. We consider this as the most important thing done by the Academy, or which can be done to promote the progress of music among us. By giving elementary instruction to all the children of the city, — and nearly all enjoy it now, — the whole musical talent of the place will be discovered; and those who have the best powers for the study, and the strongest inclination for it, will have the means to cultivate the talents which, but for these early opportunities, would long have continued unknown to themselves as well as others. The taste of all will likewise be somewhat cultivated; and those who do not prove proficients in the practice, will still have knowledge enough to understand what kinds of music are best worthy attention, and who is best able to perform them. We shall therefore, in a few years, it is to be hoped, overcome the Bœotian ignorance on the subject of music, which, we lament to say, has hitherto characterized our community, and which we fear still prevails in many parts of the country. This can only be done by educating the mass of the population, by making music, as Mr. Davis expresses it, "the property of the whole people." Heretofore instruction has been confined to the very limited number of the daughters of the rich, who could be taught, by some half dozen professors, good, bad, and indifferent, to strike the keys of the piano, or sound the notes of a song. It was impossible this should ever develope the musical faculties of the people; and we should have continued liable to the mistaken imputation of being singularly wanting in musical taste, had it not been for the exertions of the Academy. By them has public attention been roused to the subject, and parents and children alike interested in the progress of the art.

It would have been impossible for the Academy thus to cause the introduction of the study of vocal music into the schools, on a systematic and useful plan, had it not been for the previous labors of Mr. Woodbridge, who translated some of the best German elementary works on the subject, and of Mr. Mason, who from them prepared the "Manual" of the Academy, a work unsurpassed in simplicity, clearness,

and method. It would also, in all probability, have been delayed to a much later period, had it not been for the pains taken by the President of the Academy to bring the subject properly before the civic authorities. He had a favorable opportunity to do this, as chairman of the School Committee of Boston, and he never relaxed his efforts, till, in the autumn of 1837, the board was induced, in conformity with the views presented in the admirable and unanswerable report of Mr. Davis, to order its introduction as a part of the regular system of instruction in the public schools. From the beginning of 1838 to the present time, such instruction has been uninterruptedly given, and will, we trust, continue to be given while the public schools shall last.

The professors of the Academy, meanwhile, were actively engaged in their department of this effort for the public good; and prepared in rapid succession a number of musical works adapted to the wants of the growing number of those pursuing the art; and little song-books for children, glees, songs, and other pieces for older voices, and for family use, choruses for choirs, and sacred music for churches were brought out, by Messrs. Mason and Webb, in quick succession. The greatest care was taken that the moral and religious character of all these works should be unexceptionable. Mr. Eliot again contributed his efforts in this sphere, by giving to the Academy a translation of Schiller's "Song of the Bell," adapted to the interesting music of Romberg, and preparing some other little pieces of a similar kind. In short, the activity of the Academy was great, and it excited a corresponding activity in others. The spirit of competition was roused, and it would have been well, if the spirit of jealousy had not been roused with it. But, from whatever reason, new societies of various kinds were formed, and some of them gave private concerts, as they were called, though attended by a thousand people or more, and the older societies were stimulated to new efforts in the cause. The evidence of increased interest in music in the public generally, is the greatly increased attendance on the vast number of concerts now given. At all this we rejoice greatly; and shall rejoice still more if the example of what has been done here should stimulate other places to do likewise. The way is now pointed out, and the effects already visible of the experiment begun here, promise much greater fruit in time to come. We are happy to

learn that academies of Music have been established in some other cities, and that in at least one town in this Commonwealth, music is beginning to be a branch of elementary education. When any great public improvement is begun, we cannot help thinking it of some importance to observe from what quarter the impulse comes, and under whose guidance it is likely to go forward. And it is a happy omen for the good results to be derived from this change in the musical taste and habits of the people, that one of the strong motives of those who originated the plan of the Academy, was the improvement of church music ; and that their well established character is a sufficient guaranty, that whatever receives their sanction will be of a pure and elevated class of compositions.

There is only one evil of which we are apprehensive, and that is disunion. The efforts of all ought to be combined, as far as possible. Great effects can be produced by combination alone, especially in music, where, as we have remarked, there is a place for every one, and there ought to be one for every place. But Yankees are too apt to be of the same mind with Satan, and think it "better to reign in hell, than serve in heaven." They will even fall into the pandemonium of contention, jealousy, and separation, in musical associations, provided each little coterie may fill its own little world, and not be subject to any higher power. In the multitude of societies there will not be half the progress, though there will be, perhaps, double the motion, that there would be in one well organized association. The constitution of the Academy seems to us the best we know of, where the financial and prudential concerns of the society are in one set of hands, and the musical department in another. This gives a separation of duties, and a union of interests, which is far better for the public, and for individuals, than where the desire of attainment in art, and the wish to gain temporary popularity and pecuniary advantages may come in conflict, and embarrass the course of those who have the control of all departments.

We were much pleased to see, in one of the late numbers of Mr. Hach's Magazine, a project for interesting an association of literary men in the practice of music. Literature is intimately connected with it, and none but cultivated minds can appreciate and properly enjoy the highest musical effects. But a society of merely literary men is not apt to be a very efficient means of producing any result ; while the combination of literary, educated, and practical men is the very best that

has ever yet been devised. Above all, the hearty, cordial coöperation of numbers is desirable ; and mutual jealousy, and the desire to shine at each other's expense, is especially lamentable in the culture of this divine art. Union is strength in music as well as in politics.

We have mentioned what we deem the most important events which have led to the state of things now existing at the place where we write. Other circumstances have, however, contributed to the same end, more or less directly. Particularly have great numbers of persons been enlightened on the subject of the power of the art, and the effects that may be produced by it, by the visits of some very accomplished musicians, both vocal and instrumental. The little corps of Italian singers, Montresor and others, who were here five or six years ago, the brothers Hermann, Mrs. Wood, Caradori, and Braham have given specimens of exquisite skill in the vocal department, while Seitz, and Rakeman, and Kossowsky have given us an idea of what is meant by brilliant, finished, and expressive performance on various instruments. The Prague band and the Rainer family have shown how much can be effected by mere precision in the performance of music of either kind, without any remarkable degree of refinement or expression. The popular favor which attended the dramatic performances of Mrs. Wood, in particular, gave many persons an interest in the art which she practised with such great effect. The result of all these visits is, that people understand better than before how far we are behind other countries in musical attainments, how great is the charm of the art, and how important are study and practice before we begin to boast of our proficiency.*

Another circumstance which we regard as having been at once an indication and a means of progress, is the establishment of several musical periodicals. All have contributed, or are likely, we think, to contribute, their share towards directing

* It is scarcely probable that any one would now repeat the avowal made to us five or six years ago by a very worthy citizen, at one of the performances of the Handel and Haydn Society, that "he did not believe there was a place in the world where music of equal excellence could be given by the same class of persons." It is pretty generally understood now, that throughout Germany and Italy at least, to say nothing of other countries, there is not a town of half the size of Boston, where a far more difficult style of music than any practised here is not familiar to a much greater proportion of the population ; and that there is scarcely an obscure village of the Tyrol, that cannot send us a little band of singers that put all our own to shame, by the accuracy and precision with which they sing their simple songs.

the public interest to the subject, and forming the public taste. We cannot but esteem Mr. Hach's "Musical Magazine," however, as the most important, as it has been longest established, and is edited by a gentleman of rare and thorough acquaintance with the theory and practice of music, and conducted with an independence as honorable to him as it is important to the cause. The criticisms are doubtless somewhat stern; and sometimes we think too little allowance is made for peculiar difficulties, and too little encouragement given for attainments actually made. But it is far better to err on this side than on that of complaisance to individuals or societies, who will be ready enough, we may be sure, to flatter themselves, without help from the critic.

The following extract from Mr. Davis's report expresses, with much force, views and wishes in which we cordially sympathize with him.

"What is the great object of our system of popular instruction? Are our schools mere houses of Correction, in which animal nature is to be kept in subjection by the law of brute force and the stated drudgery of distasteful tasks? Not so. They have a nobler office. They are valuable mainly as a preparation and a training of the young spirit for usefulness and happiness in coming life. Now the defect of our present system, admirable as that system is, is this, that it aims to develope the intellectual part of man's nature solely, when, for all the true purposes of life, it is of more importance, a hundred fold, to feel rightly, than to think profoundly. Besides, human life must and ought to have its amusements. We cannot bring up a race upon Lyceum Lectures solely, wholesome though that food may be. Man must have agreeable excitement. There will be recreation when the toils of the day are ended. What shall that recreation be? So far then as human life is concerned, properly to direct the feelings and amusements, belongs to every system which aspires to the name and character of a wise system of Public Education. An initiation in the elements of vocal music at school, in the opinion of your Committee, seems best fitted to supply that direction. 'Music,' says a modern German writer, 'is the gymnastics of the affections.' Music and the love of it have been and may be perverted, — who knows it not? Guard it therefore, guide it, lead it into the right channels. But be not guilty of the illogical deduction of arguing from the occasional abuse of one of God's best gifts to its disuse. No. Let all parents understand that every pure and refined pleasure for which a child acquires a relish, is, to that extent, a safeguard

and preservative against a low and debasing one. Music, when kept to its legitimate uses, calls forth none but the better feelings of our nature. In the language of an illustrious writer of the 17th century, 'Music is a thing that delighteth all ages and beseemeth all states, a thing as seasonable in grief as joy, as decent being added to actions of greatest solemnity, as being used when men sequester themselves from actions.' If such be the natural effects of music, if it enliven prosperity or soothe sorrow, if it quicken the pulses of social happiness, if it can fill the vacancy of an hour that would otherwise be listlessly or unprofitably spent, if it gild with a mild light the checkered scenes of daily existence, why then limit its benign and blessed influence? Let it, with healing on its wings, enter through ten thousand avenues the paternal dwelling. Let it mingle with religion, with labor, with the home-bred amusements and innocent enjoyments of life. Let no longer be regarded merely as the ornament of the rich. Still let it continue to adorn the abodes of wealth, but let it also light up with gladness the honest hearth of poverty. Once introduce vocal music into the common schools, and you make it what it should be made, the property of the whole people. And so as time passes away, and one race succeeds to another, the true object of our system of Public Education may be realized, and we may, year after year, raise up good citizens to the Commonwealth, by sending forth from our schools, happy, useful, well instructed, contented members of society.

"The subject, in this connexion, swells into one of national universality and importance. There are said to be, at this time, not far from eighty thousand common schools in this country, in which are to be found the people who in coming years will mould the character of this democracy. If vocal music were generally adopted as a branch of instruction in these schools, it might be reasonably expected that in at least two generations we should be changed into a musical people. The great point to be considered in reference to the introduction of vocal music into popular elementary instruction is, that thereby you set in motion a mighty power which silently, but surely in the end, will humanize, refine, and elevate a whole community. Music is one of the fine arts. It therefore deals with abstract beauty, and so lifts man to the source of all beauty, from finite to infinite, and from the world of matter, to the world of spirits and to God. Music is the great handmaid of civilization. Whence come these traditions of a reverend antiquity, seditions quelled, cures wrought, fleets and armies governed by the force of song, — whence that responding of rocks, woods, and trees to the harp of Orpheus,— whence

a city's walls uprising beneath the wonder-working touches of Apollo's lyre ? These, it is true, are fables, yet they shadow forth, beneath the veil of allegory, a profound truth. They beautifully proclaim the mysterious union between music, as an instrument of man's civilization, and the soul of man. Prophets and wise men, large-minded lawgivers of an olden time, understood and acted on this truth. The ancient oracles were uttered in song. The laws of the twelve tables were put to music, and got by heart at school. Minstrel and sage, are in some languages, convertible terms. Music is allied to the highest sentiments of man's moral nature, love of God, love of country, love of friends. Woe to the nation in which these sentiments are allowed to go to decay ! What tongue can tell the unutterable energies that reside in these three engines, Church Music, National Airs, and Fireside Melodies, as means of informing and enlarging the mighty heart of a free people ! "

ART. IV. — *The History of Harvard University*, by JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D., President of the University. Cambridge : John Owen. 1840. Royal 8vo. Vol. I. and II. pp. 612, 728.

ON the 8th day of September, 1836, *came off* one of the most interesting public celebrations that have occurred in this commemorative time. Fourteen or fifteen hundred graduates of the oldest of the higher schools of instruction in this country, the University at Cambridge,* in Massachusetts, met within its walls, to notice, with suitable solemnities and festivity, the completion of the second century since its foundation.

* The President calls his work a History of " *Harvard University.*" The designation is partly matter of taste, and as this, we confess, does not suit ours, we hope it will not pass into established use. The corporation whose legal style is *The President and Fellows of Harvard College* are the legal Trustees and Governors of the University at Cambridge, now constituted of that College, and of the recently established colleges of Medicine, Divinity, and Law. But it strikes us that there is a propriety in restricting the name of *Harvard* to the ancient academical school, while the Law College bears the name of *Dane*, the Medical, that of *Massachusetts*, and the Divinity College awaits its designation from some future patron. The title and text of chapter V. of the Constitution of Massachusetts (the highest form of legal authority, both recite the name of the *University at Cambridge.* They speak of Harvard College as identical with it, as, in a certain sense, it then was ; but of *Harvard University* they do not speak.

The arrangements had been made in the most judicious and thorough manner, and nothing was wanting of all that heart could wish, to do justice to so delightful an occasion. Early in the forenoon, the Alumni and their guests had assembled in the halls of the University ;

"There were venerable and reverend divines, — grave and dignified judges, — statesmen and lawyers, — learned, intellectual, and eminent men of other professions and pursuits in life,— exchanging cordial salutations after years of separation. There were the young and ardent, looking forward in imagination to a brilliant future, and men of maturer age pleased with the retrospection of the past. The greetings of companions of early days, the efforts at recognition, the fond and fervent recollections not untinged with melancholy, which the meeting occasioned, the inquiries more implied than uttered after the absent, the inquisitive glances, rather than words, by which each seemed to ask of the other's welfare, constituted a scene not to be forgotten by any individual who witnessed it." — Vol. II. pp. 646, 647.

"When the Chief Marshal [in forming the procession to the church] named the classes of the Alumni, it was deeply interesting to mark the result. The class of 1759 was called, but their only representative, and the eldest surviving Alumnus, Judge Wingate, of New Hampshire, being ninety-six years of age, was unable to attend. The classes from 1763 to 1773 were successively named, but solemn pauses succeeded ; they had all joined the great company of the departed, or, sunk in the vale of years, were unable to attend the high festival of their Alma Mater. At length, when the class of 1774 was named, Mr. Samuel Emery came forward ; a venerable old man, a native of Chatham, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, who, at the age of eighty-six, after an absence of sixty years from the Halls of Harvard, had come from his residence in Philadelphia to attend this celebration. The Rev. Dr. Ripley, of Concord, of the class of 1776, and the Rev. Dr. Homer, of Newton, of the class of 1777, were followed by the Rev. Dr. Bancroft, of Worcester, and the Rev. Mr. Willis, of Kingston, of the class of 1778 ; and, as modern times were approached, instead of solitary individuals, twenty or thirty members of a class appeared at the summons." — *Ibid.*, p. 648.

In the church, an historical discourse was pronounced by the President, and appropriate prayers were offered by two of the oldest clerical graduates. The company next proceeded to a pavilion, where tables were spread, at which Gov-

ernor Everett presided. An extract or two from his speech in introducing the after-dinner transactions, will convey some idea of the spirit of the occasion.

"Brethren, there were some recollections of the early history of the College which I intended to recall to you, but our worthy President has taken all that ground from beneath me. He has reaped the field, and left nothing for the gleaner. In fact, it is an occasion when, oppressed by the multitude of thick-coming fancies that crowd upon the mind, one is far less inclined to speak than to muse. An ingenious and accomplished Italian writer has constructed a kind of philosophical romance on the idea, that the whole Roman world of ancient times, the emperors, consuls, and tribunes, the poets, the orators, the great and wise of every generation, had appeared to him, in shadowy conclave, at the newly discovered sepulchre of the Scipios, and wandered under his guidance over the ancient and modern city. As the long procession of the Alumni swept through the academic grounds this morning, extending from one extremity of the time-hallowed precincts to the other, one could almost fancy that he saw also the mighty congregation, the three thousand, of the departed, (with old President Dunster at their head, starting from the tomb in yonder graveyard, in which, as you told us, Mr. President, it was his dying request to be deposited,) return to take their station in front of the train. They dwelt in yonder halls, they walked these pleasant fields, their minds were trained up under the influences which still hover in the air ; is it much to fancy that they had come back to join us in these festivities? Yes, brethren, but little less than five thousand four hundred alumni have received the honors of Harvard College. It has stood for more than six generations; by far the oldest institution of this character in the United States. It has stood unchanged, except to be enlarged and improved, and reared its modest head amidst the storms which convulsed alike the mother country and the colonies. Neither the straits and perils of the infant settlement, nor the harassing Indian and French wars, nor the political vicissitudes, the sectarian feuds, the neglect, the indifference, or hostility of England toward America, the trials of peace or of war, essentially obstructed the steady course of its usefulness. It has adapted itself, in each succeeding period, to the wants and calls of the age, as they have been felt and understood, and has sent out generation after generation in the various professions, in the active and contemplative callings, in the higher and the humbler paths of life, to serve and adorn the country. The village schoolmaster, the rural physician, lawyer, and

clergyman, — ministers all of unambitious good, — not less than those whom Providence calls to the most arduous and responsible posts, have been trained within its walls. They have come up here for instruction, have received it, have gone forth, and have passed away ; the children have occupied the halls which the fathers occupied before them, and both have been mingled with the dust ; and here the College, which guided them all till they were ready to launch on the ocean of life, still stands like a Pharos founded on a sea-girt rock. The moss of time gathers on it ; the waters heave and break upon its base; the tempest beats upon its sides; but in vain. Sometimes its lofty tower is reflected fathom-deep in the glassy summer sea, and sometimes covered with the foaming surge, which combs and curls from its foundation, and breaks in a vaulting flood over its summit. Unquenched and steady it shines alike through the tempest and the zephyr. Convoys sweep by it, guided by its beams to fortune or disaster, but its light never wavers. The hand that kindles it fails, but another and another renews its beams. Useful alike to small and to great, the poor fisherman marks its friendly ray from afar, as he shoots out at dusk to try the fortune of a lonely evening hour upon his favorite ledge ; and the mighty admiral descries it, through the parting thunder-clouds of midnight battle, and fearlessly braces his straining canvass to the gale.' "— *Ibid.*, pp. 652 – 654.

" ' If, in any other quarter of the globe, it has been objected to seats of learning, that they nourish a spirit of dependence on power, such has never been the reproach of our Alma Mater. Owing much, at every period before the Revolution, to the munificence of individuals in the mother country, it never was indebted to the Crown for a dollar or a book. No court favor was ever bestowed, and no court lesson ever learned. Generation after generation went forth from her lecture-rooms, armed in all the panoply of truth, to wage the battles of principle, alike under the old charter and the new ; and, when the fullness of time was come, and the great contest approached, the first note of preparation was sounded from Harvard Hall. Yes, before the Stamp Act was passed ; yes, before Committees of Correspondence were established throughout the colonies; before Otis had shaken the courts with his forensic thunders ; before a breath of defiance had whispered along the arches of Faneuil Hall, a graduate of Harvard College announced in his Thesis, on Commencement day, the whole doctrine of the Revolution. Yes, in the very dawn of independence, while the lions of the land yet lay slumbering in the long shadows of the throne, an eaglet, bred in the delicate air of freedom which fanned the academic groves, had, from his " coigne

of vantage " on yonder tower, drunk the first rosy sparkle of the sun of liberty into his calm, undazzled eye, and whetted his talons for the conflict. Within the short space of twenty-three years, there were graduated at Harvard College six men, who exercised an influence over the country's destinies, which no time shall outlive. Within that brief period, there were sent forth from yonder walls, James Otis, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, Josiah Quincy, — besides Samuel and John Adams, "*geminos duo fulmina belli.*" ' " — *Ibid.*, p. 658.

There is an exuberance in these passages, no doubt; but their effect, when pronounced, was such as is rarely seen equalled. Other eminent *alumni*, with some distinguished strangers, their guests, contributed their gifts of speech to the pleasure of the occasion, and the day was closed with an illumination of the College edifices, and of other principal buildings of the town.

The time occupied by the President with his Address in the church was necessarily insufficient for an exhibition of the history of the two centuries which had elapsed, and his sketch was for the most part confined to the time preceding the accession of President Leverett, in 1708. It accordingly extended only through part of the second of the periods indicated in the following division;

" ' The events which have affected the fortunes of Harvard College, during the last two centuries, may be advantageously arranged and considered, in relation to four great periods; each embracing about fifty years. The first period terminates with the College charter, granted in 1692 by the first Provincial legislature, assembled under the charter of King William and Queen Mary. The second extends from this time to the accession of Holyoke to the presidency, in 1736. The third includes the succeeding years to the accession of Willard, in 1780. The fourth embraces the time subsequent.

" ' During the first period, the College was conducted as a theological institution, in strict coincidence with the nature of the political constitution of the colony; having religion for its basis and chief object. Although the charter of the College gave it no sectarian bias, it was, without question, regarded by both the clergy and the politicians of the period, as an instrument destined to promote and perpetuate the religious opinions predominating at the time. The seminary, during this period, will be seen amidst poverty and suffering; depending for its existence on a precarious, and often a penurious, benev-

olence ; soliciting aid, and repulsed ; in want, and its own funds withheld ; in distress, and relief denied or postponed ; sometimes tossed on the waves of political, sometimes on those of religious controversy, and, amidst the conflicts of both, raising as high as the times required, or its resources permitted, the standard of the literature of the country.

" 'In the second period, bitter controversies will be found springing up between those religious parties, into which the Congregational sect divided immediately after the new principle of political power introduced by the charter of William and Mary had deprived it of that supremacy, which the old charter had secured to the Congregational clergy. Of these the College was often the field and sometimes the object. In consequence, its sky was occasionally obscured, and its progress embarrassed. It regularly, however, advanced under new and not inferior auspices. High Calvinists, indeed, regarded it with diminishing favor, and even began to look elsewhere for instruments to propagate their sentiments and extend their power. But new friends to it arose ; its usefulness became acknowledged ; and its resources increased.

" 'In the third period, the divisions of the Congregational sect grew wider and more marked. They prosecuted their animosities, notwithstanding, with a subdued temper, partly from experience of the unprofitableness of such controversies, and partly from a fear, entertained in common by all the parties formed out of those divisions, of the increasing power of the Episcopalian sect ; which, at this time, began to display its standard with great boldness, supported by the favor and funds of the transatlantic hierarchy. While the leaders of each division were actually engaged in one common cause, they naturally composed or treated with a politic tenderness, their mutual differences. The political aspect of affairs began also, early in this period, to foretell the coming revolutionary tempest. Amid the preparations for the contest, which led to national independence, religious animosities were suspended ; nor was their voice heard during the din and excitement of that struggle. In the mean time the College was permitted to remain in a state of comparative tranquillity ; viewed, indeed, by some of the Calvinistic sect with coldness and jealousy, and its officers charged by some with being Arminians, and even suspected of more fearful heresies. Embracing, however, as the College did with equal warmth and openness, the cause of American Independence, it at the same time acquired a well-deserved popularity, and shared, in common with all the other institutions of the country, the pecuniary losses and embarrassment consequent on that contest.

" ' During the fourth and last period, extending to our own time, the College, now raised to the rank of a University, partook with the country at large, of the vicissitudes following the war, and subsequently of the prosperity, which ensued upon the adoption of the federal Constitution, and on an orderly arrangement of State and national affairs. ' " — Vol. I. pp. 3 – 5.

That account of the College, which its children and friends have impatiently desired, and which it was out of the question to attempt in two hours of speech, the President has now presented in two splendid volumes of letter-press. Before proceeding to speak of their contents, we must not fail to discharge our consciences by one word of tribute to the beauty of their mechanical execution. As far as we know, nothing in a style of such completeness and luxury has before proceeded from the American press. The very paper, — not made of what is called in the trade *linen stock*, but every inch of it of veritable flax, — is worthy to bear the tasteful and almost immaculate typography. Such a specimen of art is to be welcomed not only for the pleasure it gives to the eye, but because, everywhere, where there are men of taste, it speaks for the honor of the country that has produced it. Nay ; let us have our books well printed, to the end that we may have them well written. A writer, not shameless, will be apt to think twice before he commits his thoughts to such a magnificent vehicle. We see pages, whose slovenly manufacture is an intimation that the authors can have felt no scruple about filling them with trash. To dress in one's best, on the contrary, is, for composition as well as for men, a kind of pledge to the public of putting one's self on good behaviour.

The 8th day of September, 1836, was fixed upon for the commemoration of the foundation of Harvard College, as being the two hundredth anniversary of the meeting of that General Court of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, in the records of whose proceedings stands the following entry ;

" The Court agreed to give four hundred pounds toward a School or College, whereof two hundred pounds shall be paid the next year, and two hundred pounds when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building."

This appropriation, " equal to a year's rent of the whole colony," was made under the following circumstances ;

" They waited not for days of affluence, of peace, or even

of domestic concord. The first necessities of civilized man, food, raiment, and shelter, had scarcely been provided; civil government and the worship of God had alone been instituted, when the great interests of education engaged their attention. Their zeal was not repressed by the narrowness of their territorial limits, not yet extending thirty miles on the seacoast, nor twenty into the interior; nor yet by the terror of a savage enemy, threatening the very existence of the settlement; nor by the claims on their scanty resources, which an impending Indian war created; nor by the smallness of their numbers, certainly then not exceeding five thousand families; nor yet by the most unhappy and most ominous to their tranquillity of all, the religious disputes, in which they were ever implicated." —*Ibid.*, p. 7.

The next year, the General Court determined the site of the proposed school, by appointing a Committee of twelve leading men "to take order for a College at *Newtown*," the name of which town was soon after changed to *Cambridge*, in compliment to the *Alma Mater* of many of the early colonists.* In 1638, John Harvard, a dissenting minister, who had recently emigrated to Charlestown, bequeathed by will to the College his library, and one half of his other property; that half amounting, as has been differently understood, to four hundred, or to eight hundred pounds. The College went into operation the same year, and the first class, consisting of nine members, (one of them the afterwards famous or infamous George Downing, of *Commonwealth* memory,) finished its course of instruction in 1642. The example of Harvard excited to other private benefactions. Numbers gave, in the measure of their unanimous good-will, and of their unequal means. The magistrates made a subscription among themselves of two hundred pounds for the library. The towns brought their separate contributions; the richer sort of people gave their twenty or thirty pounds each; the poorer their five or ten shillings. One sends his two cows, valued at nine pounds; another, nine shillings in cotton cloth; one, "a fruit-dish, sugar-spoon, and silver-tipt jug;" another, "one pewter flagon, valued at ten shillings." The Commissioners of the United Colonies, on the urgent application of Dunster in 1651,

* According to our curiously accurate historian, Mr. Savage, there were, in 1638, not less than forty or fifty sons of the English University of Cambridge, resident in the settlements of New England.

promised "to propound to the several Colonies, to give some yearly help, by pecks, half-bushels, and bushels, of wheat."

The first master, Nathaniel Eaton, proved unsuitable to his place, and was dismissed after two years' trial. Of some of his misdemeanors (which are passed over by the President), as well as of those of his wife, a sufficient account may be found by the curious reader in the Appendix to Peirce's "History of Harvard University." Eaton was succeeded in 1640 by Henry Dunster, who first took the title of "President"; and Dunster, after fourteen years' service, gave place to Charles Chauncy, who died in the office after an administration of eighteen years. Both the first Presidents, clergymen in England before their emigration, were men of excellent abilities and character, and eminent in the learning of the time. Both lived pinched by wants which the penury of the infant settlement could not, or did not properly relieve, and both, — a coincidence more remarkable, — made a heavy demand on whatever of the spirit of toleration belonged to their associates, by reason of their notorious heresies on the subject of baptism. Dunster, by his stubbornness in this respect, wore out his popularity, and was worried into a resignation. He died at Scituate, the same good and meek man that he had lived, bequeathing his body to the burying-ground by the College, and naming his successor in the Presidency, and the Cambridge minister, who had been at all pains for his ejection, "appraisers of his library," some of the books, he says, "being in languages, whereof common Englishmen know not one letter." Thus it must be owned that the lot of the first laborers on our *rerum pulcherrima* was no better than (to use language of the President) "thankless labor, unrequited service, arrearages unpaid, posthumous applause, a doggerel dirge, and a Latin epitaph." The College, however, they did excellently well establish; and this they would have thought, and might well think, enough to live for, though they had died in the woods, and been buried in a ditch, and not a Latin period had been turned in their praise. The spot in "God's acre" at Cambridge, that holds the sacred dust of Dunster, is unknown. A modest monument guides the pilgrim's feet to the resting-place of what was mortal of Chauncy.

The administrations of Hoar, Oakes, and Rogers, — all of

short duration, and marked by no events of particular interest, — succeeded, and were followed by that of Increase Mather, which lasted fifteen years, and closed the century.

In treating of the times of President Mather and his son, — who, though he never attained the presidency, was always expecting it, and was sometimes very near it,—Mr. Quincy is led to many curious details respecting the movements and men of the day in the religious and political circles of this "outside of the world." The Mather blood was undoubtedly of very peculiar composition, and he has good powers of analysis who can point out its elements. Increase Mather was not only by nature an extraordinary man, — that his son was too, and in a still higher degree, — but an extremely able one. In temper he was arrogant, ambitious, vain, and irritable, and he was a believer in all the superstitions of the day ; but in book-learning, in knowledge of affairs, in activity, energy, even in practical address and wisdom, and in power of influencing the minds of men, he was far enough from being deficient. His position was one, the like of which man never held before nor since. He was the head of the New England clergy, and accordingly the head of the old political interest, at the time when the rising colonies first attracted particular attention from the government at home, and when the progress of new views in religion and politics had unsettled the foundations of the old *régime*. It would be wrong to say that he was too impracticable to accommodate himself to the new state of things. He could, and did, — though, it is true, with no little struggle, and with no good grace, — particularly in the most important, and (at the time) most unpopular act of his life. Odd as the comparison may seem, Increase Mather was the Henry Clay of his day, the Great Pacificator, the author of the great Compromise Act. On his embassy to England, to look after the safety of the old charter, when threatened by William and Mary, he went the very impersonation of the highest notions of clerical prerogative. Under that charter, the rights of citizenship being vested in church members, who became such by the consent of the ministers, the ministers were the virtual rulers of the country ; and yet Mather, jealous champion of clerical rights as he was, consented to take another charter making the elective franchise to depend on a property qualification, besides vesting the appointment of the governor in the Crown. His popularity

never recovered from the shock. Plymouth could not forgive him the offence of annexing it to its more powerful neighbour. The more liberal party in religion had always held him in particular dislike; the stricter now regarded him as a traitor to their cause; while all alike were indignant at no longer having "their rulers from themselves, and their governors from the midst of them."

But what Mather did, in this instance, was done for the best. Perhaps it would be too much to suppose him to have seen, — what however was true, — that the old charter ought not to be confirmed. But he saw that it was out of the question to suppose that it would be. He knew that the feeble colony was not ripe for an assertion of independence, and that, if it was ever to become so, it must be through a period of security acquired by a peaceable settlement under the government of the mother country. Like a wise man, not being able to get what he wished, he took up with what he could get. Cooke, his associate, came back to be loaded with praises for an impracticableness, which, had it not been overruled, would have ended in some much more meagre grant of privileges, or in leaving the Colony, without legal protection, to the mercy of some future ignorant or capricious wearer of the Crown; and the Plymouth messenger to King William, who was so much annoyed by the arrogant antics of *the Bay horse*, would, without doubt, if more judicious and conciliating counsels had not prevailed, have returned to his home to see it passing not under the congenial sway of English Puritan Massachusetts, but under that of semi-Dutch New York. It is no new thing under the sun for a man, taking easy counsel of his passions and prejudices, to behave very foolishly on many of the smaller occasions of life, while in the more important he conducts himself with wisdom and temper; and so did President Mather on that occasion, the results of which, — for want of power, on his part, to keep up the same tone of feeling, — broke him down, for the rest of his life, into something like the attitude of an unquiet and impotent grumbler.

Increase Mather, under strong solicitation, had consented to honor the College, and benefit the Colony, by filling the Presidential chair. But it was only as a sort of joint stool to his parochial seat in Boston. He refused to reside, and was President after his own manner and liking, riding over as

often as he might, or pleased, from town, to see how matters went on at the College, under the care of Tutors Leverett and Brattle. Though occasionally, there was scruple and complaint, on the whole, things proceeded to a charm, as long as "all that David did pleased the people." But when the days of unpopularity came, it came to be seen with new clearness, that the good of the institution required a present head, and that the incumbent ought to reside or resign. With many misgivings, the authorities came to this conclusion; with many more, they worked themselves up to an intimation of it; and after all, they found that but a small part of their work was done. The President had been Dictator long enough to esteem it his particular charge to see that the republic should receive no detriment. It was a weary while before they could make him understand them; it was longer yet, before they could bring him to perceive that what they thought or willed was any serious concern of his. Sometimes he argued the case with them, not always with the appearance of any anxiety to produce conviction; sometimes he filed away their resolutions, and there, for the present, was an end of the matter; sometimes he said he should resign, and they waited in patient courtesy to see it done; once he quieted every thing by moving to Cambridge, and moved back again within a few weeks. At last, a strong vote made the decision unavoidable between the place of College governor and parish priest, and the President made a merit of his spirit of accommodation, and withdrew. His cup was not full. He was compelled to see, with astonished eyes, that he had held the sceptre in "an unlineal hand, no son of his succeeding." What was sadder yet, he was forced to behold the College pass under the care of that innovating party in religion, of which he had always been the indefatigable foe. And what was bitterest of all, as being most in the nature of a sign how his old consideration had waned, he had to learn that he had been gotten rid of by a no longer veiled pretence. Another Boston minister, placed in the vacant chair, was permitted to remain in the service of his church. The law requiring the President to reside, to which Mather had been obliged to succumb, was neither broken nor repealed; but wherever there is a will, there is a way, and Willard, Mather's successor, under the anomalous title of *Vice-President*,

lived in Boston, and governed the College to the end of his days.

The character of Increase Mather is no such riddle as that of Cotton, his son, and colleague in the pastoral charge. Never surely was there so liberal an infusion of the weak and ridiculous into a mind possessed of singular gifts. We have lately treated the subject at some length,* and we do not care again to go about to solve the strange problems of his genius and behaviour. In respect to his connexion with the witchcraft delusion, we cannot but think that the less severe view of Mr. Quincy is more just than that lately presented by Mr. Bancroft in his third volume. That Cotton Mather should be capable of almost any thing that puerile superstition, obstinate prejudice, or blind passion might prompt, we can well understand. But we do not see reason to convict him of having concocted, or entered into, so unspeakably atrocious a plot as that of exciting a terror of evil supernatural agency, and feeding and maddening that panic with so much innocent blood, for the distinct purpose of checking the progress of free inquiry in religion.

Such imperfect materials as remain for ascertaining the internal condition of the College, during the seventeenth century, Mr. Quincy has diligently collected.

"In relation to the course of studies, and the degree of literary instruction in the seminary during this period, little exact and authentic information exists. 'So much Latin as was sufficient to understand Tully, or any like classical author, and to make and speak true Latin, in prose and verse, and so much Greek as was included in declining perfectly the paradigms of the Greek nouns and verbs,' were the chief, if not the only requisites for admission. The exercises of the students had the aspect of a theological rather than a literary institution. They were practised twice a day in reading the Scriptures, giving an account of their proficiency and experience in practical and spiritual truths, accompanied by theoretical observations on the language, and logic, of the sacred writings. They were carefully to attend God's ordinances, and be examined on their profiting; commonplacing the sermons and repeating them publicly in the hall. The studies of the first year were 'logic, physics, etymology, syntax, and practice on the principles of grammar.' Those of the second year, 'ethics, politics, pros-

* See *North American Review*, Vol. LI. pp. 1 *et seq.*

ody and dialects, practice of poesy, and Chaldee.' Those of the third, 'arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, exercises in style, composition, epitome, both in prose and verse, Hebrew, and Syriac.'

"In every year and every week of the College course, every class was practised in the Bible and catechetical divinity; also in history in the winter, and in the nature of plants in the summer. Rhetoric was taught by lectures in every year, and each student was required to declaim once a month.

"Such were the principles of education established in the College under the authority of Dunster. Nor does it appear, that they were materially changed during the whole of the seventeenth century." — Vol. I. pp. 190, 191.

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"Discipline, unquestionably, partook of the austerity of the period, and was in harmony with the character of the early emigrants. Tradition represents it to have been severe, and corporal punishments to have been among the customary sanctions of College laws. The immediate government kept no record of their proceedings. The tutors chastised at discretion, and on very solemn occasions the Overseers were called together, either to authorize or to witness the execution of the severer punishments. Judge Sewall, in his Diary, relates an instance of the mode in which these were inflicted, illustrative of the manners of the age, and of the discipline of the College. It occurred in 1674. The offence was 'speaking blasphemous words.' After examination by the Corporation, the offence was submitted to the Overseers for advisement. The offender was sentenced to be 'publicly whipped before all the scholars,' to be 'suspended from taking his bachelor's degree,' and 'to sit alone by himself uncovered at meals during the pleasure of the President and Fellows,' to be obedient in all things, and, in default, to be finally expelled from the College. The execution of the sentence was no less characteristic than its nature. It was twice read publicly in the Library, in the presence of all the scholars, the government, and such of the Overseers as chose to attend. The offender having kneeled, the President prayed, after which the corporal punishment was inflicted; and the solemnities were closed by another prayer from the President." — *Ibid.*, pp. 188, 189.

The high personal qualifications of Vice-President Willard, combined with his relation to the religious parties, — sympathizing as he did with the stricter in theory, and with the more liberal in spirit, — enabled him to manage the institution to general satisfaction, till his death in 1707. He was succeeded by John Leverett, whose ac-

cession to a place which he filled with eminent ability for seventeen years, constitutes one of the most memorable eras in the College history. Mr. Quincy speaks of his election as "the call of a *layman* to a chair, that had never before been occupied except by a clergyman." Leverett was a layman; but in a sense which leads to no such inference respecting a disposition on the part of the governors of the College to dispense with clerical qualifications in a President, as the naked statement of the fact might suggest. He had been a judge, a counsellor, and Speaker of the lower house; and for the academic robe he put off the uniform of lieutenant of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. But all this was at a time when clerical offices were not considered so inconsistent with civil or even with military place, as now. It was still later than the time of his election to the Presidency, that Gurdon Saltonstall, a parish minister, was made Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Colony of Connecticut. Leverett had been bred a clergyman, and for several years of his early manhood, he had, while Tutor of the College, performed duties appropriate to the sacred office. He easily returned to them as President; nor can his elevation, under such circumstances, to that chair, be regarded as any substantial deviation, at so early a time, from the primitive usage.

Leverett was equal to the exigencies of his position, and they were of peculiar embarrassment. He came into place as the representative of less rigid notions in religion, which had long before been working their way, and which had received a new impulse, from the time when the new charter had dealt a mortal blow to the power of church-members, and, through them, of the clergy. The Mathers, who had not yet learned to be second to any one, or to be less than irreconcilable enemies to whoever was first, had ample means of annoyance within the reach of their talents, their professional and public standing, and their ancient associations with the College. Many of the leading men of the day were bigots to the waning form of faith, and its friends acted together with a union and confidence unknown to the rising party. Yale College in Connecticut was founded, in great part (as Mr. Quincy has shown), through the exertions of disaffected individuals in and about Boston. An attempt, long and vigorously urged, but unsuccessfully, was made to displace the President's associates in the Corporation, and to establish, as

the true interpretation of the charter, the principle that only resident instructors were eligible to that trust. Through these, and many more difficulties, President Leverett steered the College forward on a prosperous course. He secured the patronage of the Legislature to an unprecedented extent for the institution, when he could not secure their favor for himself. At a time of general embarrassment, when the wars of Queen Anne had laid heavy burdens on the public treasury, and the easy resource of irredeemable paper money was working its usual mischiefs, the Province made its "deep poverty abound to the riches of its liberality," and, at the cost of three thousand five hundred pounds, erected for the institution its third building, *Massachusetts Hall*, the oldest now standing. One of the largest fountains of that stream of private munificence which has since poured upon the College, was then also opened in the bounty of the Hollis family, of London; Thomas Hollis, in addition to other noble donations, having founded the first two Professorships, those of Divinity and Mathematics. The instruction had all been conducted heretofore by the President and Tutors.

Cotton Mather's hopes of the Presidency were very tenacious of life, and his discontent was extreme, when, after Leverett's death, three other Boston clergymen, — Sewall, Colman, and Wadsworth, the last of whom accepted the place, — were successively preferred to himself.

"'This day,' he writes [in his diary], 'Dr. Sewall was chosen President *for his piety.*'

"In another place he thus gives scope to his feelings; 'I am informed that yesterday the six men who call themselves the Corporation of the College met, and, contrary to the epidemical expectation of the country, chose a modest young man, of whose piety (and little else) every one gives a laudable character.

"'I always foretold these two things of the Corporation; first, that, if it were possible for them to steer clear of me, they will do so; secondly, that, if it were possible for them to act foolishly, they will do so.

"'The perpetual envy with which my essays to serve the kingdom of God are treated among them, and the dread that Satan has of my beating up his quarters at the College, led me into the former sentiment; the marvellous indiscretion, with which the affairs of the College are managed, led me into the latter.'" — Vol. I. pp. 330, 331.

We extract a few passages illustrative of the methods of correction, and other academical usages, of this period.

"Previous to the accession of Leverett to the presidency, the practice of obliging the undergraduates to read portions of the Scriptures from Latin or English into Greek, at morning and evening service, had been discontinued. But in January and May, 1708, this 'ancient and laudable practice was revived' by the Corporation. At morning prayers all the undergraduates were ordered, beginning with the youngest, to read a verse out of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Greek, except the Freshmen, who were permitted to use their English Bibles in this exercise; and, at evening service, to read from the New Testament out of the English or Latin translation into Greek, whenever the President performed this service in the Hall.

"Early in the presidency of Wadsworth this exercise was again discontinued, and ordered to be performed by the classes at the chambers of their respective tutors.

"The morning service began with a short prayer; then a chapter of the Old Testament was read, which the President expounded, and concluded with prayer. The evening service was the same, except that the chapter read was from the New Testament, and on Saturday a psalm was sung in the Hall. On Sunday exposition was omitted; a psalm was sung morning and evening; and one of the scholars, in course, was called upon to repeat, in the evening, the sermons preached on that day. On the Sabbath, public worship was attended in the parish church, where the undergraduates occupied the front gallery; and none were excused on account of difference in religious sentiment.

"President Wadsworth in his Diary states, that he expounded the Scriptures, once eleven, and sometimes eight or nine times, in the course of a week. The President's duty embraced these exercises, general inspection of the conduct and morals of the students, presiding at the meetings of the Corporation and immediate government, recording their proceedings, and attending the meetings of the Overseers. He was occasionally present at the weekly declamations and public disputations, and then acted as moderator; an office, which, in his absence, was filled by one of the Tutors.

"The College course occupied four years, and the undergraduates were divided and distinguished as at present, into four classes, Senior Sophisters, Junior Sophisters, Sophomores, and Freshmen. The Freshmen class were servitors to the whole College out of study hours, to go on errands. Every

student, on admission, was required to copy out and subscribe the College laws.

"The regular exercises are thus stated in an official report, made in 1726, by Tutors Flynt, Welsteed, and Prince.

"'1. While the students are Freshmen, they commonly recite the Grammars, and with them a recitation in Tully, Virgil, and the Greek Testament, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, in the morning and forenoon; on Friday morning Dugard's or Farnaby's Rhetoric, and on Saturday morning the Greek Catechism; and, towards the latter end of the year, they dispute on Ramus's Definitions, Mondays and Tuesdays in the forenoon.

"'2. The Sophomores recite Burgersdicius's Logic, and a manuscript called New Logic, in the mornings and forenoons; and towards the latter end of the year Heereboord's Meletemata, and dispute Mondays and Tuesdays in the forenoon, continuing also to recite the classic authors, with Logic and Natural Philosophy; on Saturday mornings they recite Wollebius's Divinity.

"'3. The Junior Sophisters recite Heereboord's Meletemata, Mr. Morton's Physics, More's Ethics, Geography, Metaphysics, in the mornings and forenoons; Wollebius on Saturday morning; and dispute Mondays and Tuesdays in the forenoons.

"'4. The Senior Sophisters, besides Arithmetic, recite Allsted's Geometry, Gassendus's Astronomy, in the morning; go over the Arts towards the latter end of the year, Ames's Medulla on Saturdays, and dispute once a week.'" — Vol. I. pp. 439 – 441.

* * * * *

"Mr. Flynt, in his commonplace-book, thus records an instance of College punishment for stealing poultry.

"'Nov. 4th, 1717. Three scholars were publicly admonished for thievery, and one degraded below five in his class, because he had been before publicly admonished for card-playing. They were ordered by the President into the middle of the Hall (while two others, concealers of the theft, were ordered to stand up in their places, and spoken to there). The crime they were charged with was first declared, and then laid open as against the law of God and the House, and they were admonished to consider the nature and tendency of it, with its aggravations; and all, with them, were warned to take heed and regulate themselves, so that they might not be in danger of so doing for the future; and those, who consented to the theft, were admonished to beware, lest God tear them in pieces

according to the text. They were then fined, and ordered to make restitution twofold for each theft.' " — *Ibid.*, p. 443.

* * * * *

" It was the custom, during the presidency of Wadsworth, on Commencement day, for the Governor of the Province to come from Boston through Roxbury, often by the way of Watertown, attended by his body guards, and to arrive at the College about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. A procession was then formed of the Corporation, Overseers, magistrates, ministers, and invited gentlemen, and immediately moved from Harvard Hall to the Congregational church. The exercises of the day began with a short prayer by the President ; a salutatory oration in Latin, by one of the graduating class, succeeded ; then disputations on theses or questions in Logic, Ethics, and Natural Philosophy commenced. These were generally three, and were printed, and distributed on Commencement day. Each question was maintained and defended by a respondent, and every member of the graduating class, the respondents and orators alone excepted, was obliged to adduce publicly at least one opposing argument. When the disputation terminated, one of the candidates pronounced a Latin ' gratulatory oration.' The graduating class were then called, and, after asking leave of the Governor and Overseers, the President conferred the Bachelors' degree, by delivering a book to the candidates (who came forward successively in parties of four), and pronouncing a form of words in Latin. An adjournment then took place to dinner, in Harvard Hall ; from thence the procession returned to the church, and, after the Masters' disputations, usually three in number, were finished, their degrees were conferred, with the same general forms as those of the Bachelors. An occasional address was then made by the President. A Latin valedictory oration by one of the Masters succeeded, and the exercises concluded with a prayer by the President. The students then escorted the Governor, Corporation, and Overseers, in procession, to the President's house, and thus closed the ceremonies of the day.

" In July, 1728, when William Burnett arrived as Governor of Massachusetts, he was ' waited upon by the Corporation, to salute him, wish him assistance and prosperity in his government, to ask his smiles on the College, and the honor of waiting upon him there.' On the 21st of August ensuing he accordingly visited the College, accompanied from Boston by two members of the Corporation ; and, being met by two others, the Professors and Tutors, and Masters of Arts, a mile from the College, he was received by the President and the two remaining members of the Corporation at the library. The Governor was

there addressed in Latin by a Senior Bachelor, and made a short answer in the same language ; and, after having gone to Tutor Flynt's chamber and 'the Mathematical Professor's, where he saw an experiment,' he dined, with about fifty other guests, in the library with the President and Fellows.

"The visit of Governor Belcher to the College appears, according to its records, to have been attended with like ceremonies. He was, on the 9th of September, 1730, escorted to Cambridge by 'a military troop, then waited on by two companies of foot.' When he arrived at the College, after 'having been awhile at Mr. Flynt's chamber, the bell tolled, and the scholars assembled in the Hall, into which the Governor and Corporation having entered, Mr. Hobby made a Latin oration, and his Excellency made a very handsome answer in Latin. This done, and his Excellency the Governor, his Majesty's Council, the Tutors, Professors, and sundry gentlemen, who came on the occasion, dined together in the library, with the Corporation.'" — *Ibid.*, pp. 444 – 446.

In elucidating the events of the first century, which closed with the death of Wadsworth, Mr. Quincy has naturally had recourse to such diaries as are extant, of the principal actors of the time, — particularly to those of the Mathers, Leverett, and Chief Justice Sewall, from all of which he has given large and entertaining extracts. He says of such records ;

"There is no class of men, to whom history is under so many obligations as to those, who submit to the labor of keeping diaries. On the one hand, they enjoy a great advantage over their contemporaries, by being thus enabled to tell their own story to posterity in their own way, when there are none living to explain or contradict ; yet, on the other hand, nature establishes for this advantage a compensation, in the fact, that they are often led, by vanity, passion, or inadvertence, to state facts and make records, which place their own characters and views, or those of their friends, in lights which they had carefully concealed from their contemporaries ; — views which the world, although it might have suspected, could not otherwise have made certain." — Vol. I. pp. 56, 57.

The last remark is very just. Vanity, passion, or inadvertence may prompt writers of diaries unconsciously to leave on record the materials for invalidating their own testimony. But on the other hand, that great advantage which the President remarks that "they enjoy over their contemporaries, by being thus enabled to tell their own story to posterity in their own way, when there are none living to explain or contra-

dict," is such as forbids a cautious historian to regard them as among his most trustworthy witnesses. We are not contemplating the tremendous cruelty of bequeathing to future times a private comment on contemporaneous events and characters, with recitals fabricated or falsely colored, to the end of disgracing a defenceless enemy in the eye of posterity. But it is clear that great injustice may be done in this way by the most upright men. No man's word is to be implicitly taken under such circumstances, whatever degree of intelligence and integrity we may attribute to him, unless, indeed, we are prepared to say that he possesses these qualities to such a degree as to be infallible. The writer of a diary puts down his present impressions, which may be materially erroneous for want of the explanations which a little more time may bring. Where friendships or dislikes are concerned, or questions of conduct are at issue, he makes his record under the influence of feelings which may bias him from the juster conclusions of a cooler hour. At all events, — for particular considerations are unnecessary, — if his testimony remains to be produced when he and they whom it may harm are no more, it is simply the testimony of a witness who cannot be cross-examined, against an accused who cannot speak for himself; a kind of evidence, which no acknowledged principle or process of justice approves. We have no doubt that the injustice of such records, prepared in perfect good faith, has often, at some later day, been as manifest to the writer's mind, as it could be to any other; and we have often heard a story told of an eminent individual of our own time, — which may well be true, and which, if true, is only another proof of his well-approved probity and candor, — that having written out a journal of the doings of a period of high party excitement, he was astonished, on recurring to it some years after, to find how unjust were representations which he had made with entire honesty of purpose and conviction of their truth, and that he lost no time in preventing it from doing harm hereafter, by committing it to the flames. Nay, in respect to what it might be thought most competent to reveal, — its writer's own motives, character, and acts, — such a record is by no means the credible witness that it might at first view be thought. There is many a man, rich in various other knowledge, who knows less of himself than others around him know. There is many a man, who, guiltless of any thought of making out a case for posterity, turns out but a poor casuist, when, alone

with his diary, having all the discussion to himself, he takes sweet counsel with pen and paper respecting the excellence of his purposes and doings.

Not only, therefore, do we not read without great distrust the journals of men like the Mathers, but we cannot yield ourselves without a grain of allowance, to those of President Leverett and Chief Justice Sewall, men than whom more honest never lived, but who, unfortunately, could not understand one another. It would be curious to see an account by the Mathers of the following passages between them and Sewall, described in the diary of the latter.

"'1701. *October 20th.* Mr. Cotton Mather came to Mr. Wilkins's shop, and there talked very sharply against me, as if I had used his father worse than a negro. He spake so loud, that the people in the street might hear him.

"'*Mem.* On the 9th of October I sent Mr. Increase Mather a haunch of very good venison.* I hope in that I did not treat him worse than a negro.

"'*October 22d.* I, with Major Walley and Captain Samuel Checkley, speak with Mr. Cotton Mather at Mr. Wilkins's. I expostulate with him from 1 Tim. v. 1, "Rebuke not an elder." He said he had considered that. I told him of his book, of the law of kindness for the tongue. Whether this was correspondent with that, or with Christ's rule. He said, that having spoken to me before, there was no reason for his speaking to me again. And so justified his reviling me behind my back. Charged the Council with lying, hypocrisy, tricks, and I know not what. I asked him, if this were with the meekness as it should be. He answered, Yes. Charged the Council in general, and then showed my share, which was my speech in Council, viz. "If Mr. Mather should go to Cambridge again, to reside, with a resolution not to read in the Scriptures, and expound in the Hall, I fear the example will do more hurt than his going thither will do good." This speech I owned. I asked, if I should suppose he had done something amiss in his church, as an officer, whether it would be well for me to exclaim against him in the street for it? (Mr. Wilkins would fain have had him gone into the inner room, but he would not.) I told him, I conceived he had done much unbecoming a minister of the Gospel; and, being called, I went to the Council. 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.'

* Sewall was rich. At his wedding, the father of the bride, John Hull, handed her into one of a pair of large scales, and proceeded to throw into the other, for a marriage present, as many "pine-tree shillings" as balanced her fair form, which tradition reports to have been none of the lightest.

"'*October 23d.* Mr. Increase Mather said to Mr. Wilkins, "If I am a servant of Jesus Christ, some great judgment will fall on Capt. Sewall and his family."'

"'*October 25th.* This day got my speech copied out, and gave it to Mr. Wilkins, that all might see what was the ground of Mr. Mather's anger. Wilkins carried it to the Mathers. Writ out another, and gave it to Joshua Gee. I perceive Mr. Wilkins carried his to Mr. Mather. They seem to grow calm.'" — Vol. I. pp. 490, 491.

In respect to one interesting transaction in which Sewall and Leverett were in conflict, Mr. Quincy gives us both sides. It is curious to see these entombed passions of more than a century ago thus bursting their cerements; and it teaches a lesson of charity. Each of these good men, it is clear, thought ill enough of the other on this occasion. If we of this day had only the story of one, we too should be tempted to think ill of the adverse party. If either account was to be preserved, it is lucky that it was not preserved alone. A comparison of them makes it evident, that while fault was imputed on both parts, there was no consciousness of fault on either, but rather of merit. It illustrates another point concerning the credibility of this class of records. Either Leverett was wrong in supposing the existence of a plot, — which it is plain he confidently did, — or else Sewall, who, if it existed, was a party to it, was insincere in suppressing all allusion to it.

"'When the President had read the above memorial, he delivered it into his Excellency's hand, who discoursed in short in favor of it, and seemed to be ready to put it to vote. But Mr. Dudley prayed he might look upon it, to whom it was handed; and while he was looking on it, there was an interval of silence. In which space Judge Sewall stood up, and said to this effect; "While we are considering to enlarge the College for receiving students, I desire to be informed how the worship of God is carried on in the Hall, and to ask Mr. President, whether there has not been some intermission of the exposition of the Scriptures of late." The President, after a short pause, answered, "that he thought the present business of the meeting was to be attended, and not to be interrupted by any surmise of a neglect in the administration of the affairs of the College, and that the place where the Overseers were now convened was not the proper place for such an inquiry. That if the Overseers, who are the visitors of the College, had any informations laid before them of omissions or neglects of duty, or maleadministration, by any of the persons that had the im-

mediate administration of the College in their hands, that the Overseers should make a visitation, and inquire into those matters upon the very place, either in the College Hall or Library." And the President added, "he did not expect such a question should have been moved at this time, in interruption of the business before the Overseers, and for considering and advising upon which this meeting was called; and that he was surprised, and little expected such a treatment from the honorable person that moved it, having never once suggested any thing of his suspicion or apprehension of any failure in his duty from his Honor."

"'His Excellency took up the matter, and declared, that the motion, whatever occasion there might be for it, though he knew none, was very improper, and altogether out of course; and the whole board seemed to be of the same opinion, except Mr. Dudley, who, (it may be supposed, by concert with somebody, it may be then not present, contrived the interval of silence, by poring on the memorial, that so the zealous Judge might have the opportunity to make his impertinent, not to say, in him, invidious motion), raising his head and eyes from the paper he seemed to be intent in reading, said, — "he, for his part, seconded his Honor the Chief Justice's motion."

"'However, this motion was put by, and the business of the meeting was reassumed. And yet sundry motions were made again by Mr. Dudley, tending to, if not designed for, a diversion; but at length the question was put, Whether it be the mind of the Overseers of Harvard College, that the General Assembly be addressed to perfect the new building of a College in Cambridge to one hundred feet in length? Which passed in the affirmative.' A Committee was then appointed to present the memorial to the General Court; and a vote, in conformity with the motion of Judge Sewall was also passed, that 'the President shall entertain the scholars in the College with frequent expositions of the Scriptures.'" — Vol. I. pp. 221–223.

The above is Leverett's account of the scene. The following is Sewall's;

"'1718. *November 12th.* Overseers' meeting, to petition the General Court to make the College one hundred feet long. One calling for the memorial from the end of the table, I stood up and said, what the Honorable Commissioner had in hand was of great moment, but I apprehended there was an affair of greater moment. I have heard exposition of the Scriptures was not carried on in the Hall. I inquired of the President if it were so or no. Was silence a little while. Then the President seemed to be surprised at my treating him in this manner.

I did not use to do so. Neither did he use to treat me so. This complaint was made twice at least. Many spoke earnestly, that what was said was out of season. Mr. Attorney stood up and seconded me very strenuously. When I was fallen so hard upon, I said, I apprehended the not expounding the Scriptures was a faulty omission, and I was glad of that opportunity of showing my dislike of it. President said he had begun to take it up again. I said I was glad of it. At another time said, *that, if he was to expound in the Hall, he must be supported.* It went over. The memorial was voted. Then Mr. Belcher stood up, and moved earnestly, that exposition might be attended. At last Mr. Wadsworth stood up and spoke in favor of it, and drew up a vote, that the President should, *as frequently as he could,* entertain the students with expositions of the Holy Scriptures, and read it. I moved, that "*as he could*" should be left out, and it was so voted. Mr. President seemed to say, softly, it was not till now the business of the President to expound in the Hall. I said, I was glad the Overseers had now the honor of declaring it to be the President's duty.'

"'*November* 13*th.* Mr. President spake to me again pretty earnestly, and intimated, it was not the President's duty before this order. I said, that it was a shame that a law should be required, meaning, *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges.*'" — *Ibid.*, pp. 494, 495.

If we begin to make extracts from the richly characteristic specimens furnished by Mr. Quincy of the diaries of the Mathers, we are in danger of being tempted too far. We covenant with ourselves to be content with the two following. President Mather had been abroad, and like so many others, in all times, had come back impatient of home. In England he had plenty of notoriety and consequence, and the remembrance of it haunted him the more, because of the diminished influence here, to which he felt that he had returned. To England he was very uneasy to go, and his son was as uneasy to have him, expecting himself to succeed to the empty presidential chair. Accordingly they both had inspirations upon the subject, which they were infinitely perplexed to reconcile with the course of actual events. Fast, and agonize, and intrigue as they might, the General Court were impracticable ; no money was to be had ; and President Mather had to grow old and die in his own Boston parish.

"'1693. *September* 3*d.* As I was riding to preach at Cambridge, I prayed to God, — begged that my labors might be blessed to the souls of the students ; at the which I was much

melted. Also saying to the Lord, that some workings of his Providence seemed to intimate, that I must be returned to England again ; and saying, " Lord, if it will be more to your glory, that I should go to England than for me to continue here in this land, then let me go ; otherwise not." I was inexpressibly melted, and that for a considerable time, and a stirring suggestion, that to England I must go. In this there was something extraordinary, either divine or angelical.'

" ' *October 29th.* As I was riding thither (to Cambridge), all the way between Charlestown and Cambridge I conversed with God by soliloquies and prayer. I was much melted with the apprehension of returning to England again ; strongly persuaded it would be so ; and that God was about to do some great thing there, so that I should have a great opportunity again to do service to his name.'

" ' *December 30th.* Meltings before the Lord this day when praying, desiring being returned to England again, there to do service to his name, and persuasions that the Lord will appear therein.'

" ' 1694. *January 27th.* Prayers and supplications that tidings may come from England, that may be some direction to me, as to my returning thither or otherwise, as shall be most for his glory.'

" ' *March 13th.* This morning with prayers and tears I begged of God that I might hear from my friends and acquaintance in England something that should encourage and comfort me. Such tidings are coming, but I know not what it is. God has heard me.'

" ' 1696. *April 9th.* This morning as I was reading in course Matt. viii. 13, it was with a strong hand impressed upon my spirit, as I had believed, that God would return me to England, and there give me an opportunity greatly to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, so it shall be done unto me. I was wonderfully melted with assurance that so it will be. And after that, again, as I was praying in my study. In the mean time the Lord help me diligently to improve my time, to do all the good I can in New England ; which, oh ! how little it is that I am capable of doing, because I want wisdom and grace.'

" ' *April 19th.* (Sabbath.) In the morning, as I was praying in my closet, my heart was marvellously melted with the persuasion, that I should glorify Christ in England. So again, as I was praying and using soliloquies with the Lord in my study between the public meetings.'

" ' *April 26th.* The persuasions which have been in my heart concerning that matter (going to England), I cannot help. They were wrought in me with fastings and prayings by the

Lord. Also on Lord's day, when I have been most in the Spirit ; and I have left that matter wholly with God.'

" ' *May 2d.* I was wonderfully affected this day with suggestions and impressions on my spirits, that tidings are coming from England which will revive me, and let me see, that my prayers are heard, and that my faith shall not suffer a disappointment.'

" ' *June 18th.* God has given me to see answers of prayer and faith, which I have made with respect to my having an opportunity to glorify Christ in England, shall not be disappointed. Bless the Lord, O my soul !' " — Vol. I. pp. 475, 476.

Such were the father's exercises. The following were some of the son's.

" ' 1700. *16th d. 4th mo.* (Lord's day.) I am going to relate one of the most astonishing things that ever befell in all the time of my pilgrimage.

" ' A particular faith had been unaccountably produced in my father's heart, and in my own, that God will carry him unto England, and there give him a short but great opportunity to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, before his entrance into the heavenly kingdom. There appears no probability of my father's going thither but in an agency to obtain a charter for the College. This matter having been for several years upon the very point of being carried in the General Assembly, hath strangely miscarried when it hath come to the birth. It is now again before the Assembly, in circumstances wherein if it succeed not, it is never like to be revived and resumed any more. Sundry times, many times, when I have been spreading the case before the Lord, with a faith triumphantly exercised on his power and wisdom and goodness, I have had my assurances, that my father shall yet glorify the Lord Jesus Christ in *England*, renewed unto my amazement.

" ' But the matter in the Assembly being likely now to come unto nothing, I was in this day in extreme distress of spirit concerning it. My *flesh* indeed would be on all accounts imaginable against my father's removal from me. It will doubtless plunge me into ten thousand inconveniences. But my faith, on the other hand, having been so supernaturally raised for it, the thoughts of that 's being wholly disappointed were insupportable. After I had finished all the other duties of this day, I did in my distress cast myself prostrate on my study floor before the Lord. Here I acknowledged my own manifold and horrible sinfulness, and my worthiness, by reason of that sinfulness, to be put off with delusions, and have a serpent given to me

when I asked and looked for the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, I, that am dust and ashes, and worthy to be made so by fire from Heaven, craved leave to plead with Heaven concerning the matter of the particular faith which had been wrought in my mind, as I thought by the Lord's own holy operation. I pleaded, that my Lord Jesus Christ had furnished me with his own glorious righteousness, and was now making intercession for me in the Holy of Holies, and because of his interest there I might approach to the most high God, with humble boldness, as to a prayer-hearing Lord. I spread before him the consequences of things, and the present posture and aspect of them, and, having told the Lord, that I had always taken a *particular faith* to be a work of Heaven on the minds of the faithful, but if it should prove a deceit in that remarkable instance which was now the cause of my agony, I should be cast into a most wonderful confusion ; I then begged of the Lord, that, if my particular faith about my father's voyage to England were not a delusion, he would be pleased to renew it upon me. All this while my heart had the coldness of a stone upon it, and the straitness that is to be expected from the lone exercise of reason. But now all on the sudden I felt an inexpressible force to fall on my mind, an *afflatus*, which cannot be described in words ; *none knows it but he that has it.* If an angel from Heaven had spoken it particularly to me, the communication would not have been more powerful and perceptible. It was told me, that the Lord Jesus Christ loved my father, and loved me, and that he took delight in us, as in two of his faithful servants, and that he had not permitted us to be deceived in our *particular faith*, but that my father should be carried into England, and there glorify the Lord Jesus Christ before his passing into glory ; that there shall be illustrious revenues of praise to the Lord Jesus Christ, from our *particular faith* about this concern, and that I shall also live to see it, and that a sentence of death shall be written on the effect and success of our *particular faith*, but the Lord Jesus Christ, who raises the dead, is the resurrection and the life, shall give a new life unto it. *He will do it! He will do it !*

" ' Having left a flood of tears from me, by these rages from the invisible world, on my study floor, I rose and went into my chair. There I took up my Bible, and the first place that I opened was at Acts xxvii. 23 – 25, " There stood by me an angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, Fear not, thou must be brought before Cæsar." I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me. A new flood of tears gushed from my flowing eyes, and I broke out into these expressions. " What ! shall my father yet appear before Cæsar ! Has an

angel from Heaven told me so ! And must I believe what has been told me ! Well then, it shall be so ! it shall be so ! "

" ' And now what shall I say ! When the affair of my father's agency after this came to a turning point in the Court, it strangely miscarried ! All came to nothing ! Some of the Tories had so wrought upon the Governor, that, though he had first moved this matter, and had given us both directions and promises about it, yet he now (not without base unhandsomeness) deferred it. The Lieutenant-Governor, who had formerly been for it, now (not without great ebullition of unaccountable prejudice and ingratitude) appeared, with all the little tricks imaginable, to confound it. It had for all this been carried, had not some of the Council been inconveniently called off and absent. But now the whole affair of the College was left unto the management of the Earl of Bellamont, so that all expectation of a voyage for my father unto England, on any such occasion, is utterly at an end.

" ' What shall I make of this wonderful matter ? Wait ! Wait ! ' " — Vol. I. pp. 484–486.

To the administration of Wadsworth succeeded that of Holyoke, the longest, and one of the most prosperous, in the College history. He was elected in 1737, being then minister of a parish in Marblehead, and died in office in 1769. Soon after his accession, the excitement caused by the preaching of Whitefield swept through New England, and the College, in a published " Testimony of the President, Fellows, and Tutors," was brought into collision with that extraordinary heresiarch and his friends, — the last occasion on which it ever set foot on the field of religious controversy. In Holyoke's time was laid the first American foundation of a Professorship, that of " Hebrew and other Oriental Languages," which was endowed by Thomas Hancock, a merchant of Boston, with the bequest of one thousand pounds sterling, and which, till within the present century, remained the only Professorship in the College, except the two previously instituted by Hollis, and three, in the faculty of Medicine, established immediately after the revolution. In 1763 another building, Hollis Hall, erected at the cost of £4800, was presented by the Province. And immediately after occurred the greatest calamity ever suffered by the College, in the destruction by fire of Harvard Hall, the original building, with most of its precious contents, including the entire library (which consisted of more than five thousand volumes), and

the whole apparatus of philosophical instruments. In consequence of the prevalence of the small-pox in Boston, the Legislature had been adjourned to Cambridge by Governor Bernard, when, at midnight on the 24th of January, 1764, the building was discovered to be in flames, communicated from a fire in the Library chamber, which was occupied by the Governor and Council, or from that in the room below, which was the place of meeting of the Representatives. The night was cold and stormy, and, it being vacation time, only three persons lodged in the College buildings. Massachusetts and Hollis Halls, as well as Stoughton Hall and Holden Chapel (the last two, gifts of private benefactors, which we have not mentioned,) also took fire, and were with difficulty preserved, by the exertions of the towns-people and of the magistrates, among which those of Governor Bernard were conspicuous. "The best library and philosophical apparatus in America, comprising the collections and donations of more than a century, utterly perished."

The efforts made to repair this terrible desolation, constitute one of the most honorable chapters in the history of the College or of the Province. The Legislature, on the following day, resolved unanimously to rebuild Harvard Hall at the public cost, appointing a committee of their own body to superintend the work. The plan was furnished by Governor Bernard.

"The Corporation and Overseers were not less faithful to the interests of the seminary. Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson and Dr. Chauncy were the chairmen of the committees raised in both boards to set forward subscriptions, and solicit assistance from all persons disposed to aid in repairing the losses the seminary had sustained. Letters were addressed by these committees to Jasper Mauduit, the agent of the Province in England; to Thomas Hollis, the third benefactor of that name; to Dr. Avery, chairman of the committee of Dissenters, and to others, 'desiring their interests with their respective friends in favor of the College.' In America, besides special agents, the clergy of all denominations were appointed to receive donations in money or books; and all the Overseers who had correspondents abroad, or influence at home, were enjoined to use their friendly offices to obtain benefactions. These exertions of the guardians of the seminary were attended with a success equally gratifying and unprecedented. To enumerate all the benefactors, who appeared on this occasion would be to

record the names of almost every individual of wealth and public spirit in the Province. To name only the most distinguished would be to make discriminations in a case, where the amount was often regulated by want of means, and not of disposition. Some subscribed books; others, articles of philosophical apparatus; others, money.

"In Great Britain the spirit of place, or of party, had no influence upon the spirit of sympathy, and the subscriptions were equally liberal. Thomas Hollis, emulating the liberal disposition of his uncle, subscribed at once four hundred pounds sterling, to be divided equally between the library and the apparatus. Among the English Dissenters, Harvard College had, at all times, been the object of munificent patronage, and the names of many individuals, distinguished among them for influence and intellectual power, stand high on the list of benefactors, by appearing in this hour of her distress. The Episcopalians, also, unmindful of the jealousies, at that moment in active excitement against them in the Province, and of the asperities to which they had been exposed, gave honorable evidence of their catholicism and charity. The Archbishops, both of Canterbury and York, subscribed, and used their influence in its favor. Their donations, and those of other members of the Episcopal church, were gratefully acknowledged by the Corporation, and their names placed in the library of the seminary, over alcoves, which their liberal and catholic spirit had filled with books.

"In June, 1764, Governor Bernard, accompanied by the committee appointed by the General Court to rebuild Harvard Hall, laid the corner-stone of the building, and in June, 1776, it was completed, at an expense of twenty-three thousand dollars. In a few years, by the concentrated efforts and influence of individuals and the Provincial government, a library was collected, which soon acquired an extension corresponding to the increase and prosperity of the colonies."— Vol. II. pp. 114–116.

The long summer day of Holyoke's administration closed as brightly as it had begun and proceeded. He had not been without some share of official vexations and embarrassments, but they were no more than were sufficient to show his power to conquer them and bring good out of them; and his death at the age of eighty, leaving the College in a condition of stability, popularity, and distinguished usefulness, was felt to be a loss which could scarcely be repaired.

The administration of the next President, Locke, of whom high hopes were entertained, was closed by his resignation,

after three years, in consequence of some private misconduct. To him, in 1774, succeeded Samuel Langdon, minister of Portsmouth. The times were now out of joint. In the following year, the College buildings were occupied by the American army. The library and philosophical apparatus were deposited for safe keeping at Andover, and the College removed to Concord. It had not got fairly settled again in its old quarters, before General Heath wanted them for the prisoners of Saratoga; and, after some fruitless negotiation, in consequence of a peremptory order from that officer, the students, in November, 1777, were again dispersed to their homes. Between politics and roving, the ingenuous youth of the College were of course no very promising subjects of either instruction or discipline; and the President, though an able and worthy man, proving deficient in some elements of what is called *the spirit of government*, had failed to secure that respect on their part, which was necessary to control the unsettled habits of the times. Stimulated in their disaffection by some officers of the College, they held a meeting, adopted resolutions, and addressed a memorial to the Corporation, charging him with "impiety, heterodoxy, unfitness for the office of preacher of the Christian religion, and still more for that of President." Amazed and broken-spirited, he resigned forthwith, which he had no sooner done, than they met again, and with equal heartiness voted just the opposite of what they had voted before, with the exception only of the clause relating to fitness for the Presidential chair. He lived seventeen years longer, and died pastor of a church at Hampton Falls, in the year 1797, having in the mean time exerted an important political influence in New Hampshire, and, as a leader in the debates of its Convention for considering the Federal Constitution, rendered valuable service in obtaining its assent to that measure.

Conscientious, faithful, and competent, in most respects, to all common occasions, as President Langdon was, he was not of a constitution to thrive in a long storm; and for him, as for the apostle, not only without were fightings, but within were fears. Chosen to his place as an eminent son of liberty, he was destined to have trouble, more than enough, with a stouter scion of the same stock. The long letter to Hancock which he wrote, or which he signed, relating to the course of that distinguished individual as Treasurer of the

College, moves at once respect for the propriety and ability of its argument, and a strange sort of pity and surprise that such a body as the Corporation should have been reduced to use such a tone, on such an occasion. The Corporation thought they had done a great thing for themselves and the College, in persuading John Hancock to take the charge of its strong-box in 1773. The following year, met the first Provincial Congress, and in the year after, the Continental Congress, of both which bodies he was successively a member and President. Under these circumstances, no one can blame or wonder that his mind was more upon other things than upon the College's books and bonds, or the tutors' salaries.

But tutors could not live without bread, nor could bread be had without money; debtors would not pay without receipts; nor could books or property be taken care of without somebody to keep them. When more than a year had passed since his election, the Corporation asked their Treasurer, then in Boston, for some account of the state of their funds, and got no answer. They renewed the application when public business was about to call him away from town, and with the same pleasing success. Learning that he was about to go to Philadelphia, upon that hint they spake yet again, and were then informed that he was "busily engaged," but would "soon appoint a day to attend the business." A fortnight having elapsed, they held a meeting, and requested his presence. He sent an excuse, and promised "to lay his accounts before them by the middle of next week." That week passed, and some others after it, and the Corporation addressed to him a letter expressing their "unhappiness at being disappointed as to the promised settlement; they knew his patriotic exertions in his country's cause, and were willing to allow much for this plea of delay, but it was their duty to be solicitous for the seminary; they were accountable to the Overseers and the world." Much good may their solicitude do them, thought the Treasurer, and after informing them that he left "all his matters in the hands of a gentleman of approved integrity," — who it was, they appear to have been left to guess, — away he went to Philadelphia. In March, 1776, went on an humble and truly moving representation of the distress daily suffered by the College, for the cause complained of, and after a while another, expressing the hope that "Mr. Hancock will not be offended at a renewal of the earnest re-

quest to hear from him speedily, and know what may be done in such a situation of College affairs." To this, after a month, they got a reply, with the information that he had just sent off a messenger "in a light wagon, with orders to bring all his books and papers across the country to Philadelphia from Boston." Horror of horrors! The books and papers of Harvard College on their way to Philadelphia, in a light wagon, through a country which might be the seat of war! To Philadelphia however they went, and how to get them back again was now the question. The Overseers took it up, and appointed a Committee of gentlemen of the highest consideration, — Bowdoin, and others, — to attend to it. Under their advice, the Corporation commissioned a Tutor to proceed in quest of the precious *strays* to Philadelphia, Baltimore, or wherever else the Continental Congress, and its President, might be. He came back luckily with the papers, but still with no settlement of accounts, nor statement of the balance in the Treasury. The Corporation at length, in 1777, under the recommendation of the Overseers, worked their courage up to the pitch of supplying the derelict place by the election of another Treasurer. In 1780, Hancock was chosen Governor of Massachusetts; but though the politician was, for the rest of his life, less busy, the Treasurer was equally impracticable. As Governor, he would preside with his immovable urbanity, at the board of Overseers, and hear his successor's report recite, that "it is not known what sums the late Treasurer received and paid, his accounts being still unsettled." To make a long story short, Hancock, having in 1785 announced his intention to retire from the Chief Magistracy, settled his accounts, acknowledging a debt of a little more than one thousand pounds. But still it was such a satisfactory settlement as is made by a note on demand, from a person whose ear for such demands is that of the adder. The Corporation never saw their money till two years after they had attended Hancock's funeral, in 1793. Then his heirs paid it, principal and simple interest.

This story, — merely amusing now, though suited rather, near the time, to "ope the sacred source of sympathetic tears," — President Quincy recites at length. Why not? If great people, of their own high pleasure, without right or reason, will insist on keeping other people's money, the least they can expect is that, by and by, somebody will tell of them.

John Hancock was not a whit the more nor the less a zealous and efficient friend to the patriotic movement of the Revolution, because of his wayward treatment of the College. He was not the first person, who, under the perilous influences of such a position, has demeaned himself unsuitably, nor will he in all probability, be the last. There was not the remotest idea of any embezzlement. He was but the exquisite despiser of a tailor's bill, who asks what such impudent duns would have, — whether it is not enough, that he gives them his patronage ; do they think he means to cheat them ? he will pay when he is ready. Rather, he was the big boy, who, having pocketed the little boy's marbles, answers his request for their restitution with the comfortable inquiry, whether he will have them now, or wait till he can get them. If Hancock had happened to be in perfectly good humor when the College's first application was made, or if it had happened to suit his convenience perfectly to attend to it at once, it is probable that there would not have been the slightest difficulty. But as to being urged to do such a thing at any time but his own, that was out of the question. A mission like George Fox's to convert the pope, or a proposal to General Jackson to put back the deposites,would have been about as promising an overture. Was he, the young, rich, glorious President of Congress, idol of the people, selected object of royal vengeance, — he, the goddess of liberty's own Adonis, — to be badgered by some fusty gownsmen into sitting down to figure up their paltry accounts ? It were better, if he had done so, no doubt ; or, — what would have been the same thing, — if he had allowed some clerk to do it. But what if he did not ? The history which convicts him of such omission does not rob him of a patriot's fame. It remains not a whit the less true, that his services and sacrifices in the cause of the country were most material in kind and amount ; and a certain wantonness and wilfulness have always, from the beginning of time, been pardoned to popular leaders, and probably will be, to its end. The better for them, that it is so, as far as their consideration is concerned, though the worse, as respects the completeness of the example which it is desirable they should bequeath to a grateful posterity. At all events, no rhetorical patriot needs to disturb himself with the fear, that all which Mr. Quincy has recorded of Hancock's protervity will rob of its slightest grace what uses to be justly said in his praise, in the Fourth of July orations.

With all its good purposes of keeping up with the *spirit of the age*, the College, it seems, was somewhat tenacious of its ancient customs, at least to the end of the time through which we have as yet traced its history. It was as late as about the period of the breaking out of the Revolution, that, the Overseers having recommended a discontinuance of the custom of sending Freshmen on errands, the Corporation voted, that, "after deliberate consideration and weighing all circumstances, they are not able to project any plan in the room of this long and ancient custom, that will not, in their opinion, be attended with equal if not greater inconveniences." The relations then sustained by these unhappy fags to their superiors, and by those superiors to one another, may be partly inferred from the spirit of a few regulations of the ancient code.

"'1. No Freshman shall wear his hat in the College yard, unless it rains, hails, or snows, provided he be on foot, and have not both hands full.

"'2. No Undergraduate shall wear his hat in the College yard, when any of the Governors of the College are there; and no Bachelor shall wear his hat when the President is there.

"'3. Freshmen are to consider all the other classes as their Seniors.

"'4. No Freshman shall speak to a Senior with his hat on; or have it on in a Senior's chamber, or in his own if a Senior be there.

"'5. All the Undergraduates shall treat those in the Government of the College with respect and deference; particularly they shall not be seated without leave in their presence; they shall be uncovered when they speak to them or are spoken to by them.

"'6. All Freshmen (except those employed by the Immediate Government of the College) shall be obliged to go any errand (except such as shall be judged improper by some one in the Government of the College) for any of their seniors, Graduates or Undergraduates, at any time, except in studying hours, or after nine o'clock in the evening.

"'7. A Senior Sophister has authority to take a Freshman from a Sophomore, a middle Bachelor from a Junior Sophister, a Master from a Senior Sophister, and any Governor of the College from a Master.

"'8. Every Freshman before he goes for the person who takes him away (unless it be one in the Government of the

College,) shall return and inform the person from whom he is taken.

"'9. No Freshman, when sent on an errand, shall make any unnecessary delay, neglect to make due return, or go away till dismissed by the person who sent him.

"'10. No Freshman shall be detained by a Senior, when not actually employed on some suitable errand.

"'11. No Freshman shall be obliged to observe any order of a Senior to come to him, or go on any errand for him, unless he be wanted immediately.

"'12. No Freshman, when sent on an errand, shall tell who he is going for, unless he be asked ; nor be obliged to tell what he is going for, unless asked by a Governor of the College.

"'13. When any person knocks at a Freshman's door, except in studying time, he shall immediately open the door without inquiring who is there.'" — Vol. II. pp. 539, 540.

As late as 1734, "the right of punishing undergraduates by 'boxing' was deemed so essential to discipline, that the exercise of it was expressly reserved to the President, Professors, and Tutors ;" and more than twenty years later, the Corporation could only be brought so far to experiment upon it, as to suspend its execution for one year. As to the old respect for dignities, it is said by pupils of President Willard, whose administration extended into the present century, that, when the wig and cloak that enclosed him were seen floating through the College grounds, not even a Professor was ever discerned by his side.

President Willard, Langdon's successor, was inducted into office, December 19th, 1781. The resources of the College were at this period sadly straitened by the depreciation of the currency. So sore was the evil, that in 1786, no less than three fifths of the capital were found to have been sunk. Down to the time of this administration, the College's dependence chiefly for the President's support, and partly for that of the Professors, had always been upon annual grants of the Legislature. In 1786 was made the last provision from this source for the salary of any officer. Meanwhile, the excellent thrift of the Corporation had done something towards placing them in an independent position ; the confidence, on which they had proceeded, in the ultimate victory of a sense of justice in the national counsels, was rewarded in the results of that decisive measure of Hamilton,

the funding of the public debt; and in 1793, the Treasurer was enabled to report the personal estate of the institution, as amounting to a sum of more than one hundred and eighty-two thousand dollars.

From the point to which we have now accompanied his narrative, Mr. Quincy properly declines pursuing it as in the earlier chapters. He says;

"The history of Harvard University has now been brought down to our own times; to a period too near to be viewed in just historical perspective. Henceforth it will therefore be restricted to an outline of events, and, in each successive presidency, attention will be principally directed to the nature and objects of the Professorships established or enlarged. The legislative patronage granted and the changes in the studies, discipline, and finances, which have occurred, will be stated, and accompanied by such facts and illustrations as will give a comprehensive view of the progress, present state, and resources of the institution."—Vol. II. p. 258.

Accordingly, while rich details are given of the course of such events, the full history of three administrations preceding Mr. Quincy's own, — those of Willard, Webber, and Kirkland, — remains to be written. In treating of that of Willard, the most *salient* event of which was the establishment of the Medical School, with a Faculty of three Professors, — the future historian will have satisfaction in dwelling on the facts, which will enable him to confirm his respectful tribute to a learned, good, and strong-minded man, and to faithful, well-judged and successful endeavours to raise the institution from a condition of great embarrassment and disorder to one of eminent prosperity and usefulness. In the short sway of President Webber, — transferred from the mathematical chair to the Presidency in 1806, and removed by death in four years after, — he will have to recognise a just, firm, and discreet official course, which, if in so brief a space it produced few striking results, left nothing, either in action or omission, for censure or regret. The establishment, by private benefactors, of two new professorships, those of Natural History, and of Rhetoric and Oratory, — the first incumbent of the latter being the present venerable ex-President Adams, — were the principal events of that time. John Thornton Kirkland succeeded to the vacant Presidency in 1810, and exercised the office eighteen years. This period, he who

shall write of it hereafter will have occasion to describe as, in comparison with any which had preceded it, the day of the College's greatness and splendor ; and he will delight in doing large justice to the claims on the veneration and gratitude of later times, of its controlling mind, — a mind of rare endowments, set off by a character of the most impressive and winning virtue, — and in illustrating its beneficent influence as well on the tastes, sentiments, and pursuits of the surrounding community, as on the immediate subjects of its guidance.

By the help of President Kirkland, and of the admirable company of which he was the central light, the liberal objects of an instructed people's regard and ambition assumed a new position in the society about him. The enthusiasm of the young for all that is best worth living for, was excited and informed. A glory became connected with the name of scholar, which revived an intense feeling of other times. A sense of what it is that adorns and exalts a commonwealth was imparted to those able to promote that end, and bore its fruits in what we presume to be an extraordinary private patronage of learning. We have just read in an English newspaper of the Queen Dowager's " munificent gift " of two thousand pounds sterling to a fund for bishops in the colonies, and of those of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Bishop of London, amounting each to half that sum. These were princely gifts, and they were made from princely revenues. Boston was a town, consisting, during the eighteen years of which we speak, of about fifty thousand inhabitants, — mostly professional men, mechanics, and merchants ; and the private gifts made or now known to have been bequeathed during that time to Harvard College (principally contributed from that city, though there were liberal patrons in other places), amounted to not less than four hundred thousand dollars; of which sum five Bostonians gave twenty thousand dollars or more, each, and one (the late Governor Gore) gave a hundred thousand ; while the Commonwealth made its addition of ten thousand dollars a year for ten years. With the aid of such liberality from without, and such ability within, every thing about the College assumed an improved appearance. The means of instruction were enlarged to meet the greatly increased resort of students, and its methods reformed to suit the higher tastes which had come to prevail, and the higher objects which were contemplated. New professorships were founded, and men

of eminent gifts, ornaments, in their several spheres, to the rising literature of the country, were attracted to fill them. The Schools of Law and Divinity were founded, and thus the outline of a University filled up. Four new costly edifices were erected. The Law, Medical and Theological libraries were instituted, and the General Library was increased to nearly double its size, while arrangements were introduced for increasing its usefulness by extending its advantages to a greater number of persons, and by keeping it constantly open to those who desired to resort to it for study. A cabinet of Mineralogy was obtained, and those in the Medical department, and that of Natural Philosophy were greatly enriched. These are fruits or tokens of singularly successful public service, capable of being specified. Others, less definite and less appreciable, were not, however, of less worth. Nearly one quarter part of all whom the College has reared, from its foundation to the present time, were pupils of President Kirkland. There is not, probably, an individual of their number, who does not think of him and his influence with a tender and grateful veneration. If a rare sagacity and wisdom, coupled with a disinterestedness still more uncommon, and constituting thus a combination of singular efficiency for useful influence and action, — if these entitle a man to be kindly and honorably remembered, the name of Kirkland is not one of those that men will willingly let die.

Dr. Kirkland died in Boston, April 26th, 1840, twelve years after his resignation of the presidency. The Corporation took appropriate notice of that event, adopting measures for the government and students of the University to take part in the tribute of respect arranged by his pupils, and offering the use of the public rooms at Cambridge for the commemorative services.

A fact stated by President Quincy will surprise many, who have been accustomed to regard the pecuniary resources of the University as the gift rather of public than private liberality. It is, that the whole "productive estate" now held by the institution, — that is, the property yielding a revenue towards its maintenance, — "may with sufficient accuracy be regarded as the result of private munificence, or of the wise management of the Corporation, in successive periods." What the public has given is either now represented by fixtures, as some of the buildings, or else has been applied in such

expenditures that, in respect to money investment, (though not in respect to the attainment of proper objects) it has perished in the using. The President by no means suppresses or slurs over the record of what the Colonial, Provincial, or State Legislature has actually done; but the following is his statement of the facts, as far as relates to the first seventy years.

"In respect to grants of money, the patronage of the General Court, during this first period of seventy years, certainly never exceeded, and there is no known documentary evidence, that it ever equalled, the annual payment of £100 until the year 1673, and that of £150 during the subsequent years of this period. These payments, with the income of the Ferry, were the only resources of the institution of a permanent character, for the support of the President and officers. The deficiency was made up by assessments on the students. With the exception of this annual stipend, there is no evidence of grants of money, or even transfers of rates, except at times, when the treasury of the Colony actually possessed an amount greatly exceeding such grant or transfer, received from private donations, on account of the College. During that whole period its officers were dependent for daily bread upon the bounty of the General Court. They always stood before the Court in the attitude of humble suppliants, destitute of the power even to enforce their rights; and found, by bitter experience, how miserable is he who hangs on a sovereign's favor, be that sovereign one or many, prince or people.

"In respect to grants of land, the General Court, in 1652, gave to the College eight hundred acres, and in 1653, two thousand acres. Both grants failed. In 1658 the Court attempted to indemnify the College for this loss, by granting to it two thousand one hundred acres of land, being, as they thought, a part of their share of the plunder accruing from their victory over the Pequods. The Colony of Connecticut, however, claimed these lands as their own portion of the spoils, and dispossessed the College of them; and it is not known or believed, that the College obtained any thing from that grant. In 1683, the General Court made another attempt to patronize the College by a grant of one thousand acres of land at Merriconeage. This grant, however, had the fate of its predecessors. The College gained nothing by it, but a lawsuit and a judgment disaffirming its title. During the first seventy years, the College derived no aid from the General Court towards the erection of its buildings or the increase of its funds, in consequence of any grant or donation. These were altogether the result of individual munificence. So that the whole bounty of that body,

during this entire period, was limited to the annual payment, at first, of £100, and afterward £150, as above stated, and the income of the Ferry.

"Neither does it anywhere appear that the original grant of £400 was ever specifically paid. As far as can now be ascertained, the above annual grants were deemed a sufficient fulfilment of that vote." — Vol. I. pp. 40, 41.

Again; as to the next period, ending with the time of the discontinuance, in 1786, of annual grants towards the support of the President and Professors.

"In 1707, when Mr. Leverett consented to accept the presidency, the General Court fixed his salary at £150 per annum. In 1711, President Leverett received an additional grant of £30, increased afterwards annually to £40, and once to £50. Subsequently to the year 1719, these additional grants are not mentioned on the records of the General Court. But, on the supposition that they were continued, it may be stated, with sufficient accuracy, that during the whole presidency of Leverett, the grants to that officer, from the legislature, (including the grant of £30, made in 1727 to his daughters,) never exceeded two hundred, and probably did not average the sum of one hundred and eighty pounds a year.

"On the accession of Mr. Wadsworth, in 1726, the salary of the President was fixed at £400, by the General Court; of which £40 were to be derived from the rents of Massachusetts Hall, and £360 from annual grants. It may be stated, perhaps, with perfect accuracy, that this last sum was the amount of these grants during the whole of his presidency.

"Soon after the accession of Holyoke, in 1737, annual grants were not only made to the President, but were occasionally extended to the Professor of Divinity, and the Instructor in Hebrew, and, after the middle of the century, to the Professor of Mathematics. From the uncertainty of the time when these grants commenced, from the variation in value of the paper currency, and the imperfection of the records, the difficulty of approximating to a satisfactory estimate of their exact amount is extreme. About the middle of the century they became generally regular; namely, to the President £250, to the Professor of Divinity £100, to the Mathematical Professor £80, and to the Hebrew Professor £20. But these sums were occasionally varied during the last years of Holyoke's administration; the grants to the President were diminished, and those to the other officers increased, leaving the total amount the same. It may, therefore, be confidently stated, that during the whole presidency of Holyoke, the aggregate of grants to all the College officers never exceeded, and probably

fell very far short, of four hundred and fifty pounds a year ; and this sum may be regarded as the general rate of grants to these College officers, until the adoption of the Constitution of Massachusetts, in 1780.

"These annual grants were voted expressly as 'gratuities' to the officers designated ; of consequence, they never entered into the College treasury, nor appeared on its books. They added nothing to the permanent funds of the institution, were occasionally varied, according to the view taken of its other resources, and were always graduated on a scale which would enable those officers and their families merely to exist. The amount was, in effect, annually repaid to the community by an equivalent reduction of assessments on the students.

"The College is indebted to the bounty of the legislature of the Province for Massachusetts and Hollis Halls, and for one thousand pounds, lawful money, towards building a President's house ; and to its sense of justice, for Harvard Hall.

"In the eighteenth century, the only lands given by the Province to the College, were reservations, in grants of new townships, made with a view to the future advantage of the institution. Thus, in the year 1719, two hundred and fifty acres were reserved by the General Court, for Harvard College, 'in each of the two townships on the westerly side of Groton,' afterwards called Townsend and Lunenburg. Between the years 1762 and 1774, rights were also reserved to the College in twenty-five townships, lying in the eastern part of Maine, some between the Penobscot and the St. Croix, others east of Saco River. In twenty-three of these townships one sixty-fourth was thus reserved, and, in the remaining two, one eighty-fourth part. These reservations were estimated at 12,500 acres, and were intended as some indemnity for the loss of the College library by fire in 1764, which the rebuilding of Harvard Hall did not compensate. The value of these lands, at the time of the grants, it is not easy, at this day, to ascertain. It is only known that townships in that part of Maine were then and afterwards sold from nine pence to one shilling an acre. Many years elapsed before any benefit was received from these reservations, and the College was deprived of some of them. Townsend was afterwards included within the bounds of New Hampshire, and, as an indemnity, a reservation was made, in 1771, in another township. But with many of the other reservations, made in favor of the College by the provincial legislature, it was finally lost, the lands being regranted by the legislature of Massachusetts, after it became a state, without any regard to the College reservations.

"We have thus recapitulated, with as much exactness as the

nature of the subject admits, all the grants, donations, and reservations made by the General Court, in favor of the College, during the Colonial and Provincial times of Massachusetts." — Vol. II. pp. 226 – 230.

Further, as to later times ;

"The legislative patronage of the College, after the peace of 1783, was limited and equivocal. In 1785, the General Court regranted fourteen of those eastern townships, in which the provincial legislature had made reservations in favor of the College without any provision for the rights accruing from those reservations. In 1787, the Corporation memorialized the legislature on the injustice of this proceeding, and remarked, 'that, while the citizens of the State have, in all instances where they have lost lands which have been granted by the Court, from a deficiency of title, received grants in lieu thereof, the College has been ousted of, or has not had laid out, at least *six thousand acres* of land, which had been granted by the provincial General Court. They reflect with peculiar grief at the omission of the grants of land in fourteen townships between the Penobscot and St. Croix rivers, as it seems to be pointedly aimed at them, the College having done nothing, of which they are sensible, to merit this punishment ; on the contrary, it has suffered immensely, at different periods, in the funds, rather than run counter to the designs of the government as to the paper currency.'

"The directness and urgency of this memorial had no influence at the time. But in June, 1790, a more just spirit actuated the members of the General Court, and they passed a resolve, which 'granted and confirmed to Harvard College three hundred acres of land,' in each of the townships within which reservations had been made in its favor by the provincial legislature.

"In March, 1785, the College was also devested of its right to the Ferry between Boston and Charlestown, the most ancient of all the colonial grants, by the erection of the 'Charles River Bridge.' The legislature, indeed, provided that the grantees, during the term of forty years, should pay the College £200 a year ; but the bridge, at the end of the term, was to become the property of the Commonwealth, 'saving to the said College a reasonable and annual compensation for the annual income of the ferry, which they might have received, had not said bridge been erected.'

"Although an annuity was more convenient than the receipt of incomes from the ferry, yet £200 was no fair equivalent in

value for the rights devested. The Corporation, as the records prove, had maintained the ferry for nearly one hundred and fifty years, with great trouble and often with little emolument, in the anticipation, that its revenues would increase, in proportion to the population of the country. During the period between 1775 and 1781, the ferry had been supported at an actual loss ; £ 300 had just been expended in repairing the ferry-ways, and the College was beginning to receive £200 annual rent, with an apparent certainty of a great annual increase. At this moment, the General Court established the bridge, and limited the future income of the College from this source, to the exact sum it was then annually receiving, thus depriving it of that increasing revenue, which the legislature of 1640 intended it should receive in all after times.

" In the year 1792, on passing the act establishing West Boston Bridge, the interests of the College were so far regarded by the legislature as to provide for the payment to it of an annuity of £ 300, (which in a short time was reduced to £200,) during the term of forty years, appropriating it to ' the defraying the tuition of indigent scholars, or for the reducing the expense of tuition to all the other scholars,' according to the judgment of the Corporation. In 1796, this appropriation was varied, and applied to the support of permanent tutors ; and, in 1800, a discretionary power was vested in the Corporation in respect to its application.

" By the above act of 1792, the rights and privileges granted in 1785, by the act authorizing the erection of ' Charles River Bridge,' were extended to the proprietors, from forty to seventy years, and for the same lengthened period the annuity was made payable to the College ; but the clause, ' saving to the said College at the end of the term a reasonable and annual compensation for the annual income of the ferry, which they might have received had not said bridge been erected,' was omitted. But how valueless would have been this saving clause against power and interest, the history of the present times demonstrates, in which the bridge itself has been destroyed by the effect of legislative enactments, passed with an entire disregard of the provisions of the acts of 1785 and 1792, and also of the ancient vested rights of the College." — Vol. II. pp. 270 – 273.

In 1794, the General Court renewed the grant of a lottery, which had been made by the Provincial Legislature, for the purpose of enabling the College to erect an additional building. At a cost of nearly twenty-five thousand dollars, three quarters of which were supplied from this source,

Stoughton Hall was erected in 1805. In 1806, the same operation, not yet discreditable and outlawed, was again authorized, and yielded twenty-nine thousand dollars, the greater part of which was expended upon a new structure, Holworthy Hall. In 1814, the fourth year of President Kirkland's administration, the Commonwealth made its only direct grant of money since 1786, by passing "An Act for the Encouragement of Literature, Piety, Morality, and the Useful Arts and Sciences," which gave to Harvard College, from the avails of a tax on banks, ten thousand dollars annually for ten years, one fourth part of the same being appropriated "towards the partial or total reduction of the tuition fees of such students, not exceeding one half the whole number of any class, who may apply therefor, according to the judgment of the Corporation." The College, thus enriched, proceeded to erect University Hall, and the Medical College in Boston, at an aggregate expense of more than eighty-six thousand dollars, while thirty-three thousand dollars more were applied to the increase of the Library and of the Philosophical and Chemical apparatus, and to various repairs and improvements in the College buildings and grounds. It was too confidently expected, that, though at a late stage of the progress of the act just referred to, towards enactment, a limitation of time had been introduced, the act would be renewed and made permanent at the expiration of the specified ten years.

The public has done very much for the College from first to last. Without doubt one might say, not without fair show of reason, that, looking to its own advantage, it would have done well to abound yet more, and to keep a more even pace with private liberality. But what it has omitted, more or less, might be more easily forgotten, were it not for the haunting memory of one thing that it has done. Here, in an item of the Treasurer's annual account presented to the Overseers in January, 1841, is the record of the fate of that ancient grant of the ferry across Charles River, to which relate some statements in the last extract above. Here is the epitaph of the Commonwealth's last surviving helper in the carrying on of Harvard College.

"For amount of Charles River Bridge Annuity,
on account of which nothing has been received for several years past, now *written off*, $11,111·11."

That dismal record on the wrong side is set down, alas! in another account book besides the Treasurer's, even the fair, clear, incombustible ledger of History; and as long as History shall keep her books, there is no possible way to set such a matter right, and show a balanced page, but by an equivalent counter-entry. The Massachusetts people, it is true, are one thing, and the Massachusetts legislators of this or that year, another. The latter may do a wrong, which the former, when they look at it, may abhor. But if, abhorring, they do not take care in their own good time to redress it (redress being possible,) the sheriff will be after them too, when sentence comes to be pronounced in the high court of a sternly just posterity. Might never makes right, but for the duration of one age. The sense of right that rises up in the next is much mightier; and the whipped craven of injustice crouches as helpless under the well-bestowed lash as he had just now towered secure and insolent.

We conclude our disconnected remarks by simply saying, that, — in common, we suppose, not only with other friends of the College, but with numerous others whose tastes prompt them to look into a curious chapter of American history, — we acknowledge great obligations to President Quincy for the pleasure and instruction derived from his volumes. We expected to find in them the authentic results of diligent research, and accordingly a valuable contribution to the completeness of existing aids to an acquaintance with the men and doings of the ancient times. But we confess we did not expect to find them so fruitful in entertainment, and in materials for engaging and profitable, as well as (to a patriot) complacent, reflection. We did not expect to see a record of the fortunes of a single institution of learning, taking the place, which this seems to us destined to take, among works in historical literature. Unless our interest in its central subject affects our judgment to a degree hardly to be supposed, it is not a book to be welcomed and enjoyed by the friends of Harvard College alone, nor by either of the small classes of New England, or of academical, antiquaries, but one which will sustain permanent claims on the attention of the general student of history.

ART. V. — *On International Copyright; in a Letter to the Hon. William C. Preston, Senator of the United States.* By FRANCIS LIEBER. New York. Wiley & Putnam. 1840. 8vo. pp. 67.

BOOKS, once a rarity and luxury, are now among the most familiar of familiar things; and this very familiarity may induce a reader entirely to forget or overlook their authors. It does not occur to all, in turning the leaves of one of those little volumes, to reflect upon the protracted working of the brain, the lassitude of the body, and the prevention often of the night-watches, which have given birth to the pages that they have traversed in haste, or but dipped into, to serve some present and passing purpose. They have not a thought of the deep anxiety fast settling into disease, or the flushed excitement amounting almost to insanity, with which the timid student or the ambitious child of imagination may have waited for the issue of the fruit of his toil from the dark and mysterious hands of the printer into the broad day-light of actual publication. Yet the records of literary history are full of the pains with which the surcharged feelings of the heart have overwhelmed the unhappy man of letters. The strained fibres have too often cracked asunder, and the misery and the life of the unfortunate author have ended together. We will mention, in this place, the cases of but two writers, as a specimen of the wear and tear of sentiment to which a surrender to intellectual pursuits as a means of subsistence, too frequently subjects the votary of literature.

When we repeat the homely title of "Sally in our Alley," it may awaken in our readers, of the one sex at least, reminiscences of a time, when the chanting of those lines, accompanied perhaps by the melodious whistle of some musical companion, has excited a passing tender or even romantic aspiration after an absent "darling of the heart," though the name of *Carey*, the author of the ballad, may have been altogether unknown. No Englishman, however, can fail to have heard of the man to whom his country stands indebted for both the words and the music of "God save the King"; and appreciating, as Americans do, the national enthusiasm, which recognises, with an instant movement both of the head and of the heart, the sound, let it reach us when it will, of our own

"Hail Columbia" or "Star Spangled Banner," we can well sympathize with the sons of our fathers in their exulting sensations at the swell of their glorious national anthem. And yet, while poor Carey's songs and his music were heard from one end of England to the other, and as he walked the streets of London or loitered around its theatres, where, perhaps, some of his dramas were then amusing a crowded house, and the familiar echo of his own compositions could scarce fail to reach his ears, the sense of his utter destitution and of the absolute disappointment of his hopes of independence or competence was gnawing at his heart, and driving his mind into the horrid conception of self-murder. To this sad fate was he at last impelled by the despair of ill-regulated feeling, and when found dead by his own violent hands, a single half-penny in a corner of his pocket formed the whole moneyed fortune of the luckless Henry Carey.

The name of *Collins*, a name fairly ranked among the highest on the scroll of poetic fame, is of course more familiar to the readers of English verse, than that which we have just mentioned. His imagination, vivid and unrestrained, rendered him a martyr to the lyre, and finally made shipwreck both of his reason and his life. There is a tenderness in his thoughts, and a freshness in his poetic pictures, which none of his fellows have surpassed. Disappointment however succeeded to disappointment in his literary projects, and eventually broke his spirits, while they repressed his at first vigorous exertions. The harsh Johnson blames him for his *irresolution*. It was, alas! the stern effect of immediate necessity, and the wavering of a mind broken and confounded by the awful dreariness of his hard lot. The neglect with which his efforts were received seemed to portend, to the ill-starred bard, an oblivion of his name and works, which, to his ardent fancy, was more intolerable than the grave; and his life, though the scene is relieved by an occasional gleam of sunshine, was on the whole a life of want, uncheckered even by that Hope which in his famous Ode he has so beautifully described. Leaving the metropolis at last, utterly disheartened, and consigning to the flames a collection of his odes, "he retreated," says one who could appreciate his sensations, "to his native city of Chichester, in a state almost of nakedness, destitute, diseased, and wild with despair, to hide himself in the arms of a sister." But even a sister's tender care failed

to solace his convulsed intellect; and though subsequently the death of a relation placed the means of a comfortable support to a certain extent within his reach, yet fortune came too late with her offerings, for his mind had been driven from its moorings, and his restless body roamed through the country in search of that peace, which he was never fully to realize upon earth. He loved to haunt, by day and night, the aisles and cloisters of the Cathedral of his native town, attracted by their dim religious light, and to mingle (often to the dismay of the choristers) his own moans with the chanting of their solemn anthems. Fortunately for the unhappy author, he did not journey entirely without a compass. An English Testament was his constant companion. To the querist, who asked him the name of the work under his arm, he answered, "I have but one book, that however is the best." On his tomb is preserved this record of what Collins looked to in his last days as his comfort amid his trials. In his epitaph it is said, —

> "He joined pure faith to strong poetic powers,
> And in reviving Reason's lucid hours,
> Sought on one book his troubled mind to rest,
> And rightly deemed the Book of God the best."

To recur to our first train of thought. Casual observers not unnaturally regard a book as a mere trifle, amid its kindred millions; as a crumb cast upon the waters, it matters not by whom, and subject to be appropriated at will by the first who may gather it. We propose then, for a brief space, to turn the attention of our readers to the claims of authors; to the full understanding and recognition of their proprietary rights.

If there be one description of property, which, more than others, challenges protection from governments, and acquiescence from all, it would seem to be that of an author in his works. The civilians tell us, that the right to any thing with a sensible existence, is founded on occupancy alone. To the first powerful appropriator of the soil or its fruit, or to the lucky huntsman of the beasts of the forest, the sympathy of his fellow-men accorded the rights of a proprietor; and each succeeding advance in the acquisition of wealth and the accumulation of its subjects, is, they say, but the result of the application of man's industry to objects already in being. In

mechanical inventions and improvements, it is the thought indeed, which is of value ; yet this is embodied and exemplified, and made beneficial, only by the new arrangement and combinations of separate portions of matter previously existing.

The fruits of an author's brain have higher and juster claims to consideration. They are, by creation, his. His title to them partakes, in a small degree, of the essence of that power, which called the universe out of the darkness of chaos. A bountiful God has spread out before man, external nature in all her beautiful and useful forms, and offered it to the industry of all alike ; but He has further bestowed upon each individual of the race a store-house of the mind, where he finds deposited a sacred treasure, — by the free gift of Providence, his own. The heaven-born ideal furniture of the brain, who can shape it, who control it, who appropriate it, but its immediate possessor, or the great originator of all things ? The flowers of wit and fancy, more beautiful often than the pictured face of the fairest garden, what stranger may gather them ? The sublime works of the Almighty's own inspiration, more awful than nature's most gigantic forms, or even the terrific strife of contending elements, what spoiler dare seize upon them ?

The question respecting a property of authors in their composition, is now at rest both here and in England ; the decision having been favorable to the abstract right, but against its existence, subsequently to the passage of copy-right laws, except in subservience to the provisions of those laws. These vary in different countries. In England, the author has his copy-right for twenty-eight years certain, and if alive at the end of that term, it lasts during his life. In Denmark, the right is perpetual. In Russia, it extends until twenty-five years after the author's death, and in Holland and Belgium until twenty years thereafter. In Italy and Switzerland, practically, but little protection is granted. In France, the right is conferred by special laws ; and finally, in this country, an author is confirmed in his title for the space of twenty-eight years, and if he, or, in case of his decease, his widow, or any of his children, be still living, it may be enjoyed for fourteen years more.

The main argument on the subject has engaged, from time to time, the abilities and the learning not only of the ablest

lawyers, but of some of the most distinguished literary men of Great Britain. It was contended, in opposition to the author's right, that his labor and invention conferred no property beyond the manuscript in which his thoughts are transcribed; that the moment in which the copy is handed to the printer witnesses the gift of all its contents to the public, and that what was before individual, instantly becomes common. By this doctrine no description of property was admitted, which did not rest upon occupancy. Invention and labor employed upon matter, were said to amount merely to this. But what kind of occupancy could be asserted with regard to merely intellectual ideas? Property, to become such, must be abstracted by its proprietor from what was before common, so that others may be apprized of the assertion of title. How novel, then, the occupancy of a thought! How Utopian these new settlements in the domain of fancy! How fictitious such ideal lodgments! What ear-mark has an idea? how distinguish it from the roving crowd? It is nothing visible; it can sustain no qualities or incidents; it exists but in the mind, incapable of acquisition or enjoyment, save by intellectual possession or apprehension. No fraud, no violence can diminish or injure it; no onset can reach it; it lies safe in its own immateriality. Further; what tokens of a particular proprietor have mere ideas? Is the bare addition of the writer's name to the title-page of his book an essential sign of ownership? If the property be his, the use of his name is superfluous; if not, such a prefix can confer no right. Many, too, have written, not for profit, but incited by a nobler ambition. They have panted for fame, and for the good of their fellow-men. Some, less pretending, have ushered forth their works without a name. Should they be in a worse condition than their more ambitious brethren? Such, it was supposed, are the phantoms that an author would grasp. Queen Mab, it was said, might well rule in the circles where such rights prevail, but they are entirely unsuited to the practical purposes of life.

But higher ground was taken by the opponents of literary property. It was argued, that nature contemplated a community of thought; that it is the duty of every man to add his drop to the great ocean of ideas and of language, and to swell the constantly increasing tide of literary treasures. From those mines there should be no extracts for coinage. The

government should claim no seignorage, nor individuals demand exclusive dominion ; they should rather cast, with prodigal profusion, their bread upon the waters, looking for a return in the equally lavish generosity of some like favored child of genius. As the highest evidence of this gift to the public, by an author, of the fruits of his intellect, did the advocates of this doctrine regard the very act of publication. By this, he unhinges the door of the cage, and turns loose the bird, to flutter under the free air of heaven, and to fall, too, into the net of the first successful fowler. Like the owner who lays open his land to the highway, the author dedicates his thoughts to the public, unreservedly and irrevocably. No mental reservation can restrain or qualify the gift ; no condition, no art, reclaim or tempt back the fugitive ; but, like the dove from the ark of Noah, having found a resting place, she returns no more to the dwelling of her former master.

To this specious train of reasoning, the substance only of which we have presented, and which is undoubtedly captivating by its ingenuity, it was well answered somewhat after this fashion.

The right claimed for authors is the incorporeal right to the sole printing and publishing of something intellectual, communicated by letters, in a set form of words, sentences, and modes of expression. This is a right detached from the manuscript, or from any physical existence whatsoever. No transfer of the paper on which the composition is impressed, can transfer this right. The position was well illustrated in two cases, both relating to works of standard English literature. We will barely mention them.

Besides the original manuscript, there existed a single copy of Clarendon's celebrated History of the Rebellion. The first, in the possession of the Lord Chancellor's family, was subsequently destroyed by a fire at Petersham, the other had passed into the hands of a Mr. Gwynn. This gentleman, — had his been then the only copy in existence, — possessed the power of destroying, Vandal-like, and for ever, this beautiful work, and of depriving all future time of the profit and pleasure derivable from the perusal of so unique a production. The paper was his. He could have cast the manuscript into the fire without responsibility to any one, and every record of its valuable contents would have disappeared in its ashes. Mr. Gwynn, — and this was at the distance

of one hundred years from its composition, — chose rather to publish the History without the consent of Lord Clarendon's representatives ; and his conduct in various ways cost him very dear. The right of the author's family to the publication of his works was fully vindicated.

The other case was that of Pope's letters. The famous correspondence of this poet with Dean Swift was transferred from the possession of the latter into the hands of a printer ; the notorious Curl, of Dunciad memory. The sheets upon which these letters were written were undoubtedly the property of the Dean. He could have done what he pleased with the mere paper. Pope had retained no copies, and had a very imperfect recollection of their contents. Swift could have lent them to his friends, concealed, or destroyed them ; but it was determined that printing and publishing were not in his power, nor in that of any one, without the consent of the writer. Pope stopped the publication by means of the strong arm of the Court of Chancery.

Upon the principle of this decision, we may remark in passing, rests the sanctity of private correspondence ; its security constituting one of the most delicate and important points in social intercourse. The paper used by us in letter-writing becomes the property of our correspondent. He may tear up or burn our letters ; but the thoughts, the ideas, and the feelings are, and continue, our own ; and without our consent they can never rightfully see the light. Once deny the proprietorship of authors, and the most intimate confidence could be abused with impunity. The ladies, at least, who, it is said, could not exist without a liberal communication of sentiment, will appreciate the value of this right.

Let us, however, resume the argument.

Upon what principle is it maintained, that the right of the author exists *before* publication, and not *after* ? Technical objections to the kind of property hold as well in the one case as the other. Each is equally incorporeal, and without its distinctive marks. When and where did the property in the former case commence, and why should it cease at publication ? It does not follow from the fact of publication, that the author gives to the public more than the right of perusing, reselling, destroying, if you please, the copies ; he does not necessarily part with the privilege of being himself the only person authorized to multiply copies by republish-

ing the work. Why suppose this? Look at the consequences. The author may not only lose the expected profit, but also his actual expenditure. He is no longer the master of his own name. He parts with every control over the correctness of his own work. He cannot prevent additions, nor retract errors. He can neither amend nor cancel a faulty edition. His imperfections may be perpetuated against his will, and sentiments of which he disapproves, repents, or is ashamed, may be propagated without his control. Neither the manner of the publication, nor the person by whom it is to be done, is at his option. In a word, the author would be entirely at the mercy of others, and his literary reputation, in respect of which most men are as justly sensitive as of their honor, would be disfigured and marred without redress. The term, *piracy*, sufficiently designates public sentiment, in its application to literary pilfering.

What then, — to sum up the argument for authorship, on this point, — is the foundation of the right? Simply, justice. It is eminently just that every man should reap the rewards of his own labor and invention. It is just that another should not use his name, to his own profit, without his consent. It is expedient too, as well as just, that an author should judge when, if ever, to publish; that he should select the manner and the extent of the publication, and the persons to whose honesty and accuracy the work shall be intrusted. In a word, it is just that each one should do with his own as he pleases.

And shall any distinction be made to the disparagement of the latter, between the labors of the body and those of the mind? Shall the nobler part of our nature have the worst treatment? Shall the workings of the spirit, with which his grosser portion has less to do than with any other operation of man, be placed lower in the scale of value than those wherein the body is the active minister? Shall we be behind the but half-civilized and warlike ancients in our regard for intellect and intellectual men? It is written what Alexander did, in the destruction of Thebes;

> "The great Emathian Conqueror bade spare
> The house of *Pindarus*, when temple and tower
> Went to the ground."

And even the rude Spartans made obeisance to the literary superiority of a vanquished rival.

— "the repeated air
Of sad Electra's poet had the power
To save the Athenian walls from ruin bare."

It has been well said by the elder D'Israeli, that "authors of all classes in the community have been the most honored and the least remunerated." There can be no question of the truth of this remark. We have mentioned before some instances which would verify it. Others could readily be added. After a long life spent in the service of the booksellers, Smollet had scarce the ability to raise the funds to carry him to a cheaper residence, and a more genial air, in order to recruit his exhausted frame. He died in penury, and amid strangers. But after death there were not wanting honors in abundance. Ornamented columns rose to his memory, and his very grave seemed to multiply the editions of his works.

The class of authors seems, indeed, to be peculiarly entitled to protection by law, against improvident and necessitous bargains; as young heirs or expectants of estates are prevented from ministering to the urgency of the moment, by the barter of future, and far more than compensatory, value. Experience has evinced the need of some such provision. And besides this, literary productions have special qualities or incidents not attached to most kinds of property. Their appreciation by the public is often very slow, and the tardiness of the acknowledgment is not seldom proportioned to the real merit of the work. "Paradise Lost" was sold for the sum of five pounds, with conditional stipulations for fifteen pounds more; and lay, as we all know, in obscurity for many years. When true criticism discovered and displayed the gem, its value expanded almost beyond estimation. When Hume published the first volume of his History, it was received with such coldness and indifference, that its author would have abandoned his native country, disgusted and almost broken-hearted, had not war prevented him. More fortunate however in this respect than the poet, he lived to reap the profuse applause of his countrymen. No one would print the manuscript of "Robinson Crusoe," when offered by Defoe, till a bookseller of a speculative turn got hold of it for a trifle, and made a thousand guineas by it. Burn's "Justice," and Buchan's "Domestic Medicine," are books, which in England yield steady annual incomes; they were procured from

their authors for a mere song. The "Vicar of Wakefield" was sold in the hour of distress,—of course for comparatively nothing; and "Evelina" produced the fair composer but five guineas. Some of our readers may remember how poor Chatterton was compelled by want to bring every production of his genius down to a statement of pounds, shillings, and pence, and to strike the balance of an account as the little incidents of life affected the current price of his ware. There was found among his papers a memorandum, stating "that by the death of the Lord Mayor of London, a political essay which he had penned, had been stopped in its publication. For it, he was to have received a small sum from the bookseller. He therefore puts down in the account we have referred to;

"Lost by the Mayor's death, on this essay - £1 11*s.* 6*d.*
Gained however in Elegies and essays thereon £5. 5*s.*"

The favorable balance stands recorded thus;

"I am glad he is dead by - - - - - - £3. 13*s.* 6*d.*"

The copy-right law should be so altered as to extend its term at least to a century, for the benefit of the author and his representatives; or what would be much better (for it would guard in a great degree against his stripping himself of his future interest in the success of his performance), it should confer upon authors and their heirs a certain per centage on the profits of each edition, similar to what is, or at least what was done in France to the descendants of Corneille and Molière, who were entitled to a provision from the theatres, upon each representation of the plays of their great progenitors. Omitting, however, a discussion of that general question, we shall offer a few remarks upon a topic, which has been much agitated here and elewhere.

By existing law, the rights of literary property are confined in their duration to the limits mentioned in the copy-right, which vests in authors and their representatives the exclusive enjoyment of their works, and the sole right of publishing and vending them for a term of years, renewable under certain conditions. These laws have, of course, no extra-territorial effect. Every other nation, therefore, regulates the matter in her own way; and ours confers upon foreign authors no privileges whatever; recognises no right of property in

their works ; protects their productions in no way against mutilation and piracy ; in a word, draws that distinction between the products of mind and those of matter, the injustice of which we trust has been sufficiently exposed. An effort has heretofore been made to remedy this grievous wrong, and to place this country, in the liberality of her legislation, at least upon a par with the monarchical governments of Europe. In England, the chief laborer in behalf of literary property is one who has adorned his profession of the law by the cultivation of his intellect, and the indulgence of a refined taste for letters, and who has connected his name for ever with the bright list of her scholars and poets ; we refer to Serjeant Talfourd, the distinguished author of "Ion."

This subject was brought, not long since, to the notice of our community, by an address to the Congress of the United States from almost all the eminent living authors of Great Britain. They came to us, they said, as suitors for justice, — to ask protection for their property. And why should they not receive it ? Do we refuse it to their goods in other shapes ? If not, why withhold it from their writings ? Reciprocity and the comity of nations, should secure it at our hands. It is well known that in both England and France, American authors may claim the copy-right of their works, and enjoy all the fruit of their labors which the markets of those extensive countries afford. One of those nations is eminent for that refined courtesy, which postpones one's self to the convenience and advantage of a stranger. Her museums and her galleries, her Institutes and her halls of learning, are opened widely and gratuitously to foreigners. Foreign genius is fostered ; foreign taste refined ; the productions of foreign talent welcomed. This is done not at all to her own disadvantage. She receives the full equivalent in various ways ; for it is an agreeable truth, as predicable of nations as of individuals, that no one ever suffers loss from his politeness. An American who has traversed France, encountering everywhere the attentions and the courtesy of her people ; who has scrutinized her repositories of art and science, enriching his mind and cultivating his taste ; who has found the very circumstance of his being a stranger a passport to consideration ; and who, if an author, has the full protection of the laws extended to the exertions of his intellect ; may well blush in answering the interrogatory of a native of that country, whether *his* works would be protected in the land of Cooper and Irving ?

It is a trite remark, that letters are not fostered by republics. If the governments of Greece or of Italy be appealed to as instances to the contrary, it is immediately answered, that literature in them flourished but under the auspices of some powerful families or individuals who have gained all the glory of its cultivation. It was Pericles who gave his name to the age. It was the Medici who laid the offering of wealth at the feet of genius. It was a Prince of Ravenna who received and cherished the great epic poet of Italy, when persecuted and driven from his native Florence by the violence of contending factions. The brightest era of Roman literature immediately succeeded that in which the Republic fell amid the tumult of arms, and was seen when an accomplished despot gathered around him the talent and the learning of his country. Still, there is no reason in the nature of things, why this charge against republics should longer be well founded. The day has gone by when republican virtue was thought safely to exist only by the side of rude simplicity; when contempt for the arts and the graces of life was thought a virtue; when brown bread and black broth were considered the only fitting food for young citizens. It has been long perceived that the refinements of social life, and the culture of the intellect, are not inconsistent either with personal virtue or with national security, while they are eminently conducive to national glory.

It is not our intention to dwell upon the details which an examination of this subject will furnish; but merely to bring some of the more prominent points to notice. To convince our readers of the importance of the topics under review, with reference to the amount of pecuniary interest, partially at least, involved, we may mention the sum of money at stake in the book-making and publishing business here and in Great Britain. It is estimated that in the latter country about 1500 volumes of new publications are produced every year. This is exclusive of reprints, pamphlets, and periodicals; and taking the average extent of the impression of each volume, this would yield the annual harvest of 1,125,000 volumes. Reprints, particularly of school books, are very frequent. Including these, and adding pamphlets, periodicals, and all other publications, and selecting an average publication price, the total value of works annually produced in Great Britain may be set down at £750,000. In the United States, the in-

crease of the book trade has taken place principally since the year 1803. Before that time few books were published, besides the Bible and some elementary school books. Every thing else was imported.

In the year 1803, that eminent bookseller, the late Matthew Carey, of Philadelphia, published, — the first, we believe, in America, who did so, — the Bible in the quarto form, and kept the types permanently standing. At this day, it is said, that 200,000 persons are connected with the manufacture of books, and the capital employed in the business is estimated at $ 35,000,000. About $ 500,000 worth of books, is each year sold at the public Trade-sales, held in different parts of the country, — a faint imitation of the famous book fairs at Leipsic, — and five bookselling establishments are said to have disposed, in the year 1836, of books to the amount of $ 1,350,000.

Our literary propensities are, therefore, considerable. Of this, further proofs will be presented immediately. Whether they incline in the right direction, is a point of more doubt, upon which a word shall be said before closing our article.

A diminution, no doubt, in the profits of publishers, and in the convenience and enjoyments of American readers, would be experienced ; but it is not for us to enrich ourselves at the expense of foreigners. Valuable works, however, would not be excluded from the country. Authors are too eager for fame and for the wide dissemination of their productions, to prevent both by the excessive valuation affixed to them. Books which were worth the purchase would readily command publishers here. Of others, the land would be well rid.

Any increase of price, on the other hand, would be more than compensated by the superior style of the works. The present republications of English works are almost consumed in the use. They are printed to be read, not to be preserved. There can scarcely be such a thing as a careful or beautiful edition of a popular book, such is the race-horse speed of publication. When curiosity is gratified, there is not sufficient encouragement to authorize the issue of a second, correct and well-bound edition. The people are on tiptoe for some new romance of horrors, or some tale of the affections ; the publishers must gratify the desire for this new Cynthia of the minute ; and as it can be done at a moderate rate to pur-

chasers, and at great profit to themselves, every other consideration becomes of inferior moment.

Let us direct our attention for an instant to the extreme amount of injustice done to foreign authors by an appropriation of their property.

The field open to publication in the United States is of an extent perfectly unique. There is nothing of its kind, which can be compared to it, in any part of the world. In this country all classes read. Almost every man, woman, and child in the Union perused the novels of Walter Scott. They pervaded every nook and corner of our immense territory. They were found in the tavern and in the workshop, as well as in the study and the boudoir. The same may be said, though in a less degree, of some of his contemporaries and of his successors in the line of romance. Who reaped the benefit of these enormous issues? The author, who was in reality the manufacturer of so much property? Not a dollar reached his pockets. The profits were received by strangers, who had no claims to them but the prior appropriation and publication of them in this country. Take a single instance from the list of the Waverley novels; that of Ivanhoe. The circulation of this book in the United States, within a few years after its appearance in England, amounted to about fifty thousand volumes. How many have been since published, we are not informed. This was but one of twenty equally popular works. Can we conceive of a more splendid patrimony to have descended to the family of their great author, than that which might have been derived in America from the copy-right of his immortal productions? Can we fancy one more honorable as well as profitable? How readily might all the pecuniary difficulties, which darkened the evening of the life of the Knight of Abbotsford, have been relieved from such a source? The welcome tribute of a grateful people would have been poured into his lap in rich profusion; and those hours, which were embarrassed and harassed by pressing engagements, beyond his ability to discharge, and which compelled that glorious Northern luminary to set amid clouds, might have been passed in cheerful hilarity, brightened by an abundant harvest, the fruit of his own honorable exertions. Instead of the cheerless prospect of ruin and poverty opening upon his fading vision, and of the lordly castle which he had reared and decorated in the extreme of artificial beauty vanishing from his possession, like

one of his own mere fictions of the fancy, his latter days, so far as earthly considerations could have affected them, would have been spent in that freedom from care, that seclusion from the all-engrossing business of life, which are so desirable, nay, so essential to those who are drawing near to the tomb.

One topic of paramount importance we have not yet touched; the interests of American literature. What has been its condition heretofore? What is it now? It has been proclaimed by foreigners to be one of comparative mediocrity. Admitting the qualified truth of the charge, to what causes is it attributable? In reflecting upon this subject, we cannot but attach very great influence to the state of things growing out of the want of an international copy-right law. From this, have proceeded two consequences, each of them hostile to the progress of the American mind; one, the flooding of the country with the trash of the British press, and the other, the positive depression to which our native writers have been subjected. We will add a few remarks upon each of these points.

The introduction of the Waverley and other standard novels into the United States, at no cost to the publishers, and the desire on their part to extend their circulation, and with it, their profits, by the printing of very cheap editions, deluged the country with mere works of imagination and fiction. These so warped the public taste, that scarcely any thing else became desirable; and every romance, it mattered not how offensive to good taste, or deleterious in its influence upon public morals, was eagerly welcomed.* An occasional biography or book of travels relieved the monotony; but it may be safely asserted, that the tribe of novels composed three-fifths of the provender which was offered for the literary craving of Americans. The hunger for this species of writing, which, of all others requires the most rigid discipline to be even innocuous, grew with what it fed on; and the result was the banishment of the higher specimens of British literature from the hands of the great mass of readers. The older writers of England, poets as well as prose writers, became almost unknown. Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, Milton, Spenser, Sir William Temple, not to mention the divines

* To use the graphic though homely expression of an English writer, our people were, on this head, "children in mental stature, and of course preferred sucking sugar-candy."

and metaphysicians of a somewhat early day ; who cultivated an acquaintance with these ? We speak not now of the few scholars who would, of course, hold such authors precious indeed, but of the community of readers. Shakspeare was preserved from falling into forgetfulness by the influence of the stage ; but who studied him critically ? To descend a little lower in the order of time, — passing by Dryden and the dramatists who succeeded Shakspeare (all entirely neglected), — and arriving at the Augustan age of English literature, — who, among the rising generation of the last twenty years, it may be asked, selected their reading from Pope or Addison, Prior or Swift, Steele or Arbuthnot ; or, to come still nearer to our own days, what countenance was bestowed upon Burke, Dr. Johnson, Cowper, Mackenzie, Goldsmith, Hume, and Stewart ? They were all forgotten in the rage for the newest romance. The impassioned poetry of Byron and Moore enchained hosts of admirers, and increased the distaste for more solid literary food.

What was the effect of all this upon our native writers ? May it not be truly said, that the national intellect was impelled, or, more properly, cornered into the production of only historical novels ? Nought else could gain popular favor. The higher walks of literary composition were deserted. No encouragement was proffered to an attempt at their cultivation. The American mind was, in the interim, undeveloped in its peculiar strength and dignity.

We have said that the efforts of native genius suffered depression. A few moments' reflection will convince us of the truth of the assertion.

Let us premise, that it is not intended to advocate protection to American mind, or to enroll it in the class of *tariffable* articles. There is talent enough among us, if it be but left untrammelled by artificial impediments ; and its developement will do all for the renown of the nation which the most ardent patriotism could desire, if popular taste do not drive it into a wrong channel. Free competition is the nurse of genius as well as of industry, while popular favor is its substantial food. What is asked for American writers, is equality, not protection. "A fair field and no favor," is their motto. It is well known, that but few in the category of authors are blessed with an abundance of worldly goods. Their poverty, indeed, has made them a standing joke for the satire of the drama. Few, born to wealth, have culti-

vated the muses ; and, though brilliant exceptions to the general remark may be pointed out, yet it remains a truth, that the fairest flowers in a nation's chaplet have been placed there by the hands of humble genius ; by men who have reaped but scantily of the smiles of fortune, and have looked for their reward to the applause of a more discriminating and a more generous age.

American authors have been forced to contend with the opposing interests of American publishers. There has been no inducement to purchase the manuscript of a native writer, when the work of a foreigner of established fame could be obtained without cost. The train of reasoning in the publisher's mind, which would lead him to reject the hazardous experiment of printing an unknown writer's maiden effort, or even of offering the proper equivalent for that of a native author, better known to the public, may readily be supposed, and is by no means unnatural. Under such a system, then, American literature has suffered deeply.

Other reasons for the depressed condition of letters in this country have been propounded, as well by our own writers as by foreigners. These have attributed the fact to the character of our government, — in other words, to free institutions, — and to the condition of our nation, which has necessarily made larger drafts upon the physical than upon the intellectual energies of the people. This latter circumstance has doubtless had its effect upon certain branches of literature. The call upon the great mass in this country to earn a livelihood by their own active exertions, has left but little leisure, heretofore, for the refinements of life ; and there are some departments of letters which are only cultivated in an advanced state of society. But we are not to forget, that it has ever been the characteristic of the highest grade in one of the most elevated walks of literature, epic poetry, to be developed in the infancy of society. The flame then seems to burn the brightest. The feeling of the bard appears nearer to nature. The energy of the epic would seem to be frittered away amid the refinements of a high social state. It is the grandeur and the strength of original conception which impart its peculiar value to epic verse. Homer sang, — who can say, how long ago ? — certainly in the infancy of Greece. Dante was the real father of his language. The first step in the progress of his beautiful tongue was to perfection. Milton is no example of the reverse. The revolution in England, and the introduction

of new dogmas in religion and politics, resolved society into its original elements. His subject, himself, and his times were primitive. The convulsion of the social fabric brought chaos again, and out of it, sprang forth a new world of thought and of feeling. Nature resumed her sway.

A late German traveller in this country, who has, unlike his tribe, erred only in being too partial, attributes much of our deficiency in this regard to the colonial vassalage in which we were held to England. He endeavours to prove, and he has partially succeeded, that the settled aim of the British government was to depress as well our minds as our physical greatness ; and that the effects of this course of policy endured long after our revolutionary war. His views, however, though generally correct, will not cover the whole ground. Sufficient time has elapsed, and circumstances powerful enough in themselves have occurred between the two countries, to neutralize, long ago, any constraint upon American talent arising from this source. And yet, we believe, the feeling has operated on us so far as to induce a looking to England for every thing great in literature, and to nourish a disregard of our own literary capabilities. It was never the case with us in other matters. No American, as he trod the field of combat, or walked the deck of one of his nation's battle-ships, ever experienced a sense of inferiority to the proudest of his race. On the contrary, true to his Anglo-Saxon blood, its possessor has ever felt, that with God's help, he would yield to no antagonist. But alas ! it has not been so in our appreciation of the literary capacities of America. We have by our own conduct given countenance and currency to the assertion of our intellectual inferiority.

What, then, directly results from these facts ? That with which foreigners have so often and so severely reproached us, the want of a national literature. This is a charge that may well excite the warm feelings of every American, and induce his eager attention to the causes of the evil and its correction.

No nation can be permanently great without a literature. Countries, like individuals, die to fame without a bard to sing of their deeds. Compare Babylon in all her wealth and Eastern magnificence, and with her millions of subjects, — enjoying every physical means to challenge security against the inroads of ages, — with that one city on the coast of Greece where Plato conversed and Demosthenes thundered. The

first would scarcely have left a name to excite the curiosity of the industrious antiquary, but that Sacred Writ has preserved her from oblivion as an awful memento of the ire of an offended God; while the Grecian city suggests at once the pleasing imagination of every thing that is exalted, refined, and ennobling.

Have we no materials from which to construct this most precious of national possessions? Are we to travel on in the pathway of time from youth to manhood, and thence perhaps to decay, with this humiliating confession on our lips? All foreigners do not judge thus of us. Even an English writer has said, "The great land of America must of course produce great poets and eminent men. With the deeds of their bold fathers before them; with their boundless forests and savannas swarming with anecdote of solitary adventure; with Niagara thundering in their ears, and the spirit of freedom hovering above them, it is clear that they do not lack material for song." Neither, let it be added, do we lack material for any other form of letters. Like Hamlet's flute, the music is there, if we knew but how to direct our breath into its hollow chamber. Are we deficient in materials of the most moving kind, for the drama, the romance, or even the epic poem? Such might be furnished in abundance from our colonial history, or the events of our war of Independence. But we have one grand theme peculiar to the country, entirely unique in character, of the deepest interest in itself, and which would readily supply subjects for every species of composition. We mean the Indian race, their habits, origin, progress, decay, and dissolution. There is a mystery around these unfortunate sons of the forest, which adds not a little of the sublime to our thoughts about them. Whence came they? is a question that often obtrudes itself upon the fancy. Are they the descendants of the scattered tribes of old Israel, vanished so marvellously from the page of history? Or are they the children of the doomed inhabitants of Canaan, whom the wrath of God drove from their homes on the shores of the Mediterranean, and who rested in their flight from their Hebrew conquerors, only in a new world across the great ocean? If so, alas! "tribes of the weary foot," your last days are no happier or better than your first. The remnant of your race may now look upon the broad Pacific, and beyond is that ancient country, where, of old, your fathers had their seats, and where, should you return, you might en-

counter your former terrible victors, strangers like youselves in the land of their ancestors. Imagination pleases itself in speculations about these red men; and at some future day, she will furnish us, we doubt not, in the higher regions of poesy, with efforts more honorable to our literature, because of loftier flight, than even those exciting and touching tales, in the humbler path of prose, trodden so successfully by our own Cooper.

Bryant has beautifully said;

> "A noble race! but they are gone
> With their old forests, wide and deep,
> And we have built our homes upon
> Fields, where their generations sleep;
> Their fountains slake our thirst at noon,
> Upon their fields our harvest waves,
> Our lovers woo beneath their moon,
> Ah! let us spare, at least, their graves."

Themes, indeed, are not wanting,—neither, we are persuaded, is the ability or the inclination to handle them. We need but to be true to ourselves; to foster and protect our own men of letters; not drive them for support or encouragement, to the protection of strangers.

ART. VI. — 1.

南越洋合字彙

or 南越海合字彙;

Nam Viet Duong Hiep Tu Vi; i. e. Dictionarium Anamitico-Latinum primitùs inceptum ab Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo P. J. Pigneaux, Episcopo Adranensi, Vicario Apostolico Cocincinæ, etc.; dein absolutum et editum à J. L. Taberd, Episcopo Isauropolitano, Vicario Apostolico Cocincinæ, Cambodiæ et Ciampæ, Asiaticæ Societatis Parisiensis, nec non Bengalensis Socio Hono-

rario. Fredericnagori, vulgò, Serampore, 1838. Ex Typis J. C. Marshman. 4to. pp. xlvi. 722 and 128.

[A Dictionary of the ANAMITIC Language (Cochin-Chinese,) with Latin explanations; the native words being given in the Chinese character, and in Roman letters also.]

2. *Dictionarium Latino-Anamiticum; auctore J. L. Taberd, Episcopo Isauropolitano*, etc.

[A Reversed Dictionary, Latin and Cochin-Chinese, in the Roman character; to which are added a copious Vocabulary, and Dialogues in French, English, Latin, and Cochin-Chinese, with tables of Numerals, Weights, Measures, Money, Division of Time, &c.; with a new and large Map of the Kingdom of Anam, by the Author of the Dictionary.] 4to. pp. lxxxviii. 708 and 135. Serampore, 1838.

IN a former number of this Journal* we gave some account of the important work of our distinguished philologist, Mr. Du Ponceau, on the "Nature and Character of the Chinese Writing"; and we exhibited, as far as our limits would permit, his new and striking views of that subject; views, which were first briefly explained in his letter to Captain Basil Hall, in the year 1828, and were altogether at variance with the mystical theories hitherto entertained by the Sinologists of Europe.

We ventured to say on that occasion, that Mr. Du Ponceau's able work was one of the most remarkable publications of the age; and, being well aware of the natural repugnance which all men feel to changing, or even reëxamining long-cherished opinions, however erroneous, we have had no little curiosity to observe, in what manner that work would be received by European scholars. Knowing the force of the opinions, which have been maintained by them for more than two centuries, respecting the language of the singular people of the "Celestial Empire," we were prepared for at least a total dissent from the doctrines of our learned author, if not a positive and direct attempt to refute them. But, though the volume has now been published three years, and many copies have been distributed in France and England, we have not been able to find any review, or notice of it, published in

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 271 *et seq.*

either of those countries, till the close of the last year; when we saw announced in the Contents of that long-established and able Journal, the London "Monthly Review," for December, 1840, an article expressly upon this work. Expecting, as we have just observed, to find an unqualified dissent from Mr. Du Ponceau's doctrines, we felt no little impatience to see the article itself, which we had understood to be highly commendatory of Mr. Du Ponceau's work, and in perfect coincidence with his views. Upon opening the London Journal, what was our astonishment to find, at the first glance, that the review was taken from our own article; and, upon a closer comparison, to discover, that, with the exception of a few paragraphs, (which in their original form had American badges attached to them), *the entire London article was a reprint, without any acknowledgment, from our own pages.*

Every reader will make his own reflections upon this act of literary piracy, and mete out the proper measure of justice to the offender. For our part, we do not place so high a value upon our own labors, as to trouble ourselves about the wrong done to us personally; we are not displeased to see American opinions, on questions of literature and science, making their way among English scholars, in the commerce of knowledge, whether openly as lawful goods, or clandestinely as articles of contraband, under the disguise of English marks and numbers. The fact of their introduction, whether secretly or publicly, proves that there is a demand for them; and this should, for the present, satisfy us.

From France, where Chinese studies are prosecuted with more zeal and interest than in England, we had been long hoping to see a thoroughly critical examination of Mr. Du Ponceau's work; but the Sinologists of Paris still observe silence. From what cause does this proceed? It cannot be from their ignorance of the existence of the work, for copies of it were sent as early as June, 1838, to various individuals and learned Societies in Paris; and, if the scholars of France were not in the way of knowing the fact in any other mode, they could not avoid seeing it regularly advertised, among other important works, on the covers of their "Journal Asiatique," published every month, under the patronage of the Asiatic Society of Paris. The same number of that periodical which had one of these advertisements (in February, 1840,) contained also a review of the Cochin-Chinese Dictionary of Bishop Taberd, the title of which

is at the head of this article ; but no allusion whatever is made to Mr. Du Ponceau's labors in this department of philology. In the same journal, too, for August, 1840, we observe the Annual Report, by M. Jules Mohl, "on the Progress of Asiatic Knowledge" giving a cursory review of the works which have appeared on that subject since the year 1829, and including the Cochin-Chinese language ; under which head he notices Taberd's Dictionary, but observes a profound silence in respect to Mr. Du Ponceau's able work, notwithstanding it contained two Vocabularies of the same language ; the first, we believe, ever published, and which an eminent French orientalist had, several years before, considered to be of so great value, that he requested permission to print them in Paris. How, then, are we to account for the silence, which has been so long observed in France, in regard to our learned countryman ? who, we may add, is also well known to them as a member of their own National Institute. Are his new views unsound ? Let them be exposed. If sound, let the truth be magnanimously acknowledged, from whatever quarter it comes, and however unpalatable it may be to make the avowal. That this silence is the silence of contempt, we will not for a moment believe.

In our account of Mr. Du Ponceau's work, we stated, that the circumstance which led to its publication was, the receipt of the two manuscript vocabularies of the Cochin-Chinese language above mentioned, belonging to the valuable collection of that excellent establishment, the East India Marine Society, at Salem, in this State ; to which association they had been presented by the late Captain John White, of the American Navy, whose "Voyage to the China Sea" is known to every reader, and who had thus rendered a most important service to the literature of his country ; while he had set an honorable example, which we hoped would be followed by such of his brother officers, as might have an opportunity of aiding their countrymen in literary and scientific researches. The value of these two Cochin-Chinese manuscripts at that period may be judged of by the fact, already stated, that they had been requested for publication by some of the orientalists of France, who were ambitious of being the first publishers of them ; there having been no similar work published on the language at that period, so far as we are informed, either in Europe or Asia.

Those persons, who have not had occasion to reflect upon the value of particular facts, or cases, in philological researches, may be ready to ask, why so great importance is attached to publications on the Cochin-Chinese, or, more accurately speaking, the *Anamitic* language. We answer, in the words of Mr. Du Ponceau;

"The languages of Tonquin and Cochin-China, and, in general, the Ultra-Gangetic idioms, are very little known in Europe, and even in British India. The Tonquinese and Cochin-Chinese are sister languages to the *Chinese*, which they not only resemble in the derivation of their words, but in their monosyllabic character and grammatical structure; and their *graphic* system is evidently borrowed from that of China. *A comparison of those languages, therefore*, as spoken, and written, is a subject of considerable interest."*

These considerations led that learned writer to avail himself of all the aid afforded by the two manuscripts above mentioned, for making such a comparison of the Cochin-Chinese language with that of China; and by that means obtaining further views of the real structure and character of the latter. For the results obtained by his able investigation, and which, as before observed, are at variance with the received opinions among European scholars, we must refer the reader to our former article; though we shall make occasional reference to them in the course of our remarks upon the volumes before us. We only take occasion here to observe, that the facts stated by M. Taberd in his Dictionary, after a residence of thirteen years in Cochin-China, and sixteen years devoted to his work, abundantly corroborate the views taken by Mr. Du Ponceau.

That able philologist had observed, in respect to the language of China;

"I have never been able to bring my mind to concur in the opinion so generally entertained, that the characters which the Chinese employ in their writing, and of which the Cochin-Chinese and other nations also make use, are what is called *ideographic*, that is to say, that they present to the mind *ideas* unconnected with *vocal sounds*, so as to make what is called an ocular language, of which words are only the *pronunciation;* and, consequently, (for the consequence appears to me

* *Dissertation on the Chinese System of Writing*, pp. 1, 2.

necessarily to follow,) that it is a system of *pasigraphy*, to be read alike in all languages; which absurd consequence appears now to be abandoned by philologists. But the fact of the Chinese characters being read and understood by the Cochin-Chinese, Japanese, and other nations speaking different languages and ignorant of that of China, is to this moment asserted by missionaries, travellers, and even learned philologists in Asia and Europe; so that logic is forced to yield to the weight of authority."

The learned author adds, that the two Cochin-Chinese manuscripts of the Salem East India Marine Society, will, he hopes, go a great way towards deciding this question; and he then enters upon a course of reasoning to show, as he does conclusively, that the assumed fact just mentioned, is *not a fact;* and, consequently, that the whole of the ingenious theory, which "learned philologists" have built upon it, is so far demolished. It will not be uninteresting to see, how entirely the facts stated by the editor of the present copious Dictionary establish the conclusions, which Mr. Du Ponceau's sagacity had arrived at by the help of his comparatively slender materials. M. Taberd gives a summary view of the essential facts in question, in the Preface to his Dictionary;

"It is now incumbent upon me to give a brief account of the Anamitic characters and language. There is no doubt, that the Anamitic language had its origin in the *Chinese;* for their characters not only have a great affinity to those of the Chinese, but are borrowed, some of them entirely, and others in certain parts, from them. But the *characters*, or *hieroglyphics* of each nation have undergone so great a change, that the two people *do not understand* each other either *in reading or speaking*. Those who are of respectable families, indeed, study the Chinese characters; for those characters are in use in Anam, both in their laws and in legal proceedings, and some other cases. Those whose aim is high, or who are eager for offices and honors, are obliged to apply themselves with all their zeal and energy to the study of the Chinese characters; and by writing these characters, *they* can converse with the Chinese; but the *pronunciation* of the two nations is so different, that they could not otherwise hold any communication with each other. Hence *two* languages are used in Cochin-China; namely, the language of the learned, that is, Chinese, and the vernacular or common language, which is in use with everybody, and of which I am now about to treat."

Thus we see demolished, at once, a fundamental fact in the old argument used by European scholars to prove the identity and *ideographic* nature of the *written* languages of China and Cochin-China. Mr. Du Ponceau had said, after an examination of the two little vocabularies already mentioned;

"*I cannot resist the conviction* that forces itself upon me, that the inhabitants of Anam [Cochin-China, &c.] *cannot read Chinese books*, or converse in writing with others than their countrymen by means of the Chinese characters, except to a very limited extent, *unless they have made a special study* of those characters as applied to a different language than their own; or, in other words, *unless they have learned Chinese.*"*

So says also the learned Bishop Taberd, in the quotation above given from his Dictionary.

Again. Mr. Du Ponceau had remarked;

"In adopting the Chinese characters, the Cochin-Chinese appear frequently to have paid more attention to the *sound* than to the *meaning* of the Chinese words, to which the characters belong. Thus, the character, *san*, which in Chinese means *drizzling rain*, is applied in Cochin-Chinese to the word *sam*, thunder; the character *chouang*, white frost, to *suong*, the dew; *kin*, metal, to *kim*, a needle, &c." . . This shows, he adds, "how natural it is to consider written characters as representative of sound. This, I am well aware, will hardly be credited by those Sinologists, who consider ideas to be inseparably inherent in the Chinese characters. The learned M. Jacquet, to whom I communicated some of these examples, appears to consider those anomalies as resulting from the addition or subtraction of some strokes in the running hand of the Cochin-Chinese, so that the characters might always be found to be bad imitations of some, which have in Chinese the same meaning as in Cochin-Chinese; he, however, candidly acknowledges, 'que c'est plutôt trancher la difficulté que la résoudre'; in which I entirely agree with him."†

Now upon this point, the adoption of Chinese characters by the Cochin-Chinese, let us see how entirely Bishop Taberd harmonizes with Mr. Du Ponceau.

"The common language [of the Cochin-Chinese] is, indeed, written in Chinese characters; but it often happens, that those

* *Dissertation*, Introduction, p. xxvii. † Ibid. p. xxvi.

characters do not retain either the *pronunciation* or the *meaning* which they have in Chinese. Some of them sometimes retain the Chinese *signification*, but have a different pronunciation; as, for example, 人, *man*, is pronounced by the Chinese, *jin*, and by some *jen*, but by the Anamese, *nho'n*.* Others, again, tenaciously keep the *pronunciation* alone; as 吒, *cha*, which is also pronounced *cha* by the Chinese, but does not *mean* the same thing, for in Chinese it means *to be angry*, and in Anamese it signifies *father*. Again; some of their characters retain very *nearly* the same *pronunciation and meaning* as in Chinese, but have, in addition, a meaning and pronunciation very different from that language; as 明, *bright*, or *brilliant*, is pronounced by the Anamese, *minh*, and by the Chinese *ming* or *mim*, (according to the varying orthography of Europeans,) and means *bright* or *brilliant*, as used by both nations; but this same character is further used by the Anamese for *mâng* or *mùng*, to *congratulate* and *congratulation;* and hence its meaning and pronunciation can only be known by the context and structure of the expression. If, for instance, they write 明鏡, *minh kinh*, a mirror, the word *kinh* being placed after the word *minh*, sufficiently indicates, that its original pronunciation and meaning are to be preserved; but, if in a letter, for example, they should write 敬明, then usage and custom require, that they should understand, that the meaning and pronunciation are not *kinh minh*, but *kinh mùng*, a *salutation of respect and congratulation*. It often happens, also, that two characters are used together to write one Anamitic word; and those characters we call properly and truly Anamitic, as being so employed to indicate a certain word or pronunciation used by the nation; these characters we have distinguished by an asterisk in the table of *Keys* at the end of this Dictionary. Of these two characters, one designates the *signification* of the word, and the other, its *pronunciation*. . . There is great irregularity in the use of the characters which the Cochin-Chinese apply to determining the *pronunciation* of compounded words. For, when they use Chinese characters in writing their own language, they almost always pronounce

* The orthography here is taken from the Portuguese language, in which the letters *nh* have the sound of the Italian *gn*.

them differently from the Chinese ; and the same character is often pronounced in four or five different ways, according as it expresses different things, or is applied to different objects. For example, 吝, *lan*, is used for the Latin *tenax*, *avarus*, in their pronunciation, and according to Chinese usage, though the Chinese pronunciation is *lin*. Now the same character is used by the Anamese for the Latin words *decipere*, *superare*, *vices*, &c.... Further ; since there are in the Chinese language many characters having the same pronunciation, it frequently happens, that two Anamese will not use the same characters to express the same sound, or, the same writer will sometimes use one of such characters, and sometimes another of them, for that sound ; . . . indè opus, indè labor."*

We now proceed more immediately to the Dictionaries before us.

Until the publication of the two Vocabularies annexed to the work of Mr. Du Ponceau, very little attention had been given by scholars to the Cochin-Chinese (or, as more accurately designated by the generic name, the *Anamitic*) language ; under which latter term is included the language of Tonquin (or *Tonkin*) as well as that of Cochin-China.† According to Bishop Taberd, it is not only the language of the two last-mentioned kingdoms, but is also spoken by many, and understood by more, in the neighbouring countries of Cambodia (Camboja) Laos, Siam, and Ciampa (Champa), into which regions it extended itself by the common means of wars and conquests. At the close of the fifteenth century, the king of Tonquin occupied certain provinces bordering upon his territory, but subject to the sovereign of Champa. In the sixteenth century, a Tonquinese family, called *Nguyên*, having deserved well of their sovereign, obtained from him the office or dignity of *Chúa*, that is, Lord, or *Viceroy ;* the rank of *Vua*, or king, being reserved for the sovereign himself. The government of the two provinces taken from the king of Champa was given to the family of the Chua *Nguyên*. In the same century, that family threw off the yoke of the king of Tonquin ; and thence sprung the kingdom of Cochin-China, called by the natives *An Nam*, or Peace of the

* *Dictionarium Anamitico-Latinum* Pref. pp. i, ii.

† In White's *Voyage* the name of the language and the country is incorrectly written *Onam* instead of *Anam*, or *Annam*.

South. The name of *Cochin-China* was given to it by the Portuguese, in order to distinguish it from *Cochin* on the Malabar coast. It has various names among the natives, as *Nam Viêt*, or *Viêt Nam*, that is, *South Viêt*, and *Dai Viêt*, that is, *Great Viêt*. After various rebellions and revolutions, the government was at length recovered by the family of the original sovereign, who took the title of *Emperor*, and who was succeeded in 1820 by one of his sons, the present emperor, *Minh Mang* (or *Mingming*, as some write it), that is, "Illustrious Fortune." With this sovereign, we may add, by the way, that the United States lately attempted, but without success, to establish diplomatic relations ; of which some account is given in the Voyage of the sloop-of-war Peacock, under the command of Captain Geisinger. This emperor, however, is represented as being more disposed than his predecessor to cultivate intercourse with foreign nations ; and he has, it is said, reduced the duties on foreign ships resorting to his ports.* So that, through this channel, as well as by our missionaries, we may expect at some future day to obtain more precise information of this almost unknown region and its inhabitants.

The Cochin-Chinese language is, as Mr. Du Ponceau observes, a sister language to the Chinese ; and Bishop Taberd remarks, that there can be no doubt, that it is derived from that origin. The derivation of words, the monosyllabic character and grammatical structure, and the graphic system, are evidently borrowed from the Chinese. To those persons, therefore, who take an interest in these inquiries, a brief account of the *Cochin-Chinese* language will serve the further purpose of communicating some information respecting the general character of the *Chinese* also.

European grammarians have, as was natural, endeavoured to arrange all languages, however differing in idiom and other particulars, under the same classification of parts of speech and inflections with the Latin, from which we derived our rules of grammar. The author of the present Dictionary accordingly adopts the usual arrangement ; but under each class he points out in what respects the part of speech in question differs from the corresponding one in the European languages.

* *Chinese Repository*, for April, 1837, p. 456.

The Anamitic language, of course, has proper and common *nouns;* but nouns are also formed from adjectives by an affix, *su*, a thing; as from *lanh*, good, entire, they have the noun *su-lanh*, goodness, entireness, &c.

Genders are not designated by any inflections of the noun, but the sexes are distinguished by certain auxiliary words; as, in the human race, the word *trai* denotes the male, and *gai*, the female; in speaking of animals, generally, the words *duc* and *cai* are used for the same purpose; as *bo duc*, a bullock, *bo cai*, a cow; while the sexes of birds are again distinguished by the words *tróng* and *mái*, as, *gà tróng* a cock, *gà mái*, a hen. But to the names both of rational and brute animals, they usually prefix the word *con*, equivalent to son, daughter, offspring, little one, &c.; thus the word *con trai* means a son, or male offspring; *con gái*, a daughter, or female offspring; *con gà mái*, a hen, *con cá*, a fish. They continually use the word *cai* also before the names of material and artificial things; as, *cái ban*, a table, *cái hom*, a bow, &c.

The *numbers* of nouns are formed by adding certain words, *chúng*, *nhúng*, *cac*, *pho*, &c. Example; *toi*, I, *chúng-toi*, we; *no*, he, *chúng-nó*, they; *nhúng-ke*, all who; *phô-ông*, lords, &c.

Cases are not known in this, as in the Latin language; the noun, in what we should call the nominative case, always precedes *active* verbs, but sometimes follows those verbs which we designate as passives or neuters. Thus, *toi day con* signifies, I teach the son; but if the order should be inverted, *con day toi*, the phrase would mean, *the son teaches me*. The relation, which we should denominate the *genitive* case is determined by juxta-position, it being always the *last* of the two nouns which come together; as *cha con*, the father of the son; but if we say, *con cha*, then it means the son of the father; *chu nha*, the master of the house; *nha chu*, the house of the master, &c. The *dative* case is generally distinguished by the word *cho* placed before the noun; as *cho nguòi*, to any one. The *accusative* commonly follows the verb; but there is no certain rule for this. The *vocative* is expressed either by the word *o* or *a*, or by prefixing the title of the person called upon; as, for example, with a pronoun we should say, *O Chúa tôi*, O my God! The *ablative* is determined by certain prepositions.

Adjectives are commonly placed after the noun; *cua tốt*, a

beautiful thing ; *cua xâ'u*,* a bad thing. The comparative degree is expressed by subjoining the word *hon*, more ; as, *tôt*, beautiful, *tôt hon*, more beautiful ; and the superlative degree, by the words *lam*, or *rat*, and others ; as, *tot lam*, *rat tot*, most or very beautiful.

Pronouns. Toi, I ; *may*, thou ; *no*, he ; *chung-toi*, we ; *chung-bay*, ye ; *chung-no*, they. But politeness rarely allows the use of these. In the *first* person, the king uses the word *trâm ;* superiors use the word *tao*, *ta*, *min ;* inferiors, generally, the word *toi*, a servant. In the *second* person, among equals, the word *anh*, brother, is used ; to a superior, *ong*, lord, or, *nguoi* or *ngai*, person. In the *third* person they seldom use *nó*, he, that one, except contemptuously, or when the person speaking is much superior to the person addressed ; it is more proper to say *ong ay*, the lord, *nguoi ay*, the person, or *anh ay*, the brother.

Possessive pronouns are expressed either by the word *minh* which signifies *his* or *thine*, or by the annexation of the personal pronouns to the noun.

The *demonstrative* pronouns *this* and *that* are expressed by the word *nay ;* as, *cua nay*, this or that thing.

The *relative* is denoted by *la-ke*, *ke*, *la-su*, or by the common word *thuoc ve*, to belong to ; as, *anh la ke da noi*, it is the brother who spoke. But if a superior, as God, or the king, is referred to, then *ke* cannot be used, but we must substitute *dâng* or *dúng*, &c.

The *Verb.* There is, properly speaking, no *conjugation* of the verb ; but by means of certain particles, they designate three principal times or *tenses.* Thus, the word *mên*, signifies to love, and *toi mên*, I love ; and by adding the word *da*, already, now, the preterite is formed ; as, *toi da men*, I have loved, or, I loved. The particle *se* denotes the future ; as, *toi se men*, I shall love.

The particle *hay*, before the verb, and sometimes *di* after it, denote the *imperative mode ;* as, *hay lam*, do thou ; *lay di*, take thou.

Other *tenses* may be formed by means of different particles.

In order to express the *subjunctive* mode, they use *cho chi*, I would that (*utinam*).

The *infinitive* is indicated by the simple verb ; as, *men*, to love.

* The *x* in this and other words is a soft *sh*.

It should be observed, that the verb *to be* is most commonly not expressed, but understood.

The *participle*, for instance, the present, *loving*, is rendered as a substantive, *a lover*, *ke men*.

Certain forms of expression may be used for a *passive* voice; but it is more conformable to the idiom of the language, to change the phrase into the *active* form; thus, instead of saying, *I am loved by God*, to say, *God loves me*.

Adverbs are numerous, to denote quantity, place, time, &c.

The *prepositions* correspond substantially to those of the Latin language; and *conjunctions* are also used to couple words and phrases. *Interjections* are numerous.

It is worthy of particular notice, that *abstract* forms of speaking are not according to the genius of the language; but the *concrete* form is more used, as is the case in the languages of the American Indians. For instance; to express the act of *carrying;* if on the head, the word is *doi;* if under the arm, *cap nach;* if in the hands, *bung;* if on the shoulders, *vac*, &c. So in expressing the act of *eating*, to eat rice, when spoken of a common person, would be *an com;* of a superior, or of a mandarin *thi com;* of princes and nobles, *xoi com;* and whatever the king does, whether to eat, drink, go out, come in, &c., is expressed by the particle *ngu;* for example, the king drinks tea, *Vua ngu tra;* the king approves, *ngu che;* the king speaks, *ngu phan*, &c.

Thus far we have considered the written language of Cochin-China; but we cannot omit a brief notice of the spoken language. In doing this we shall proceed upon the hypothesis of Mr. Du Ponceau; that the written characters in this, and its kindred language, the Chinese, whatever may have been their origin, are now merely the representatives of the oral language, or of words, and not of the ideas without reference to the words; just as is the case in the languages of Europe, and in all others where a written character is known. And in this connexion we cannot but advert to a remark of the eminent scholar, whom we have before cited, M. Bazin, in his Notice of the Dictionaries under consideration. That learned writer says;

"M. Taberd discloses to us also the existence of *two* languages in Cochin-China, the one a learned, and the other a common or vulgar language. It is known, that *this phenomenon has existed in China from time immemorial;* the Chinese have a learned language, a *conventional* idiom, it is true, and *which has*

never been spoken ; but, besides that, a common or vulgar language, which is in many respects admirable, but of which the pedagogues of China never speak except with a contemptuous hauteur ; so difficult is it to get rid of old habits." *

We have read this remark many times over, in order to be sure that we understand the learned writer ; but, after much reflection, we can discover no other meaning than the obvious and common import of the expression. Can it be possible, then, that the Chinese or any other nation, have a language, "a conventional idiom" *which has never been spoken* ; in other words, a language *which could not be read aloud?* Assuredly, there must be some misconception here ; we do not find that M. Taberd has described the learned and vulgar languages of Cochin-China in the manner here supposed ; and such a written language cannot exist among any people, unless we may consider the deaf and dumb as an exception ; but they only adopt a written language which would be spoken by them, as well as by others, if nature had not denied them the use of the organs of speech. If such a *written* "conventional idiom" does exist, formed without any reference to *spoken* language, we approach very nearly to the conclusion, which no Sinologist, we believe, has been hardy enough directly to maintain, that written language existed before oral. It is true, however, as Mr. Du Ponceau observes, in his letter to Captain Basil Hall, that some Sinologists "affect to call the monosyllabic *words* of the Chinese language the *pronunciation* of the characters, which leads to the direct inference, that the words were made for the signs, and not these for the words. A justly celebrated French Sinologist, M. Abel Rémusat, does not indeed believe, that a language was *invented* to suit the written characters after they were formed ; but he supposes, that some then existing popular idiom was *adopted* to serve as a *pronunciation* to the graphic signs.†" "One step more," adds Mr. Du Ponceau, "and hardly that, and written characters must have been invented before men learned to speak."

The language of Cochin-China, (like that of China,) is pronounced with more of a musical intonation, than is used in the European languages ; though even to these last, the

* *Journal Asiatique*, for February, 1840.

"† *Mélanges Asiatiques*, Vol. II. p. 52."

old observation of Cicero may be applied ; " Est in dicendo etiam quidam cantus obscurior."* This, to the ear of an European, gives to their spoken language, in some degree, the character of *chant* or *singing*, which, as Captain White used to say, resembled the recitative of the Italian opera. Father Morrone, in one of the vocabularies which he presented to Captain White, makes the following remarks on this point ;

" When the Cochin-Chinese speak, *they sing ;* and they have *six tones* in their pronunciation. The marks of the tones are five ; that is, a, $\hat{a}$, $\acute{a}$, a^2, $\tilde{a}$; the first of the tones has no distinguishing mark ; for it is, as it were, the fundamental tone, (or key note,) of the others, and upon the greater or less elevation of the voice on this tone, depends that of all the others."

We stop here a moment, to notice a remark made upon the *tones* by M. de la Palun, the late French Consul in Virginia, who was a pupil of Abel Rémusat in the study of Chinese, and to whom we are deeply indebted for the aid, which he so obligingly rendered to Mr. Du Ponceau, in making a comparison of the Cochin-Chinese words of Morrone's Vocabulary, with the corresponding characters in the *Chinese* language. That gentleman observes, " We can hardly believe the Cochin-Chinese have *six* tones." † The assertion of Morrone, however, we now find is supported by Bishop Taberd, who expressly states the same thing ; Quinque numerantur sonorum signa . . . quando nullum ponitur signum, tunc vox dicitur *plana ;* unde quinque sunt signa, *sex* vero toni." ‡

Father Morrone then attempts an exemplification of the tones by means of musical notes ; which, however, M. de la Palun purposely omitted to publish with the rest of the manuscript, because, as he asserts, " it has been long since demonstrated, that those notes cannot represent the pronunciation of any language, and that it is in vain that missionaries have endeavoured to show an analogy between two systems that have nothing in common between them."

But, if musical notes cannot represent the " pronunciation " of a language, may they not be used to denote the relative

* *Orator ad Brut.* xviii.

† *Prelim. Observations in Du Ponceau's Dissertat.* p. 141.

‡ *Dictionarium Anamitico-Latinum in Proœmio*, p. 6.

pitch of the tones used in speaking any language? If there is a difference of pitch, for example, between the voices of a man and a woman, or a child, which everybody perceives, — if, again, there is among men, a difference between a base and a tenor voice, and among women, a distinction between a contralto and a soprano, — most clearly these differences may be designated in speech as in singing, by some visible marks; and probably no species of notation will be found more convenient for denoting them in speaking, than that which is used in music; as will be apparent from the use constantly made of it in the Italian opera. But, without meaning to enter into an argument on this point, we have thought that Father Morrone's Musical Exemplification of the tones in Cochin-Chinese, as being the first that has been known in modern times, out of Asia, will be somewhat of a curiosity, and at the same time will supply a deficiency existing in the printed edition of his Vocabulary; and we accordingly here subjoin it, from the original manuscript;

Tôi u'o'é-ao Chu - - tàu tro - vê nhà min'h cho khoe
Je souhaite, que le Capitaine s'en retourne en sa maison avec très bonne
manh. Duc Chúa Tro'ì o' cùng ông, cung o' cùng cáe an
santé. Le bon Dieu soit avec Monsieur, et avec tous ses com-
h'uu mình kháp' moi no'i hoaì hoaì — Nghi.
pagnons par tout, et à jamais — Adieu.

From this sketch of the language of Cochin-China it will be at once perceived, that it has the common characteristics of the Chinese and other monosyllabic languages of the East; as, the use of the same word for a verb, noun, or adjective at pleasure; and the absence of all inflections, which renders

it the more necessary to resort to the juxtaposition of words in order to determine their meaning in a sentence. In our own language, indeed, this takes place in a very remarkable degree; and though we are not accustomed to observe it ourselves, it does not escape the notice of foreigners. The late eminent philologist, Baron William Humboldt, says, that in some of our modern languages, especially in English, phrases of considerable length may be constructed "which are perfectly Chinese."* This remark may be illustrated by an example given in Dr. Marshman's valuable Chinese Grammar, where the author observes that the word *sound*, if it follows an article, is a substantive, *a sound;* if it follows a personal pronoun, it becomes a verb neuter, as *I sound*, *they sound*, or, with an object, an *active* or causal verb, *they sound the bell;* or, if placed between an article and a substantive, it becomes an adjective, as *a sound vessel.* So much does the meaning and grammatical character of words in English, as well as in Chinese and Cochin-Chinese (to say nothing of some other languages), depend upon their juxtaposition.

The truth is, as we remarked in a former article, that the people of all nations, Europeans as well as Chinese, utter themselves, not in single syllables, or words, as we usually call them, but in whole sentences, or masses of vocal sounds, the portions of which sentences or masses are arranged in different orders, with or without inflections, as the case may be, and according to the idea intended to be conveyed by the entire sentence taken as an integral expression of thought; and each sentence may, in a certain sense, be called a word, whether it consists of one syllable or of many. Such is human speech by nature; and the analyzing of each sentence into single words, and each word into syllables and elementary sounds, is an artificial process of the grammarians, who philosophize upon the constituent parts of human speech, as the anatomist does upon the component parts of the human body. In numberless instances, too, this analysis of sentences is wholly insensible to the ear, and can only be perceived by the eye, when the sentence is expressed *in writing*. The very name of the country, whose language is the subject of these remarks, is written sometimes in two words, *Cochin-*

* *Lettre à M. Abel Rémusat*, p. 16.

China, and sometimes in one, *Cochinchina ;* and if a person in reading to another should meet with such words as *something*, *sometimes*, *welcome*, *welfare*, and numberless other compounds of this sort, the hearer could no more determine by his ear alone, that those were single words, than he could, that *some one*, *some day*, *well made*, &c., were not single words. Hence the common remark of persons who are learning a foreign language, that even after they can read it, they cannot understand it when spoken, because they cannot tell where one word ends and the next begins. But, for the further developement of these views, we are obliged to refer the reader to our former article.*

We cannot dismiss this subject without adverting to the learned "Critique Littéraire," or Notice, of Bishop Taberd's Cochin-Chinese Dictionaries, published in the "Journal Asiatique" for February, 1840, by M. Bazin, the elder, an eminent French Sinologist, the translator of the "Chinese Theatre," and a professor of Chinese in the "Écoles des Langues Orientales," at Paris. We had hoped to find in this Notice, some discussion of the true character of the Chinese and kindred languages, with some allusion, at least, to Mr. Du Ponceau's work ; but we have been disappointed. The Notice is very brief, probably for want of time amidst the onerous duties of a professorship, which must require unremitting attention. We observe, however, that M. Bazin proceeds upon the received opinion, that this and the Chinese languages are *ideographic*. He says ;

"The Cochin-Chinese, in writing, make use of *ideographic* characters, which at the first glance we might take for Chinese, but which so far differ from them, that the Chinese and Cochin-Chinese *hardly understand each other* better by *writing* than by *speaking*. Not that the external form of the characters, of which the Chinese and Cochin-Chinese systems of writing are composed, has experienced the slightest alteration ; but the difference consists in this, that the Cochin-Chinese [Anamitic] characters present particular combinations of images, or associations, which do not exist in the Chinese writing."†

There can be no doubt, that the written characters of the Cochin-Chinese do in fact present, or call up in the mind, combinations of images, or associations, which do not exist

* *North American Review*, No. CII. pp. 291 *et seq.*
† *Journal Asiatique*, No. L. Fevrier, 1840, p. 139.

in Chinese writing; but, if Mr. Du Ponceau's views are just, this is not because those written characters are *ideographic*, but because they are the representatives of *spoken words* which do not exist in Chinese. And to expect a Chinese to understand a Cochin-Chinese, because the latter use written characters substantially resembling those of the former, would be not altogether unlike making the inference, that a Frenchman and an Englishman must understand each other's language, because they both employ the same Roman characters in writing it. *

M. Bazin further observes, that

"Generally there prevails great confusion in the use which the Anamese make of the Chinese characters. It is not uncommon for one character to be pronounced in four, or even five different modes, according to the idea which it expresses, or the graphic sign which it accompanies; . . . . and M. Taberd has much reason to say, *inde opus, inde labor.*"

How great the difficulties are in Cochin-Chinese, from the cause here mentioned, compared with the difficulties occurring in the study of other languages, we will not undertake to say; but we cannot help thinking, that in regard to the Chinese family, they have been much magnified by the mystery which has so long enveloped it. On this last point, the *pro-*

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* In tracing the history of the Chinese characters, we have been surprised at a statement of the late M. De Guignes in respect to his authorities. In his Preface to the great Chinese Dictionary of Father Basil de Glemona, which was translated and published by M. De Guignes, (as well as he could, under the peremptory orders of Napoleon to complete it in three years!) and which goes under his name, he has the following remark; "'It is useless,' says Father *Ko*, 'to inquire what was the origin of the Chinese characters,' &c.; . . . . and Father *Cibot* adds, that 'we cannot pronounce any thing with clearness or precision on the origin and invention of the characters,'" &c. Upon which M. De Guignes gravely observes; "After this decision by *two* learned missionaries, the first of whom, a *Chinese by birth*, was able to ransack all their books in order to establish a fact so interesting to the glory of his nation, it would be a vain undertaking for any European to attempt to determine at what period the Chinese characters were invented," &c.

This reference of M. De Guignes to Father *Ko* and Father *Cibot*, as two different missionaries, and the former "*a Chinese by birth*," surprised and amused us. We had always taken it to be a known fact in literary history, that *Ko* and *Cibot* were names of the same man, the name of *Ko* having been assumed by Father *Cibot*, a French missionary at Pekin. It is so stated by Mr. Du Ponceau (Dissertation, p. 8); and even the passage quoted by M. De Guignes, shows him to be a Frenchman. No *Chinese* Father *Ko* was ever known to have been in France; and in China he could never have learned French so well; his style is not at all Chinese.

nunciation of the same character in several different ways, it is obvious, that a similar embarrassment exists, to a greater or less degree, in other languages. In English, every one of the elementary characters, which we call vowels, has more than one sound, and some of them have four or five, without any discriminating mark to guide the reader ; and in regard to entire words, it may be observed, for example, that in one large class of them there is an established difference of accentuation, that is, of pronunciation, which makes the same word (or *character*, as they would say in Chinese) take the signification of a noun, or verb, as the case may be. On the other hand, there are numerous instances in the European languages, where, as in Chinese, the same pronunciation is given to different words, or characters ; Mr. Du Ponceau has given examples of them in the English words *fain*, *fane*, and *feign*, and in the French words *cens*, *cent*, *sang*, *sans*, *sens*, *sent*.

We have extended our remarks upon the general subject of Chinese studies, from a desire to remove in some degree the mystery which has so long surrounded them, and to convince the zealous student in philology of the truth of the assertion of M. Rémusat, that the Chinese language " may be learned like any other, *and does not require any greater effort of attention or memory.*" *

On the particular subject of the *Cochin-Chinese* language we will only add, that the French newspapers inform us, that there are now in Paris two natives of Cochin-China, who are the lions of the day ; and, from the stimulus given by their presence in the circle of French Sinologists, we may expect further discussions and developements than we have yet had in their literary journals.

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* *Preface* to *Chinese Grammar.*

ART. VII. — 1. *North American Boundary. Part* 2. *Correspondence relating to the Boundary between the British Possessions in North America, and the United States of America, under the Treaty of* 1783. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. July, 1840. London: T. R. Harrison. Folio. pp. 57 and Appendix.

2. *The Right of the United States of America to the Northeastern Boundary claimed by them. Principally extracted from the Statements laid before the King of the Netherlands, and revised* by ALBERT GALLATIN, with an Appendix and eight Maps. New York: Samuel Adams. 1840. 8vo. pp. 179.

IT has been our province already, many times, to call public attention to the difficulty existing between the Government of Great Britain and that of the United States, on the subject of the Northeastern Boundary; we fear, that, to judge by the present prospect, it may be our duty to do so many times hereafter. There is no appearance of any disposition in either party to concede a jot of its position, or to enter into any compromise whatever. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to foresee a termination to this dispute, unless it be one of a very unpleasant kind, which may at any moment be brought on with suddenness by the irritation felt, and the provocations mutually rendered, by those who live close to the boundary line. In the condition of things that actually exists along the whole of the eastern border of Maine, from Calais, which lies opposite to St. Andrews, up to Houlton, that adjoins to Woodstock, a great share of responsibility falls upon those with whom the government of the adjoining territories is intrusted. A slight indiscretion upon either side might occasion consequences which no subsequent prudence could entirely remedy. We are happy to believe that nothing of the kind is at present to be dreaded, and that, so far as their personal disposition is concerned, Governor Kent and Sir John Harvey are inclined to do every thing within their power to maintain those friendly relations between the two countries, which are vitally important to the happiness and prosperity of both.

If we were to judge of the temper and disposition towards

the United States, of Her Majesty's ministers at home, from those manifested in the Report which makes the substance of the correspondence named at the head of this article, we should not be slow to arrive at conclusions respecting the probable end of the controversy. To do so, however, would, in our belief, be very unfair to them. They have no motive conceivable to sanction what they must know to be wrong. They are too high-minded, however earnest may be their desire to secure certain desirable ends to their own country, to wish to arrive at them by a resort to dishonest artifices. We should be glad to say the same for some of the agents they have employed ; but we cannot. They have been doing their best to embroil the two countries still more than they have ever yet been embroiled, by this controversy. And, not satisfied with parading as much of disingenuous argument as they could devise, they have sought to infuse into it as invidious a character, and as sneering a spirit toward the United States, as it would readily admit. We deeply regret, for the sake of the two nations, that such agents were ever employed, and still more deeply, that, after they were employed, Her Majesty's ministers did not exercise that supervisory function over the result of their labors, which might be calculated to prevent the unnecessary multiplication of obstacles to an amicable adjustment, over and above the number that already exist.

It appears by the volume, whose title is first placed before our article, that on the 9th of July, 1839, Messrs. G. W. Featherstonhaugh, and Richard Z. Mudge, received the instructions of Lord Palmerston, Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, requiring them to proceed to New Brunswick for the purpose of making investigations respecting the "nature and configuration of the territory in dispute between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States of America, and to report which of the three following lines presents the best defined continuity of highland range ;

"First. The line claimed by the British Commissioners from the source of the Chaudière to Mars' Hill.

"Secondly. The line from the source of the Chaudière to the point at which a line, drawn from that source to the western extremity of the Bay of Chaleurs, intercepts the due north line.

"Thirdly. The line claimed by the Americans from the source of the Chaudière to the point at which they make the due north line end."

It is evident, from an examination of these instructions, that the British Government had a distinct, and to them a highly desirable object in view. It was that of ascertaining by positive examination the nature of the country in the disputed territory, and thus of gathering materials, upon which their own construction of the terms of the treaty might be most strongly supported. With this intention they ordered the survey of three distinct lines of boundary ; the first of these being the old line as it had always been laid down by the British, in the former argument upon the subject; another, the old line as claimed by the Americans ; and in addition to these, a third, a different, a new and an intermediate line, which might by possibility obviate the objections that had been raised against the other two. Under such very simple instructions, it would seem as if nothing could have been plainer than to execute them. True, it would have required much time, and the Commissioners had none to spare, if they were expected to report as they did report, in April of 1840. But it does not appear, that they were under any absolute restriction in that particular. The shortest period, in which they could have been expected to reach the ground of survey after their departure from England, must have brought them to the last of August. They had, therefore, owing to the severity of the climate in that high latitude, only the months of September and October to operate in. It appears by the result, that this was all the time they actually devoted to the duty assigned them. It cannot, therefore, be wondered at, as the Commissioners did not feel themselves at liberty to apply for another opportunity to conduct their operations in the next season, that they left the greater part of that duty unperformed. They actually examined but one of the three lines pointed out to their attention in their instructions, and that one was the third or intermediate line, which had never before been suggested by either party. Having examined that, apparently with some care, and having cast a hasty glance at the others, not sufficient to report concerning them, but quite sufficient to make them objects of comparison, they returned, as directed, to spend the winter at home, and to make up a map suitable to accompany their Report.

The Commissioners probably discovered, in the course of their review of the materials which they had provided to make up that Report, that they would prove utterly unsatisfactory to their own government. They must have seen at once, that they had made no tolerably accurate survey of any line but the second of those mentioned in their instructions, and that if they were to furnish a return of that only, it would make little or no figure upon paper, and would render strikingly perceptible the absence of the desired information respecting the other two. In these circumstances, the expedient which they adopted was a singular one. They dismissed all notice of their actual survey, excepting as a secondary matter. They assumed the position of judges of the documentary and historical evidence touching the disputed question of boundary, upon which they do not appear to have been required to express any opinion, and they thus supplied by an elaborate argument upon the question of title, the absence of the investigation, to the full extent that they were bound to make it, into the nature of the country, the title of which was in dispute. Hence it follows, that but a quarter part of the body of the Report has any reference to the instructions which appear upon its first page, and the other part is a gratuitous examination of matters, with which the Commissioners, in our opinion, should have had nothing to do.

We take it for granted, from the known character and reputation of the Commissioners, that Colonel Mudge was the author of that useful portion of the work, which furnishes all the information respecting the survey, and that Mr. Featherstonhaugh alone supplied the remainder; and this we do, notwithstanding the fact, that both names appear signed at the bottom of the Report. In such circumstances, we suppose that both gentlemen must be held responsible for what it contains, a result which we regret much more for the sake of the first named, than of the other. We, from the outset, regarded the selection of Mr. Featherstonhaugh to perform a part of the duty, as an eminently unfortunate one. He had resided many years in the United States, had been employed under its government, had figured rather too pompously for his own reputation under the self-assumed title of "United States' Geologist," and had not escaped pretty severe animadversion upon the means used by him in making up his Report in that capacity. It certainly was not very satis-

factory to the citizens of this country, to perceive that an individual, who had been studying the surface of their territory at their expense, was suddenly attempting to put what knowledge he might have acquired of men and things by years of observation among us, at the service of another, and so far as this question went, a hostile Government. It looked a little too much like the spirit of those knights of the middle ages, who passed from one side to another exactly according to the ratio in which they could make the value of their labors estimated in money. Hence it happened, that without having any fault to find with Mr. Featherstonhaugh personally, we regretted his appointment, and apprehended it would never conduce, in any shape, to the benefit of either party. Those apprehensions have now been fully realized. Mr. Featherstonhaugh has done his best to excite the evil passions of all Americans who will take the trouble to read what he has written. If he fails, it is not for the want of the will he puts into the work, but from the fact that his long residence here has done much to destroy the authority that might otherwise have attached to his name.

But, although Mr. Featherstonhaugh may have done what harm was in his power by his labor, he ought to be thanked by all Americans for the good he has very unconsciously been the means of securing them. Had he not written such a Report, it may be doubted whether Mr. Gallatin would have exerted himself so much as he has done, in publishing the book whose title stands second upon our list. Mr. Gallatin is now far advanced in life. He is one of the very few remaining among us, under whose hands the giant energies of the infant republic were moulded into form. And even at this day, he has, for certain peculiarities of mind which go to produce the character of a statesman, no equals among the generations that succeed his own. In him, there is very little of the merely brilliant; and the ambition to acquire those official distinctions which are generally the objects of so much desire with us, appears to have long since passed away. But the talent of going to the bottom of all questions of public policy, of tracing them in all their minute ramifications with a single eye to the truth of the positions to be deduced, remains with him now, as fully as it ever was possessed, and he yet retains the disposition to exercise it for the benefit of the country. Even from his retirement in private life this gen-

tleman has several times, within a few years past, spoken as with the voice of one having authority ; and although no rabble is shouting at his heels, the wiser and more intelligent of the community still continue to look to him as one of the few oracles of the republic.

We have already mentioned that quality in Mr. Gallatin, which leads him to overlook every consideration in style but the precise expression of the idea he means to convey. The consequence is, that not many of our diffusely thinking and loosely reasoning people have sufficient patience to begin and follow his train of propositions as he lays them down and joins them together. But the benefit to be gained in the process, will fully compensate for the effort necessary to understand him. His logic has the force of mathematical demonstration ; and in these days, when a fallacy lies at the root of many of the prevailing and fashionable doctrines that float about in the world, it is pleasant to recur to a source, where, if touched at all, they are likely to be exposed. There is not a question in religion, morals, or polity, now agitated, which has been made a cover for more sophistical reasoning, than this one of the Northeastern Boundary has been made by the British. It would be a blessing to the public, if, in every other question, a similar refutation of error could be applied, to that which Mr. Gallatin has drawn up in this.

We would not have it understood, however, by what we have said, that the volume by Mr. Gallatin is devoted to the consideration of Mr. Featherstonhaugh's Report alone. That would have been giving to it a most undue share of importance in the series of British papers upon the subject. His object appears to have been, to place before the public on both sides of the Atlantic, in a condensed form, the whole of the American side of the question, as it was prepared for the most part by himself, at the period of the arbitration by the King of Holland. This has never been done before in any shape at all satisfactory. The large volume, which embraces all the arguments as well as the authorities relied upon to sustain them, was printed solely for the use of the Government, and has never been made accessible to the public at large. Neither is it likely, that, even if it had been, many persons would have taken the trouble to wade through the seven hundred pages it contains. We repeat, then, that Mr. Gallatin has done the public a great service, by concentrating,

as few men could have done so successfully, the substance of that volume, and by presenting at a single view, the merits of the question in dispute.

But it is not with the general question we now propose to have much to do. If our former labors in this department have been of any use at all, they ought to excuse us from the necessity of repeating what we have already published. And if they have been of no use, we have no right to expect that we shall gain any thing by renewing them. It is, therefore, clearly incumbent upon us, in this stage of the discussion, to take it for granted, that our readers are informed of its principal points. Should that not be the case, we will still go on, taking the liberty to refer them to the volumes of our Journal,* in which that information may be found.

Our design now is only to consider those portions of the present Report by Mr. Featherstonhaugh, and of the answer by Mr. Gallatin, which, either by their novelty, or their singular manner of treatment, appear to merit consideration. Most especially do we desire so to expose the method in which the British side of the argument has been, in this instance, conducted, as to draw down upon it that degree of scorn from all honorable men, which it so fully deserves. In order the better to do this, we will now extract from the Report a passage at its commencement, explanatory of its general purpose.

"Having found the physical geography of the disputed territory very much at variance with all the accounts of it to which we had had access, and perceiving that the popular opinions regarding it, both in Great Britain and the United States of America, owed their origin to the previous surveys and negotiations respecting the Boundary Question, some of which surveys we found singularly at variance with our own careful observations made on the spot, as to the height of some leading points of the country, of vital importance to the question; we came to the conclusion, that the most significant of those previous estimates, and which were connected with important inferences, were conjecturally made, without knowledge of the truth, and that thus very incorrect statements had been submitted to the judgment of the Sovereign arbiter, to whom, under the Convention of the 29th of September, 1827, those previ-

* See *North American Review*, Vol. VI. pp. 117 *et seq.*; Vol. XXVI., pp. 421 *et seq.*; Vol. XXVII. pp. 496 *et seq.*; Vol. XXXIII. p. 262; Vol. XXXIV. pp. 514 *et seq.*; Vol. XLIII. pp. 413 *et seq.*

ous surveys were to be referred. We shall, in the course of this Report, point out to your Lordship these inaccuracies in a more specific manner.

"Alive to the important bearing of this somewhat unexpected state of things, it became necessary for us immediately upon our arrival in England, to enter upon a more careful study of the diplomatic history of the dispute ; in which was [?] to be found those arguments, which had been raised upon the erroneous statements we have alluded to, and which had taken so strong a hold upon the public mind in the United States of America.

"The assumption consequent hereupon, which is entertained in that country, that a particular range of highlands, north of the St. John's river, and running parallel with, and at no great distance from the St. Lawrence, is the range of highlands intended by the treaty of 1783, seemed to have suggested to the official agents, employed by the American Government under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent, the necessity of maintaining that the boundary proposed by the Treaty of 1783, was identical with the ancient provincial boundary, between the province of Quebec and her Majesty's province of Nova Scotia. This assertion, which appeared to derive plausibility from Mitchell's map, — a document admitted to have been much consulted by the Commissioners of both Governments at the negotiations which ended in the Treaty of 1783, — induced the British official agents, under the Treaty of Ghent, to take the opposite line, and to insist that the assertion was 'altogether' conjectural, and incapable of satisfactory proof.

"The voluminous conflicting documents, which this point gave rise to, show how much the British official agents were misled by the general ignorance which existed of the interior parts of the territory in dispute. They were right in denying that the ancient provincial boundary was identical with the range of highlands claimed on the part of the United States ; but they were wrong in denying that the line of demarcation, established by the ancient provincial boundary, was intimately connected with the boundary intended by the second article of the Treaty of 1783." — p. 9.

This passage sounds as if the Commissioners had made certain very great discoveries. What these actually turn out to be, we shall have occasion to disclose hereafter. We will now confine ourselves to a notice of two parts of it, the truth of which can easily be tested, by reference to official documents. The first of them is that which relates to a pretended *assumption*, that the Americans claim a particular range of

highlands, as the range intended by the Treaty of 1783. Now this assumption, which we perceive to have been made the basis of much reasoning throughout the Report, so far as it is one, belongs to the authors of the Report, and to them only. The Americans claim no *particular* range of highlands as the range contemplated by the treaty, for the very good reason, that they claim no highlands other than as they are connected with the specific requisition of that treaty, that they separate from each other certain rivers. It is one of the unfounded assumptions throughout the work of Mr. Featherstonhaugh, that because there are two ranges of elevated land within this disputed territory, which take a parallel direction through it, it is the duty of either Government to take the one or the other as the line of the treaty. There is no such necessity to be inferred from the words of that treaty itself. These words are, "a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the highlands; along the said highlands, *which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean.*" These highlands are to be sought at the sources of the rivers spoken of, and nowhere else. That highlands do extend in that line needs no argument beyond the simplest principle in hydrostatics, nor do we understand the Commissioners to deny it. Surveyors might spend years in measuring the elevation of every mountain in Maine and New Brunswick, and, so long as those rivers kept on in their course respectively to the St. Lawrence and to the Atlantic, the American position would never be shaken.

The other portion of this extract that merits notice, is, the singular candor of the admission, that preceding British agents were wrong when they denied that the line of the boundary described in the treaty was intimately connected with the line of the ancient provincial boundary, between her Majesty's province of Nova Scotia, and that of Quebec. This admission is apparently made with a view to carry that ancient boundary line far enough to the south to make it apply to the particular range of highlands claimed to have been discovered in the present survey. Yet, inasmuch as we shall presently see that this new discovered range does not in any respect satisfy the requisition of the treaty, and as it does not appear to have been known either in 1763, when her Majesty's above-mentioned provinces had their boundaries defined by procla-

mation, or in 1783, when the second article of the treaty was definitively agreed to, we cannot exactly perceive what necessary connexion it can have with the dispute in any shape. As to the denial of the identity of the ancient provincial boundary not "with *the range* of highlands claimed on the part of the United States," — for they claim no range, — but with the highlands dividing the sources of certain rivers described in the Treaty of 1783, the shortest way of dealing with that is, to let every reader judge of the extent of the identity by a comparison of the descriptions themselves.

For example; the Proclamation of 1763 defines the boundary between Quebec, on one side, and Nova Scotia and Maine on the other, as follows;

"From whence the said line, crossing the River St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain in forty-five degrees of north latitude, passes along the highlands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea, and also along the *north* coast of the Bay des Chaleurs," &c.

The treaty only reverses the course, and defines the same boundary to be

"Along the said highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut River."

Now all we need ask here is, whether it is possible that these two descriptions can refer to different lines? Can there be two distinct heights of land, which separate rivers that flow into the St. Lawrence from those which flow into the sea or the Atlantic Ocean? We think the very fact, that the British Government has raised a nice distinction between those two expressions of *sea* and *ocean* proves very clearly, that it was the only point of difference to be found, and that the identity in other respects of the descriptions so far as they refer to the line, was exact. Yet, to judge from the tone of the last Commissioners, the surrender of an utterly untenable position, taken by their predecessors, portends quite a new discovery of the truth.

How far the highlands, defined as reaching towards the *north* coast of the Bay des Chaleurs can coincide with the grand discovery of the Commissioners, that stretches along

to the south coast of the same bay, we will submit to their consideration without further argument, and pass to other points. They appear not to have labored much upon that which has heretofore so severely exercised the British ingenuity, that is, whether a sea is an ocean, or what is the exact distinction between them. We presume they considered that little could be added to the argument already adduced. If so, we think them perfectly right. The British Commissioners heretofore employed, have covered themselves with glory in the field of philology. They have done much to establish the exact meaning of the words "bay," and "sea," and "ocean," and if they have not been careful in the process to avoid stultifying the ministers of the United Kingdom, who first used these terms in their connexion with the present question either as meaning something at variance with what they are now construed to signify, or else as meaning nothing at all, they have at least saved all parties to future treaties with their country from under-estimating the necessity of proceeding with amazing caution, if they would guard themselves against the consequences of ambiguity.

It has been maintained that the word "sea" in the passage quoted from the Proclamation of 1763, was wide enough in its signification to include bays, and gulfs, and oceans, and hence that the Restigouche which flows into the Bay des Chaleurs, and the St. John's that flows into the Bay of Fundy, were clearly among the rivers referred to by that word in that instrument. But the change made in the Treaty by the substitution of the term "Atlantic Ocean" for "sea," is affirmed to have been made for the sake of narrowing the signification so far as to exclude those rivers above named which flow into it only through the intervention of bays. Yet that her Majesty's ministers understood it differently in 1786, can hardly be doubted, when we see that, in the commission given to Sir Guy Carleton as Governor of Quebec in that year, the southern boundary of his province is described as "a line from the Bay of Chaleurs along the highlands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river Saint Lawrence from those which fall into *the Atlantic Ocean.*" Now if the Restigouche and the St. John's are not rivers to be classed as falling into the Atlantic Ocean, then there are none such in the province of New Brunswick, and the ministers must knowingly have laid down a line of boundary which

could not be traced in the territory for the long distance that extends from the Bay des Chaleurs to the head waters of the Penobscot. Now is this credible by any person possessing common sense ? Is it to be believed for a moment, that some of the most distinguished official persons in Great Britain could sit down with a map before them to define a boundary line, and then do it in so bungling a manner as to omit to trace, in a description manifestly designed by its minuteness to be complete, any line at all for nearly one half of the southern side, and that including the whole of the division between their own provinces of Quebec and Nova Scotia ? — a division, too, which it was the particular object of that Commission to define.

But let us return to the great discoveries of the Report. It appears from the statement of the Commissioners that,

"*If it had been known* that a range of Highlands, corresponding with the terms of the Treaty, existed in a part of the territory which neither of the parties had examined, namely, south of the St. John, and lying in that oblique direction between the sources of the Chaudière and the Bay of Chaleurs, in which ran the line of demarcation of the ancient provincial boundary, the Americans would never have made their assertion" [that is, of the identity of the Treaty line and that ancient boundary].

And further in conclusion they say ;

"We report that *we have found* a Line of Highlands, agreeing with the language of the 2nd article of the Treaty of 1783, extending from the northwesternmost head of the Connecticut river to the sources of the Chaudière, and passing from thence in a northeasterly direction, south of the Roostuc to the Bay of Chaleurs."

Now from this it would appear, as if here was a pure discovery of the Commissioners made for the first time after a survey of the ground. Yet if we turn back to the instructions furnished by Lord Palmerston for the gentlemen to examine "the line from the sources of the Chaudière to the point at which a line drawn from that source to the western extremity of the Bay of Chaleurs intercepts the due north line," we shall perceive something more than an accidental coincidence between the directions and the line actually found. Unquestionably, if there has been any discovery, it was one which Lord Palmerston had already made when he sent out his Commissioners ; and these have done

nothing more than to build up an argument in support of a new position, the geographical facts for which they had been sent out to establish. They have measured mountains almost exactly where Her Majesty's ministry ordered them to be found; and the consequence has been, the production of a map in which the nicely-shaded highlands occupy the precise situation that corresponds to the second branch of their instructions.

We cannot help thinking, moreover, that if the Commissioners of survey have been so lucky as to *find* a line of boundary agreeing with the language of the 2nd article of the Treaty, exactly where the Minister told them to look after it, they have been not less remarkably fortunate in omitting to find what it was not desirable that they should find. And, strange as it may seem, the same convenient vision which looked out upon the natural features of the country through the spectacles of the ministry at home, when it came to the examination of the ancient title, retained its singular faculty of seeing only what it wished to see, and overlooking every thing that was not to the purpose. We know not whether the method of conducting this operation is most remarkable for its ingenuity or its dishonesty. But Mr. Gallatin has furnished us with abundant opportunities of forming a tolerably accurate estimate of each; and, for the sake of enlightening our readers a little on this matter, we will proceed to cite a few of the instances in which they are displayed.

The greatest discovery of the Report is about a comma. It is darkly alluded to in the 14th point of the recapitulation as follows;

XIV. "We have discovered by a critical examination of the Grant of Nova Scotia of 1621 in the original Latin, that the passage which describes the Western boundary of the territory included in that Grant, and which boundary was agreed at the time of the Treaty of 1783, to be the Eastern boundary of Massachusetts, in conformity with the provision contained in the Charter of Massachusetts of 1691, is susceptible of a new interpretation varying in important particulars from the received one; and we show, by a literal translation of the Latin, that the boundary was intended to run from the most western waters of the St. Croix to the sources of the Chaudière; a line, which it has been seen, coincides in a very striking manner with the boundary in the Sieur De Mont's Grant of 1603." —p. 54.

There was once a book published, containing an account

of great events that had flowed from very trifling causes. Probably, not an example could be found in it more remarkable than this one, if we are to trust Her Majesty's Commissioners. The whole dispute between Great Britain and the United States, which has exercised so many wise heads for so long a time, turns out to have sprung from the misplacing of a comma, or rather from the uncertainty whether, in an old parchment where there are no commas, a certain sentence should be read as if it had a comma before or after it. The printer of the Report has insisted upon putting it in after, notwithstanding that its whole argument was the other way. We ourselves are not disposed to pay much regard to the emendation in any shape, critical or political, and are perfectly willing to set off the accuracy of the proof reader for Parliament, against the scholarship of Mr. Featherstonhaugh; but, as the public may be a little curious to know something more of the matter than we have yet explained, we will extract for their information the observations upon the subject made by Mr. Gallatin.

"In the authentic Latin copy of the grant, communicated by the British Government, there are no commas. The copy [an extract whereof will be given below] is transcribed from the report as published by the order of Parliament; and a comma is there inserted after the words 'versus Septentrionem', where first mentioned; which makes the passage read as it has heretofore always been read. It must have been so placed by the compositor of the Parliamentary Press. The commissioners clearly intended that the comma should be placed before and not after 'versus Septentrionem', and it must be so understood by the reader.

"Whether this emendation, which is the great discovery of the commissioners, be admissible, is left to the decision of critical scholars. My business is with the reasoning of the report; and the reason assigned for the emendation is not sufficient." — p. 140.

We will now stop a moment for the sake of furnishing the important sentence of the grant, about which there is so much question. It runs thus in most classical Latin;

"Omnes et singulas terras Continentis, ac insulas situatas et jacentes in Americâ intra caput seu promontorium communiter Cap de Sable appelat. Jacen. prope latitudinem quadraginta trium graduum *aut eò circà ab equinoctiali lineâ versus Septentri-*

onem, a quo promontorio versus littus maris tenden. ad occidentem ad stationem, &c."

We now recur to Mr. Gallatin, who goes on to remark ;

"The word *north*, applied to the latitude of any country, known to be situated north of the equator, though superfluous, is perpetually used, and it is thus used several times in the Treaty (to the forty fifth degree of north latitude). Everybody knows that the latitude, whether north or south, is always counted from the equator. The words 'ab equinoctiali lineâ,' in the grant, are equally superfluous, and they correspond with the words in the Treaty, 'in latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator.'

"The object of the emendation cannot have been to connect the words 'versus Septentrionem' with the words 'ad occidentem' of the next sentence. For if the union of the two were necessary in order to express the northwest, it would follow, that 'versus Septentrionem' alone was not sufficient for that purpose. But the true object of the emendation was to detach those words from the first sentence, where, being applied to latitude from the Equator, they must necessarily mean due north. And the commissioners call the tracing on maps of a due north line from the source of the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence, an erroneous construction of the expression *towards the north*.

"But those words mean a line which inclines more to the north than to the east, or the west, and they necessarily embrace a due north line. Under the broadest legitimate construction, it cannot vary more than from due northeast to due northwest. The American translation quoted in the preceding passage of the report, is undoubtedly incorrect in substituting the word *north* for *towards the North, &c.*" — p. 141.

Now this American translation, here alluded to, is not the one prepared under the authority of the Government of the United States, and included in one of the statements submitted to the King of Holland, but is one made for and added to a report of a committee of the Legislature of the State of Maine in 1828. Notwithstanding these facts, Her Majesty's Commissioners have seized upon the accidental circumstance of a republication of that report and the accompanying papers, by the order and for the information of the Congress of the United States, as an excuse for calling it an official translation. And this presents an opportunity for an insinuation, which, in view of the fact, that the truly official translation

must have been lying before them at the time the Commissioners made it, deserves an epithet stronger than we choose to apply. The insinuation is, that the inaccuracies complained of, were committed with the deliberate design to prejudice the British claims.

But what are the errors of this translation that they should deserve to be regarded as wilfully made? There are two; the first, that "versus Septentrionem" is rendered by "to the north" instead of "towards the north." And with all due respect to Mr. Gallatin, we do not consider this any very great mistake, particularly as the same words that appear in the Appendix, "to the north," are translated in the body of the report itself "northward", which we take to be the precise meaning. At any rate, the variation in the two places will exonerate the makers of the Report from any deliberate intention to misrepresent. And so far the suspicions of the Commissioners are groundless. The other error is, that "proximam navium stationem" is called "the first bay" instead of "the nearest road," and we greatly regret to perceive that Mr. Gallatin has at all countenanced this most preposterous objection; particularly as he has noticed Mr. Featherstonhaugh's own translation of the grant a few words above, where it is clear, that the very same term of "statio navium" is applied as in the original to the place "vulgo Sanctmaries *Bay*", and hence that the terms are here used in the grant itself as equivalent. In point of fact, *bay* is, as applied to any part of the River St. Lawrence, a more proper word than *road*, if we take as authority the definition made by Dr. Johnson of the two words, or the illustration which he adduces from Sandys;

"About the islands are many *roads*, but only one *harbour*."

As to the difference between the words "first" and "nearest," if that is to be the basis for a charge of unfairness in translation, we must leave it to such wonderful critics as Her Majesty's Commissioners, to point it out more clearly hereafter than they have yet done, before we trouble ourselves to make any defence.

And after all, this translation which turns out not to be so bad as is pretended, was not the official translation, and Mr. Featherstonhaugh knew that it was not. Mr. Gallatin, as minister of the United States, had incorporated in his second statement a translation which deserved that title, because it

made a part of the argument submitted to the King of the Netherlands on behalf of the United States. But unfortunately for the purposes of the gentleman, that translation corresponded too nearly with his own to enable him to make any unworthy use of it, so he went out of his way to find another. He quotes too freely from the pages of that statement to be able to deny that he has read it.

By this time our readers may be apt to inquire, what is the purpose of all this quotation from the old defunct grant to Sir William Alexander. It is nothing more nor less than to justify Mr. Featherstonhaugh in marking out upon his map a line "versus Septentrionem" which goes two degrees of longitude "versus occidentem," whilst it makes less than one degree of latitude "towards the north." This is certainly a very free translation of the term, and comes with a very bad grace from one who ventures to insinuate against the Government of a foreign nation the perpetration of a wilful mistranslation with the design "greatly to prejudice the British claims." If the navigators of Great Britain were to adopt the singular method of understanding the points of the compass thus laid down, we doubt whether their country would be great gainers by their skill.

We utterly deny the right of the Commissioners to put any such forcible construction upon the Latin of this grant, as they have attempted. We deny their right to suggest any line like the one marked upon their map, as coming within the limits even of their own violent construction ; and lastly, we deny, that in any possible event, the simple words of the Treaty of 1783 can be made to depend for their meaning upon that grant.

So much for the grand discovery of the Report. Subordinate to that are two or three others, which would be amusing, if they were not connected with a topic of so much importance to the peace of nations. One of them consists in a grave presentation of an old map of New France, or Canada, made by one Coronelli in the year 1689, and of another republished at Paris, by de Lisle, in 1783, from an old plate first published eighty years before, as evidence of the fact, that the same understanding was had of the limits of Nova Scotia, by the French, that is now entertained by Her Majesty's Commissioners. It was, to be sure, a most accurate understanding of the configuration of the country, as any

person may readily satisfy himself by a glance at the copies which accompany the Report, provided that even these are correctly given. In one of them, Nova Scotia, in the other New Hampshire figures, in the place where Maine is now usually put. And New England is set down as a very small affair, much smaller than New Hampshire in one map, and wholly distinct from it, whilst it is bounded in the other by a river, called the Pentagonet, the old name for the Penobscot, which is put where the Kennebec is ordinarily found, and by Nova Scotia, which runs even west of that river on the north. Such are the marvellous discoveries of the Queen's officers, which are entirely to overturn the American position. Such is the singular evidence of acquaintance with the boundaries of the United States, which is to overrule the authority of the negotiators of the Treaty of 1783. We can assure the gentlemen, that these negotiators did not prove themselves so very unskilful and ignorant in that business as to justify the supposition, that they would not have laughed to scorn the very idea of such guides as these in the description of their national boundaries.

But there is another little discovery made by the Commissioner in this department of maps, which makes too good a story to be lost. We will give Mr. Gallatin's account of it, as follows ;

"It had heretofore been contended, on the part of Great Britain, that the boundary described in the treaty of 1783, was identic with, and suggested by the height of land mentioned by Pownall, as that in which the Kennebec, the Penobscot, and the St. Croix had their sources. The same assertion is repeated in the Report, and the same reasons assigned for it. But the former agents of the British Government had denied the identity of the treaty boundary with that designated by the Proclamation of 1763. That identity is now admitted in the report ; and a curious and novel inference is drawn, viz. that the description of the southern boundary of the Province of Quebec, in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, was derived from the information in the map published by Evans, in 1755, although the eastern portion of that map, as republished by Pownall in 1776, belongs to him, and not to Evans ; and that the descriptions contained in the Proclamation of 1763 are a mere *echo* of the information produced by the explorations of Governor Pownall ; which information was for the first time published, together with his map, in the year 1776, by Governor Pow-

nall. This anticipating echo is all that belongs exclusively to the report." — p. 146.

But, fearing lest this might not be intelligible enough, Mr. Gallatin returns to the subject in another place.

"The British Commissioners affirm 'that the height of land described by Evans and Pownall in 1755, extended to the eastern branches of the Penobscot,' and 'that the description of the southern boundary of the Province of Quebec, in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, was derived from the information published by Evans, the highlands there spoken of being identical with the *height of land* laid down in Evans's map.

"They clearly quote Evans's map of 1755, without having seen it; though they might have found a reprint of it in Jeffery's Atlas, No. 18. It is entitled 'A map of the Middle British Colonies in America, viz., Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.' It does not embrace a single foot of the height of land in question, and does not approach it. The Connecticut river is not delineated on it further north than a few miles north of the 43d degree of latitude, or about 140 miles south of the sources of that river. All north of that latitude, (43° 10′,) and east of the Hudson and of Lake Champlain, is a blank on that map; and the name 'height of land' is nowhere used in it." — p. 162.

Her Majesty's Commissioners have overlooked the fact, that Pownall's eastern portion, which they refer to, was added to the map of Evans twenty years after the publication of the latter. Unluckily for them, it sweeps away their position entirely, and not without betraying the general character of all their argument. The web is made of the same woof throughout, although it may be that only here and there a great and undeniable rent will show its texture.

But what shall we say to the partial suppressions in some of the extracts quoted, and to the perverted arrangement of others, so as to deduce a meaning which they would not naturally bear? What, to the quotation of an argument from the American statement of their claims as an admission against themselves, with recourse to the singular expedient of omitting the last sentence of it, which completely rebuts the point of the objection? This is much the same thing with quoting from a book the statement of an antagonist position, and neglecting to take the least notice of the subsequent paragraph, which

overthrows it. Is this the manner, we would ask, in which nations, strong in the confidence of justice in their cause, naturally proceed? Is it like the far-famed and much boasted honor of Great Britain, to sanction a resort to such miserable petty shifts and evasions? We think not. We trust, that they have not yet become so fixed in their determination to gain a communication between their provinces, as to resolve upon acquiring it by such dishonest pretences. But if they have, if the moral principles of Her Majesty's ministers are not fixed enough to resist the temptation held out, we trust that the details of the negotiation hereafter to be carried on will establish in the clearest light, upon our side, the true nature of the position which they are driven to occupy in order to sustain it.

We regret that our limits will not admit, at this time, of our going very fully into the evidence of the misrepresentations alluded to, consistently with some degree of attention to other very interesting branches of the subject. They are distinctly set forth by Mr. Gallatin, to whose book we must refer our readers for further information, if they desire it. Our present purpose is to consider how far the arguments of Her Majesty's Commissioners, drawn from supposed admissions against our claims made by American agents during the controversy, are entitled to any weight.

One very strong objection to the whole British position, appears to us to be, the tendency constantly manifested by its supporters to go into matters which have only a secondary connexion with the real question at issue. Here is a plain provision of a treaty. There cannot be a doubt about its real meaning. The British say it cannot be executed according to that meaning. Very well. That is a point to be established by reference to facts in geography, susceptible of no misapprehension. It cannot be established by the chance admission of this or that American, who had no more materials upon which to form an opinion than the British themselves. Let us now take an example of the nature of this sort of authority, and judge from it what is its substantial value in argument. The object of Her Majesty's Commissioners was to prove, that the State of Massachusetts had, in the year 1792, so understood the terms of the treaty, as, in a grant made by her in that year, expressly to limit the extent of her territory within the country watered by the branches of the

Penobscot. Hence they pretend, that the State then admitted the highlands of the treaty to be very far south of the position, which is now assumed by the United States as the true one. But let us quote from the Report itself.

"That this was admitted by the Government of the State of Massachusetts in 1792, before the separation of Maine from that State, is proved by a contract entered into by that State, with Jackson and Flint, for the sale of a tract of land bounded to the east, by the St. Croix River, the tract being thus described;

"'Westerly, by a line on the east side of the great eastern branch of Penobscot River, at the distance of six miles therefrom;

"'Easterly, by the River Scoodiac, (the St. Croix,) and a line extending northerly from the source thereof to the highlands; and

"'Northerly, by the highlands, or by the line described, in the Treaty of Peace between the United States and His Britannic Majesty.'

"The western bounds of this grant are here covenanted to be formed by a line six miles distant from the eastern branch of Penobscot River, which line would run, by a just construction of the contract, to the source of that eastern branch, and no further. The northern limits were to be formed by the highlands of the Treaty of 1783, and the eastern bounds by the River St. Croix, and a north line running to the highlands. This method of description is a mere paraphrase of the boundary description of the treaty; and the inference is clear, that the parties conceived the eastern branch of the Penobscot to take its rise in those highlands. This is further proved in Greenleaf's Map of Maine in 1815, which was considered authority at that time, and the improved editions of which are the best authority in the United States up to the present day. On that map the boundary line itself of the grant to Jackson and Flint is laid down six miles from the eastern branch of the Penobscot, and the point of departure of that line is taken from that part of the eastern branch, which is opposite to the most western waters of the St. Croix. The line then continues to the source of the said eastern branch, where it stops, and where, unquestionably, the parties at that time conceived the highlands to be. Mr. Greenleaf, in his 'Statistical View of the District of Maine,' published in 1816, further confirms this to have been the general understanding at that day, by describing *the highest points of land between the Atlantic and the St. Lawrence*, as contained in a tract of country running northeast-

erly between the sources of the Du Loup, a branch of the Chaudière, and the east branch of the Penobscot." — p. 24.

It happened that Mr. Greenleaf made a mistake in his map. That is all the basis there is to the argument. Mr. Gallatin tells the rest of the story.

"The plan of the survey may at any time hereafter be produced by the United States. It was executed in the years 1793 and 1794, and contains 2,943,133 acres. Its eastern boundary extends from the Scoodiac Lakes, one hundred and fifty-two miles magnetic north, *crossing the St. John* above its junction with the Madawaska, and extending about fifteen miles beyond it. There the surveyors, *having mistaken tributary streams of the Madawaska for rivers emptying into the St. Lawrence*, turned to the west along highlands which, owing to that mistake, they supposed to be the highlands of the treaty. The western boundary of the tract is, from its northern extremity to the sources of the Penobscot, for 33 miles parallel to the eastern boundary, *crossing the St. John, the Aliguash, and the Restook, near its source.* Further south that western boundary is parallel to the eastern branch of the Penobscot, and terminates at the Passadumkeag." — p. 147.

Now we happen, within a few weeks, to have seen the survey of this grant, which is upon record in the office of the land agent of Massachusetts. Upon that survey the north line runs along within twenty-five miles of the St. Lawrence. So that if those purchasers, Messrs. Jackson and Flint, had been able to fulfil their engagements to the State under their contract, Massachusetts would have been called in before this time as warrantor, to make good the title to a large portion of the territory, which the British now dispute. If, therefore, this is any authority at all as to the construction put in 1792 by the State of Massachusetts upon the words of the treaty, it goes directly against the position taken by the Commissioners. But we are not, on our part, disposed to rely upon this species of testimony. The treaty is as open to us as it ever has been to those who have preceded us. Its provisions are not difficult to understand or to apply. Let the two countries proceed in the only way that they can, in order to acquire the necessary information. Let them trace the sources of all the streams that flow into the St. Lawrence, and from thence proceed to find the upper sources of the Atlantic rivers. Upon that intermediate space described between

these limits is the boundary of the Treaty of 1783, be it high or low. If it has not yet been found, it is only because it has not been sought for with the perseverance necessary to explore so wild a country, and not at all because it is not there.

But the Commissioners, not satisfied with their fruitless attempt to involve the State of Massachusetts in an inconsistency, have undertaken to direct an *argumentum ad hominem* against Mr. Gallatin himself. It appears that that gentleman, very incautiously, as we think, in a confidential letter written while he was acting as one of the Ministers Plenipotentiary to negotiate the Treaty of Ghent, to the Secretary of State, did express an opinion that Massachusetts had no claim to land north of 45° to the eastward of the Penobscot. This was an opinion casually thrown out in a letter not intended for publication, and based upon information now admitted by the author himself to have been insufficient and erroneous. The practice, peculiar to the United States, of making public all the papers connected with a negotiation, not long after it is over, is one calculated very much to embarrass those who act under instructions from the Government, as well as that Government itself. It furnishes foreign nations with opportunities to adapt their tone to the doctrines which they find laid down in these private papers, and thus to endeavour to bring on a contradiction, and, through that, a charge of inconsistency. It is like playing at cards with the opportunity of seeing the hand of an opponent, without disclosing your own. We know not that any remedy can be provided for the inconvenience. The only useful result will be, to inspire all Government officers with a proper degree of caution not to hazard opinions without full examination of the grounds upon which they are made up, and also to apprize them, that the word "confidential" at the head of a paper can only signify, in a few years, what may be read by all the world. For the rest, we do not perceive that this opinion of Mr. Gallatin's is entitled to any weight in a discussion like this. He has nobly redeemed it since, by presenting not an opinion, but an argument, based upon a full and complete examination of the evidence, the soundness of which, in our firm belief, it is not possible for human ingenuity to disturb. The British may make the most they can of the one, if they will only give America the full benefit of the other.

On the whole, when we consider the sort of education our public men have had to prepare them for the management of great controversies, it is wonderful that the negotiations which have been carried on with foreign nations, should have been so generally successful as they have been. In the United States, the very idea of fitting one's self to become a statesman is absurd, because such is the precarious nature of popular favor, no man can beforehand entertain any reasonable certainty, that after he has prepared himself he will be supported by it. The independence of all necessity to earn a livelihood, without which such fitting cannot be carried far, constitutes a serious drawback upon success, inasmuch as it dissolves the strongest bond by which the members of the community are held in sympathy. The self-made men, that is, individuals who have by their own meritorious exertions raised themselves from a condition of poverty and destitution to great consideration among their fellows, will always be the most likely persons to enjoy the honors which the country has to give. Yet, by the necessity of wasting their early years in the struggle for mere subsistence, they are all their lives exposed to feel the deficiency of cultivation, which those years well spent only can supply. It is therefore not at all surprising, that errors should sometimes be committed, or rather it is surprising that no more should have been committed, in the direction of our foreign policy, than have been thus far. Almost all those of which we have any knowledge, have been caused by insufficient information, and perhaps an unwillingness to assume the labor of investigation. If we were not afraid of subjecting ourselves to a charge of partisanship, we might adduce abundant evidence of the injurious effects of these errors during the first half of the administration of President Jackson. The time has not yet arrived to show all of them to the country in their naked simplicity. But one of them which was committed by a gentleman of distinguished character, the late Mr. Edward Livingston, has had too serious a connexion with the subject in hand to permit our passing that over in the same silence that will cover the rest. Mr. Gallatin alludes to it in this manner.

"The fact, that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs did lay before the Parliament of Great Britain the report of the late Commissioners, affords strong evidence, that that dis-

tinguished statesman, amidst his more important and overwhelming avocations, had not found time thoroughly to investigate the merits of the case, and to judge for himself. This is not at all surprising. I could quote the instance of an intelligent and enlightened Secretary of State of the United States, much less burdened with official duties than a British Minister, who, on this very question, did, subsequent to the award, propose to substitute for the due north line, another, which would have given to Great Britain the greater part, if not the whole of the disputed territory. Why the proposal was made, and why it was not at once accepted, cannot be otherwise accounted for, so far at least as regards the offer, than by a complete ignorance of the whole subject."—*Preface*, p. 9.

We are afraid that this cause is but too truly assigned for much of the erroneous management, which it has been the lot of the interests of Maine to endure, for some years past, at the hands of the General Government. It is, however, but due to the memory of Mr. Livingston to add, that he was not the originator of the proposition of a northwest line, which would have exactly fallen in with the argument of Mr. Featherstonhaugh, in the Report now under consideration. The suggestion was President Jackson's, and was declared to be based upon a local habit of surveying in the western country, which was not quite so safe a guide in the management of national questions, as a profound knowledge of the history of the countries connected with the dispute, and an investigation into the documentary evidence of title, might have been. We are not, however, aware of the existence of a single letter by Mr. Livingston, in the course of his correspondence with the British Minister upon this subject, which will do him credit with posterity, and which has not weakened the position of the United States in the negotiation. We have already in a former article* explained the character of his proceedings so fully, that they need not be further dwelt upon at this time. The letters of Mr. Forsyth, whilst Secretary of State, are not open to the same kind of objection. If there has been no progress made by him to a settlement of the difficulty, at least there has been no appearance of surrender on our side, of the points in dispute. The issue, which bid fair at one moment to be entirely overlooked, has been again established

* *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII. pp. 413 *et seq.*

by him upon its ancient footing, from which it is now to be hoped that the government will never again recede, unless with the full concurrence of the State of Maine, and of the Union.

It is perfectly well known to our readers that the survey made by order of Her Majesty's ministry, which has been the means of ushering to the world the report of Mr. Featherstonhaugh, incited the Government of the United States to organize a commission of survey on our part. Circumstances not yet entirely explained, caused so great a delay in proceeding upon it last season, that little or no satisfactory information has thus far been gained. The Commissioner charged with the duty of tracing the due north line from the monument at the source of the St. Croix, was unable to reach the ground until the middle of September, and he was early prevented from a prosecution of the work by the setting in of winter. Nor were the other two gentlemen who started earlier upon their portion of the duty, which was to trace the dividing highlands, much more successful in accomplishing it than Major Grahame. The partial report which has been submitted by them and furnished to both Houses of Congress, contains little more than an account of the privations they underwent. There is enough, however, to prove the difficulty of access to the region in dispute, by reason of its wild condition, and indirectly somewhat to shake the credit to be placed in the maps and statements of their immediate predecessors. We earnestly hope that the survey will be persevered in, until the doubt, that now hangs over the character of this territory, shall be entirely dispelled, and the United States enabled to specify with perfect geographical distinctness that boundary which divides from each other the rivers referred to in the Treaty ; — a boundary which does not the less exist, because it has thus far remained buried in the wilderness.

It is idle to pretend, that the line found by Mr. Featherstonhaugh is that boundary. It is nothing but a range of highlands or mountains which runs through the territory in dispute. It divides the tributaries of one river (the Penobscot) that flows into the Atlantic, from those of another river (the St. John), that flows into the same through the Bay of Fundy, neither of which rivers has the remotest connexion with the rivers that fall into the St. Lawrence ; and all of which, it is manifest by a single glance at any map, are restrained by a

barrier impassable to them from ever mingling their waters with those of that stream. How, under these circumstances, the commissioners can affirm, as they do at the close of their Report, that they "have found a Line of Highlands, *agreeing with the language of the 2nd article of the Treaty of* 1783, extending from the northwesternmost head of the Connecticut River to the sources of the Chaudière, and passing from thence, in a northeasterly direction, South of the Roostuc, to the Bay of Chaleurs," must be matter of profound astonishment to every person who takes the trouble to compare them. Whatever may be the opinion entertained in England, of one thing we are sure, that no American ever should, nor do we believe one ever will concede, that the statement is true. It is to be hoped, that Her Majesty's ministers will not seek to rest their position upon any portion of this Report; but if they should, we trust that our Government will have spirit enough peremptorily to refuse to proceed upon any such basis.

It is generally understood, that little or no progress has been made in the negotiation for several years past. The late President declined to avail himself of the opportunity presented by the action of Congress authorizing him to send a special minister with extraordinary powers, and persisted in conducting the affair in the ordinary channels. Of the reasons which prevailed with him to take this course, we are uninformed. We are nevertheless bound to believe that he had strong ones. But the effect was unfavorable, in so far as it gave an impression abroad, that the Government and people of the United States were not sensible of inconvenience from delay. There was no such insensibility at that time, either in Maine or in Massachusetts; and there is none such now. The feeling of insecurity in regard to our peaceful relations with Great Britain, is more widely entertained in those States than people are generally aware of. It will continue to prevail as long as this question remains open. It has some effect upon almost all the transactions in our eastern commercial cities. This is made strikingly perceptible, whenever intelligence of any movement within the limits of the disputed territory is received. We earnestly hope that a stop will soon be put to it; and we trust that the coming in of a new administration of the General Government will be the signal for a strong and final effort to set the question at rest for ever.

It is also understood that the tenacity, with which the British Government clings to the right of possessing this tract of land, is mainly owing to the fact, that a road to connect the British provinces of New Brunswick and Canada must run through it, and that, in a military point of view, such a communication is indispensable to the protection of them both. We shall not now inquire how far it is to be supposed we ought to go in conceding what, after all, is sought by the British as a security against ourselves ; nor yet, whether the mode in which the claim has been presented to our consideration has always been consistent or courteous. In the latter particular there have been faults on both sides. Nothing can well be in worse taste, and more really disadvantageous to our cause, than the vaporing declamation and bombastic braggadocio which has sometimes issued from our public men, when treating the subject. The government of Great Britain rests too strongly in the consciousness of its power, to be much disturbed by big words. Nothing avails with it so much as a determination, resolutely, decidedly, but moderately expressed ; — a determination which, as it seeks not to intimidate, will also never be relaxed by intimidation. This will furnish a better reliance, than all the small artillery which Governors' messages, Legislative resolutions, and Congressional speeches can supply. The main use of these is to give indications of the unanimity of popular sentiment throughout the Union ; and even here their effect will be somewhat in the ratio of their abstinence from all unsuitable violence.

The idea has been suggested of the possibility of settling this long standing difficulty by reference to a new arbitration. The great obstacle to it is to be found in the selection of a suitable arbiter. The influence of Great Britain in Europe is so great, that scarcely any sovereign can be said to be perfectly independent of it. Some might not incline to assume an umpirage ; others would be found scarcely acceptable to us. The state of Europe is such, that very few Governments are likely to desire any addition to the causes for mutual jealousy and distrust which already prevail among them. Yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, if a suitable arbiter can be found, who is willing to assume the labor of investigating the question, and the two governments, of Great Britain and of the United States, persist in their decision not to

move an inch forward to a compromise, we know of no peaceful alternative, other than to submit the question a second time. Should such a result take place, we beg leave to suggest the expediency of previously agreeing upon two points; the first, that the arbiter be properly apprized beforehand, how far his decision may go, and yet continue binding upon the parties; the second, that neither party shall have any excuse whatever for a refusal to enforce the decree. We think the failure of a second umpirage after the manner of the first, can be attended with nothing short of a state of hostility between the two countries; and however strongly we may feel in regard to the right of this controversy, we are not yet prepared to say that it is in itself a justification for war. Nothing but the conviction, that Great Britain is wholly and utterly uncompromising, would bring us to that point. We do not yet entertain such a conviction. We hope better things, — we believe in better things; and we trust that a revival of the negotiation at this moment of repose from our usual domestic strife, under new auspices, and with extraordinary energy, will have the effect of awakening Her Majesty's ministers more thoroughly than they have ever yet been awakened, to the expediency of mastering the details of the question, and then coming to terms. Thus would be removed a fruitful source of bitterness, and a great step would be made towards the establishment of a better understanding upon other subjects, which now threaten to disturb the harmony that ought to prevail between the kindred nations.

ART. VIII. — *A Year's Life*. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Boston: C. C. Little and J. Brown. 1841. 16mo. pp. viii, 182.

THIS little volume abounds with proofs of unquestionable poetical talent, sufficiently so to make us hope well of the author's literary progress, in spite of the defects with which nearly every page is more or less alloyed.

Mr. Lowell, poetically speaking, is the child of his age, belonging to that class of poets in whom the imaginative and

reflective element predominates over the passionate, and who are now occupying the highest place in the general favor. While Byron lived, his influence was so powerful over the public mind, that even his feeblest imitator was sure of a hearing; but when that blazing star fell from the poetical heavens, a third part of its glittering host fell with him. When the great magician was gone, men would no longer tolerate the puny efforts of his scholars, who, though they rivalled their master in grimace and convulsion, could not, like him, call spirits from the vasty deep. However one might lament the use which that unhappy man made of his splendid powers, there was a mournful music in his song, a passionate depth and earnestness in his wail of sorrow, which commanded attention and awakened sympathy, so that the sternest judge pitied while he condemned. It was because his poetry did express the actual state of his mind, and flowed hot from his volcanic breast, that it had so great a popularity, for there is no vitality without truth; and even they who affected the sneer and scowl, which were natural to him, were received with some favor, because they adapted themselves to that mood to which the common mind had been subdued. But when the spell was once broken, men recovered the power of discerning the true from the false, and soon became tired of the "contortion without the inspiration." They could no longer listen with any patience to the prolonged whine of the dyspeptic scholar, who imagined that his heart was broken when he was merely suffering for want of fresh air and exercise. A natural reaction took place. The eyes of men turned to the milder and purer light of Wordsworth and his followers, with that sense of refreshment, with which they repose upon the tranquil stars after being wearied and dazzled with watching the vivid play and rainbow hues of artificial fire-works. This latter class of poets has been obviously growing in general esteem during the last ten or fifteen years; and among them Mr. Lowell is to be ranked, though he is by no means a servile imitator, and has a spontaneous and native vein of poetry.

It is unfortunate for the success of his book, that its most substantial and prominent fault is of that kind which will prejudice most readers against it, even more than it deserves. We allude to its very strong infusion of personality. A con-

siderable portion of its contents is occupied by versified confessions. Upon the subject of that passion which has ever twined its myrtles with the poet's laurels, his disclosures are more ample and confidential than good taste warrants. Love-letters have little attraction, except to the eye of the person to whom they are addressed, nor is the matter much mended by throwing them into a poetical garb. We are willing to give a large latitude to that egotism which is almost inseparable from genius, and a reasonable share of which is rather an agreeable element in poetry; and though no longer young, our pulses are not dead to the touch of that passion which emparadises earth, and we can read with pleasure the song that breathes a lover's hopes or fears. But even poets must not abuse their privileges. There is a limit which correct taste forbids them to overstep. Few can hope to say any thing new upon a passion, which nearly everybody has felt since the hour when it first shot into the heart of Adam from the eyes of Eve. The lover's lute is an instrument of moderate compass, and even the exquisite language of Petrarch can hardly prevent his unbroken strain of plaintive love-melancholy from palling upon the ear. We are aware that young men of poetical temperament are likely to have a large experience in these matters between fifteen and twenty-five, and we doubt not that Mr. Lowell writes with sincerity and genuine feeling, and to woo in verse is a graceful and effective way of approaching the heart of woman, who is ever an idolater of genius; but we regret that he should have printed so many of these poems. The nature of the subject exacts from love-poems a higher degree of literary merit than from any others, and one which our young friend is seldom successful in attaining. Had he taken counsel of a judicious adviser, we think he would have excluded from his volume much which adds nothing to its merit, and which provokes the sneer of the cynic and the harsh judgment of the intolerant.

Mr. Lowell has more of the "vision" than the "faculty divine." He has the eye and mind of a poet, but wants the plastic touch, which "turns to shape the forms of things unknown." His conceptions are superior to his power of execution. We are reminded, in reading his poetry, of the observation of a judicious critic in a sister art, that the picture would have been better painted if the painter had taken more pains. In this volume there is much of the ore of poetry,

but little of it in its purified and polished state. We have found in it much, certainly, that is striking and beautiful. The author has seen things for himself, and not transcribed the impressions made on other minds. His love of nature is genuine, and the beauty of her majestic countenance has evidently sunk deep into his soul with refreshing and elevating influences. His imagination is vivid, and his fancy fruitful in fine images. We are frequently struck with a nice and delicate power of observation, and sometimes detect a searching glance, which shows the power of looking deeper into man's nature than he has usually done. We are pleased, too, with his purity and elevation of feeling. Morally speaking, there is not a line which, dying, he could wish to blot. Especially do we like the reverence which he shows for woman, and that love of ideal beauty which takes from the passion and adds to the sentiment of love. Let him cling to this, as the precious jewel of his soul, and his best talisman against the temptations which may assail him in the slippery paths of youth and early manhood. When the youthful poet has once lost his pure morning feeling upon this subject, the most musical string in his lyre is already broken.

A few extracts will enable us to speak more distinctly and understandingly of Mr. Lowell's merits and defects. Our first one shall be from that class of poems which, as we have before said, occupies more of the volume than we could wish, though we should not have said so, had they all been as good as this.

IRENÉ.

"Her's is a spirit deep and crystal-clear ;
Calmly beneath her earnest face it lies,
Free without boldness, meek without a fear,
Quicker to look than speak its sympathies ;
Far down into her large and patient eyes
I gaze, deep-drinking of the infinite,
As, in the mid-watch of a clear, still night,
I look into the fathomless blue skies.

" So circled lives she with Love's holy light,
That from the shade of self she walketh free ;
The garden of her soul still keepeth she
An Eden where the snake did never enter ;
She hath a natural, wise sincerity,
A simple truthfulness, and these have lent her
A dignity as moveless as the centre ;

So that no influence of earth can stir
Her steadfast courage, or can take away
The holy peacefulness, which, night and day,
Unto her queenly soul doth minister.

" Most gentle is she ; her large charity
(An all unwitting, childlike gift in her)
Not freer is to give than meek to bear ;
And, though herself not unacquaint with care,
Hath in her heart wide room for all that be, —
Her heart that hath no secrets of its own,
But open is as eglantine full-blown.
Cloudless for ever is her brow serene,
Speaking calm hope and trust within her, whence
Welleth a noiseless spring of patience
That keepeth all her life so fresh, so green
And full of holiness, that every look,
The greatness of her woman's soul revealing,
Unto me bringeth blessing, and a feeling
As when I read in God's own holy book.

" A graciousness in giving that doth make
The small'st gift greatest, and a sense most meek
Of worthiness, that doth not fear to take
From others, but which always fears to speak
Its thanks in utterance, for the giver's sake ; —
The deep religion of a thankful heart,
Which rests instinctively in Heaven's law
With a full peace, that never can depart
From its own steadfastness ; — a holy awe
For holy things, not those which men call holy,
But such as are revealèd to the eyes
Of a true woman's soul bent down and lowly
Before the face of daily mysteries ; —
A love that blossoms soon, but ripens slowly
To the full goldenness of fruitful prime,
Enduring with a firmness that defies
All shallow tricks of circumstance and time,
By a sure insight knowing where to cling,
And where it clingeth never withering, —
These are Irenè's dowry, — which no fate
Can shake from their serene, deep-builded state.

" In-seeing sympathy is hers, which chasteneth
No less than loveth, scorning to be bound
With fear of blame, and yet which ever hasteneth

To pour the balm of kind looks on the wound,
If they be wounds which such sweet teaching makes,
Giving itself a pang for others' sakes ;
No want of faith, that chills with side-long eye,
Hath she ; no jealousy, no Levite pride
That passeth by upon the other side ;
For in her soul there never dwelt a lie.
Right from the hand of God her spirit came
Unstained, and she hath ne'er forgotten whence
It came, nor wandered far from thence,
But laboreth to keep her still the same,
Near to her place of birth, that she may not
Soil her white raiment with an earthly spot.

" Yet sets she not her soul so steadily
Above, that she forgets her ties to earth,
But her whole thought would almost seem to be
How to make glad one lowly human hearth ;
For with a gentle courage she doth strive
In thought and word and feeling so to live
As to make earth next Heaven ; and her heart
Herein doth show its most exceeding worth,
That, bearing in our frailty her just part,
She hath not shrunk from evils of this life,
But hath gone calmly forth into the strife,
And all its sins and sorrows hath withstood
With lofty strength of patient womanhood :
For this I love her great soul more than all,
That, being bound, like us, with earthly thrall,
She walks so bright and Heaven-wise therein, —
Too wise, too meek, too womanly to sin.

" Exceeding pleasant to mine eyes is she :
Like a lone star through riven storm-clouds seen
By sailors, tempest-tost upon the sea,
Telling of rest and peaceful heavens nigh,
Unto my soul her star-like soul hath been,
Her sight as full of hope and calm to me ; —
For she unto herself hath builded high
A home serene, wherein to lay her head,
Earth's noblest thing, — a Woman perfected."

We are willing to stake our reputation for critical sagacity on the assertion, that none but a true poet could have written the above. It is certainly entitled to high praise as an ideal

portrait. No common hand drew those gentle lineaments, and laid on those softly tinted colors. It shows a power of discerning and describing the retiring graces and reserved charms of womanhood, not often found in a masculine intellect, and an appreciation of, and reverence for, the higher excellencies of the female character, which does honor to his moral sense and purity of taste. Our fair young friends may take our word for it, that they may trust their happiness more confidently into the keeping of a young poet who writes such poetry as this, than of one who addresses them in those glowing and impassioned strains, whose fire has been kindled at the torch rather of Anteros than of Eros, the terrestrial rather than the celestial divinity. With many of Mr. Lowell's characteristic excellences, the above poem also is by no means free from his characteristic defects, — his neglect of the laws of rhythm, his want of precision, and his love of superfine phraseology.

Our next extract shall be from a poem of a different kind, which he calls "Threnodia," written upon the death of a young child.

"How peacefully they rest,
Crossfolded there
Upon his little breast,
Those small, white hands, that ne'er were still before,
But ever sported with his mother's hair,
Or the plain cross that on her breast she wore !
Her heart no more will beat
To feel the touch of that soft palm,
That ever seemed a new surprise
Sending glad thoughts up to her eyes
To bless him with their holy calm, —
Sweet thoughts ! they made her eyes as sweet.
How quiet are the hands
That wove those pleasant bands !
But that they do not rise and sink
With his calm breathing, I should think
That he were dropped asleep ;
Alas ! too deep, too deep
Is this his slumber !
Time scarce can number
The years ere he will wake agen, —
O ! may we see his eyelids open then !
O stern word — Nevermore !

" As the airy gossamere,
Floating in the sunlight clear,
Where'er it toucheth, clinging tightly,
Round glossy leaf or stump unsightly,
So from his spirit wandered out
Tendrils spreading all about,
Knitting all things to its thrall
With a perfect love of all :
O stern word — Nevermore !

" He did but float a little way
Adown the stream of time,
With dreamy eyes watching the ripples play,
Or listening their fairy chime ;
His slender sail
Ne'er felt the gale ;
He did but float a little way,
And, putting to the shore
While yet 't was early day,
Went calmly on his way,
To dwell with us no more !
No jarring did he feel,
No grating on his vessel's keel ;
A strip of silver sand
Mingled the waters with the land
Where he was seen no more :
O stern word — Nevermore !

" Full short his journey was ; no dust
Of earth unto his sandals clave ;
The weary weight that old men must,
He bore not to the grave.
He seemed a cherub who had lost his way
And wandered hither, so his stay
With us was short, and 't was most meet
That he should be no delver in earth's clod,
Nor need to pause and cleanse his feet
To stand before his God :
O blest word — Evermore." — pp. 6 – 9.

The nine lines in the above extract, beginning with " As the airy gossamere," might well have been spared, for as an illustration, the image will not bear dissection, and the language is not felicitous. " Gossamer " is turned into " gossamere," for the rhyme's sake, and " knitting all things to its thrall " is a vile phrase. But with this exception, the lines

are of great beauty, as is indeed the whole piece, of which they form a part. They present a lovely picture of childhood arrested in its expanding bloom by the hand of death, and cannot but find a response in every heart that has been lacerated by the tearing away of a beloved child. And as the production of a very young man, as yet a stranger to the joys or sorrows of a parent, they reveal a depth and tenderness of feeling, and a power of imagination, which are no small ingredients in the poetical character.

We next present our readers with an entire poem, entitled "The Syrens."

"The sea is lonely, the sea is dreary,
The sea is restless and uneasy;
Thou seekest quiet, thou art weary,
Wandering thou knowest not whither; —
Our little isle is green and breezy,
Come and rest thee! O come hither!
Come to this peaceful home of ours,
Where evermore
The low west-wind creeps panting up the shore
To be at rest among the flowers;
Full of rest, the green moss lifts,
As the dark waves of the sea
Draw in and out of rocky rifts,
Calling solemnly to thee
With voices deep and hollow, —
'To the shore
Follow! O follow!
To be at rest for evermore!
For evermore!'

"Look how the gray, old Ocean
From the depth of his heart rejoices,
Heaving with a gentle motion,
When he hears our restful voices;
List how he sings in an undertone,
Chiming with our melody;
And all sweet sounds of earth and air
Melt into one low voice alone,
That murmurs over the weary sea, —
And seems to sing from everywhere, —
'Here mayest thou harbour peacefully,
Here mayest thou rest from the aching oar;
Turn thy curvèd prow ashore,

And in our green isle rest for evermore !
For evermore ! '
And Echo half wakes in the wooded hill,
And, to her heart so calm and deep,
Murmurs over in her sleep,
Doubtfully pausing and murmuring still,
' Evermore ! '
Thus, on Life's weary sea,
Heareth the marinere
Voices sweet, from far and near,
Ever singing low and clear,
Ever singing longingly.

" Is it not better here to be,
Than to be toiling late and soon ?
In the dreary night to see
Nothing but the blood-red moon
Go up and down into the sea ;
Or, in the loneliness of day,
To see the still seals only
Solemnly lift their faces gray,
Making it yet more lonely ?
Is it not better, than to hear
Only the sliding of the wave
Beneath the plank, and feel so near
A cold and lonely grave,
A restless grave, where thou shalt lie
Even in death unquietly ?
Look down beneath thy wave-worn bark,
Lean over the side and see
The leaden eye of the side-long shark
Upturnèd patiently,
Ever waiting there for thee :
Look down and see those shapeless forms,
Which ever keep their dreamless sleep
Far down within the gloomy deep,
And only stir themselves in storms,
Rising like islands from beneath,
And snorting through the angry spray,
As the frail vessel perisheth
In the whirls of their unwieldy play ;
Look down ! Look down !
Upon the seaweed, slimy and dark,
That waves its arms so lank and brown,
Beckoning for thee !

Look down beneath thy wave-worn bark
Into the cold depth of the sea!
Look down! Look down!
Thus, on Life's lonely sea,
Heareth the marinere
Voices sad, from far and near,
Ever singing full of fear,
Ever singing drearfully.

"Here all is pleasant as a dream;
The wind scarce shaketh down the dew,
The green grass floweth like a stream
Into the ocean's blue:
Listen! O listen!
Here is a gush of many streams,
A song of many birds,
And every wish and longing seems
Lulled to a numbered flow of words, —
Listen! O listen!
Here ever hum the golden bees
Underneath full-blossomed trees,
At once with glowing fruit and flowers crowned; —
The sand is so smooth, the yellow sand,
That thy keel will not grate, as it touches the land;
All around, with a slumberous sound,
The singing waves slide up the strand,
And there, where the smooth, wet pebbles be,
The waters gurgle longingly,
As if they fain would seek the shore,
To be at rest from the ceaseless roar,
To be at rest for evermore, —
For evermore.
Thus, on Life's gloomy sea,
Heareth the marinere
Voices sweet, from far and near,
Ever singing in his ear,
'Here is rest and peace for thee!'"
— pp. 99 – 104.

This poem, as a whole, is a fine one, in spite of some characteristic prettinesses, such as "restful voices," "gurgle longingly," &c. The poet has caught the spirit of the sea, and his verse flows like the undulating movement of its waves. He has given true expression to that vague sense of happiness which fills the heart, as we walk upon the beach on

a day of sunshine and calm, when the charm that broods over the tranquil sea makes us forget the thousands that have been strangled in its angry grasp, and wooes us with a magic power, that a poetical imagination might easily transform into a syren's song. "The leaden eye of the sidelong shark" is a fine line, and shows the eye of a true poet, and the image of the seaweed, waving and beckoning with its lank and brown arms, is vivid and picturesque. "The singing waves *slide* up the strand," is a happy expression, of which the eye and the ear recognise the fidelity. We would, however, enter our respectful protest against the transformation of "mariner" into "marinere." A poet has no right to deal with his words as a sailor with his ropes, splicing them where they are not long enough.

The volume contains other poems, not inferior, perhaps, to those we have quoted, and among them we would mention "The Bobolink," which is natural and pleasing, though unequal; "Bellerophon," fine, though a little cloudy; "The Beggar," which would be one of the very best in the volume, were its execution equal to its conception; "The Unlovely," commendable for its truth of feeling and simplicity of expression; "The Church," and "The Sphynx," both of them poems of a good deal of power, and showing more attention to the mechanical structure of the verse than is usual with our author.

Among the contents of the volume are thirty-five sonnets, many of which are entitled to high praise for their essential excellence, their truth and dignity of sentiment, their purity and elevation of feeling, their love of the true and the beautiful, their hopeful spirit, and the high moral purpose which breathes through them. But there is not one, which has that mechanical finish and faultless execution, which is rigorously exacted from poems of this class. An occasional carelessness of expression, a halting line, an imperfect rhyme, may be tolerated in a longer poem, which is not endurable in a sonnet, just as we pardon a blemish in a statue, which is fatal in a cameo. We extract one of them, which, we think, will confirm both our praise and our criticism.

"Poet! who sittest in thy pleasant room,
Warming thy heart with idle thoughts of love,
And of a holy life that leads above,
Striving to keep life's spring-flowers still in bloom,
And lingering to snuff their fresh perfume, —

O, there were other duties meant for thee,
Than to sit down in peacefulness and Be !
O, there are brother-hearts that dwell in gloom,
Souls loathsome, foul, and black with daily sin,
So crusted o'er with baseness, that no ray
Of Heaven's blessed light may enter in !
Come down, then, to the hot and dusty way,
And lead them back to hope and peace again, —
For, save in Act, thy Love is all in vain."

— p. 164.

We have copied enough of Mr. Lowell's poetry to give our readers a notion of its merits. It will have been seen from these extracts that he has the essential excellence of a poet, that his images have been drawn from the living forms of nature, and that his poems belong to the class of creations and not of manufactures. But he has much to learn as well as to unlearn, before he can take high rank among his tuneful brethren. In all that belongs to the form and garb of verse, there is room for great improvement. In rhyme and the structure of his verse, he is a "chartered libertine." We are constantly meeting with lines, that have too many and too few feet, that want the rhythm and cadence of verse, and have nothing but the capital letter to distinguish them from prose. There is a good deal, too, of that cloudy and misty phraseology, which is so fashionable now in prose and verse, which tantalizes us with glimmerings of meaning, but does not satisfy us with a full revelation of it. A familiar thought gains nothing by ambitious language, as an awkward man is not made graceful by fine clothes. The following lines may be cited as a specimen of the fantastic jargon to which we have recently grown familiar, and which, in attempting to combine poetry and philosophy, succeeds only in producing what is not far removed from old-fashioned nonsense.

"Of Knowledge Love is master-key,
Knowledge of Beauty ; passing dear
Is each to each, and mutually
Each one doth make the other clear ;
Beauty is Love, and what we love
Straightway is beautiful,
So is the circle round and full,
And so dear Love doth live and move
And have his being,

Finding his proper food,
By sure inseeing,
In all things pure and good,
Which he at will doth cull,
Like a joyous butterfly
Hiving in the sunny bowers
Of the soul's fairest flowers,
Or, between the earth and sky,
Wandering at liberty
For happy, happy hours! "—pp. 93, 94.

Another conspicuous fault of Mr. Lowell's poetry is the perpetual presence of daintinesses and prettinesses of expression. His thoughts are overdressed. He abounds with those affected turns, with which the poetry of Tennyson (which we suspect our friend has studied more than is good for him) is so besprinkled. He is too liberal in the use of the poetical vocabulary. This fault arises from a mistaken impression that poetry is the better, the further it is removed from prose. But good poetry is prose before it is poetry; it is reason, before it is rhyme. Speaking of a lady's hair, he says it is "parted flowingly" and "maidenwise," and in the same poem, we have "rosy white," "red moon-rise," and "far liefer." Why not "far rather"? He does not listen to a bird's song, but he "drinks" its "jargoning." Leaves are "rifted fitfully"; eyes have a "sunset-tinted haziness," and a "mysterious shine"; hair is likened to a "waterfall leaf-tinged with brown, and lit with the sunrise"; the sound of harps is said to be "down-quivering"; thoughts are said to bring on their "silver wings," a "very peaceful ecstasy"; grass is said to be "greening," &c. He uses too liberal a license in compounding words, as "spring-gladsome," vine-bowered," leaf-checkered," rapture-quivered," "organ-shaken," &c. He is also too fond of the solemn termination *eth*, as "dwelleth" for "dwells," which gives an air of stiffness to some of his pieces. To all these and many more which might be cited, we may justly apply Sir Hugh Evans's pithy observation upon Pistol's grandiloquence, "The tevil and his tam! what phrase is this, *He hears with ear?* Why, it is affectations."

We have been led to speak thus plainly of Mr. Lowell's defects, solely on account of the promise which his volume displays. For the slashing style of criticism we have

no taste ; and the cutting up of an author for the mere pleasure of the exercise, is a task from which we willingly shrink. The rank which he may hereafter occupy, depends a good deal upon himself. He has much to learn and much to do, in order to attain eminence in the most difficult of arts. His mind needs the tonic influences of bark and steel. We should infer that he had been a dreamer rather than a diligent student, and was more familiar with woods and streams than with books and men. He has sought truth, like the contemplative Jaques, "under the shade of melancholy boughs." Communion with actual and stirring life will do him service, and also the vigorous application of his mind to robust exercises. That department of mind which poets have in common with other men, in him needs to be more amply furnished. The poet has not merely to invent, imagine and create, but also to reflect, to discriminate, to judge. Reason, reflection, and common sense must underlie his whole intellectual being. He needs that knowledge which comes from the market-place, no less than that which is found in his library, or that which dwells "under the green-wood tree." Our young friend must ever bear in mind that "accuracy is in every case advantageous to beauty, and just reasoning to delicacy of sentiment." His pictures should have distinctness of outline, as well as grace of form and brilliancy of color. Let him remember that simplicity is the highest excellence of style. Let him accustom himself to the exercise of analyzing and dissecting his own sentences, and spare none which will not bear this rigorous test, and which will not retain a distinct meaning when translated into prose. We commend him to the study of those poets who are at the head of that class to which he himself does not belong, such as Pope, Gray, and Rogers, whose paramount excellence consists in the elaborate finish of their style, and the care with which every line has been wrought and polished into perfection. From them he may learn to correct his own easily-besetting errors in style and language, and to recognise the value of that clear, direct, transparent diction which suits equally well the rapture of the lyric, and the plain teachings of the didactic muse.

ART. IX. — *Ninth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, to the Corporation.* Boston : John H. Eastburn. 8vo. pp. 48.

THIS imperial mind of ours, as it sits enclosed from view, within the folds of its fleshly tabernacle, has, by the grant of benevolent nature, three principal channels of communication with the world outside. Debarred from their use, it is lonely, receiving nothing, bestowing nothing, except so far as benevolent art can provide some substitute. By speech chiefly, it sends out ideas ; by sight and hearing chiefly, it takes them in. Speech, except in the rare case of some organic deformity of its own apparatus, is only wanting when defect in the organ of hearing forbids that imitation of heard sounds, by which speech is learned. The deaf-mute is mute, because, by reason of his deafness, he is unacquainted with the articulations, which, could he hear them, he, like others, would copy and adopt. Art comes to his aid. It cannot give him either use of spoken language, its use in imparting or in receiving thought and sentiment. But it has found out ways to give him the use of written language, which, to a very great extent, may be made a substitute for spoken, besides having its own large department of unspeakable utility, for those by whom the latter is enjoyed. Art does this by laying the task of the closed ear on the ready and obedient eye. Audible language, on either part, being forbidden by the sad conditions of the case, a visible language is taught ; first, an easy, but vague and limited language of visible natural signs ; next, the more copious and exact language of visible arbitrary signs, or letters arranged in words and sentences, and exhibited on a written or printed page, or in postures of the hand. Possessed of the elements of this latter language, the deaf-mute is introduced to the same wide world of knowledge and communication, as other men. He can learn and can teach, can be addressed, and can express. Under the impulse of a gladly awakened curiosity, the burdened sight does cheerfully its double labor. The great chasm thus bridged, the medium of communication thus established, patience and diligence may accomplish the rest. The mind has emerged from its dark chamber, equipped for wide excursions. He,

on whom Nature seemed to have set a black seal of incapacity and desolation, is an intelligent and happy member of the social state.

Here, in the labors of L'Épée, Sicard, and their excellent followers in this country, was one beautiful triumph of art employed in the service of humanity. A second, like to it, has been not less laudably achieved. For another class, apparently doomed by a hard fate to helplessness and sorrow, wisdom was at the other entrance quite shut out. The condition of the blind, destitute of friendly aid except for mere support and safety, can by no means be maintained to be so pitiable as that of the deaf, obtaining freely, as the former do, in childhood, the use of spoken language; still, to compensate to them as far as possible their grievous loss of the power of looking on the works of God and man, on the face of nature and of their friends, — to give them the resources of exhilarating and profitable amusement and industry, — to enable them to impart and receive pleasure and instruction, by reading and writing what they cannot see, — is a most worthy task for science and philanthropy. In their instruction, the process is the opposite of the last; the hearing, in alliance with the touch, is made to do the work of the unavailing eye.

But what, if sight and hearing both fail? Where may the lever then be placed, which shall move, with the slightest impulse, the waiting world within? There stands a human body, and encased in it, you suppose, are a human mind and heart. But were it in its shroud and coffin, could it be more utterly unapproachable, as to any communication or sympathy? You speak, but the anomalous being before you cannot hear; you listen, but it cannot speak. The broad light rests on the vast revelations around it; but it is encompassed by "ever-during dark." How address it with any sign, any appeal, any inquiry, any consolation? Feed it, and it will swallow. Touch it, and it will know — what? Will it know so much as that it is touched, in any sense in which we, seeing, hearing, thinking men, understand the words? How mysterious, how dread, how *remote* such a presence. What is that awfully independent mind doing in its inaccessible cave? What is more to the purpose, — has art any resources to perforate its prison walls, and mercifully to convey it some tidings of humanity, and some alleviations for the woful dreariness of its solitude?

The deplorable case of blindness and deafness combined, has in very few instances come under the notice of qualified observers. Only one is known to be on record in England, before that of James Mitchell, described, in 1812, by Dugald Stewart.* Attention has been recently attracted to another, in France; and that of Julia Brace, at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in Hartford, Connecticut, is known to some of our readers. Dr. Howe, the Superintendent of the Perkins Asylum, is, however, of opinion, that they are much less infrequent than has been supposed; four in New England, besides that at Hartford, having come within his own observation. One of these has been for over three years under his treatment, and his admirably patient and judicious care has been rewarded by results so extraordinary, that, as a mere matter of curiosity, seldom is any thing so attractive offered to the public attention. Apart from its claims on the psychologist, and the practical friend of humanity, the story, as related in the Appendix to the last "Annual Report of the Institution for the Blind," has an interest for the general reader, beyond comparison greater than those famous adventures of Caspar Hauser, which were of late such a blessing to the circulating libraries.

Laura Bridgman, born in Hanover, New Hampshire, in December, 1829, was a pretty and sprightly infant, but of feeble constitution, and subject to severe fits, till she was a year and a half old. For six months from that time, her health materially improved, and in this interval, according to the account now given by her family, her infantile capacities were rapidly developed. At two years of age,

"Suddenly she sickened again; her disease raged with great violence during five weeks, when her eyes and ears were inflamed, suppurated, and their contents were discharged. But though sight and hearing were gone for ever, the poor child's sufferings were not ended; the fever raged during seven weeks; 'for five months she was kept in bed in a darkened room; it was a year before she could walk unsupported, and two years before she could sit up all day.' It was now observ-

* See "*Some Account of a Boy born Blind and Deaf*," &c. in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, Vol. VII., Part I. Of this case the Edinburgh Reviewers said (Vol. XX. p. 468); "No account of any being, doomed from birth to a privation, so nearly complete, both of sight and hearing, has hitherto been discovered in the records of science."

ed that her sense of smell was almost entirely destroyed; and consequently, that her taste was much blunted.

"It was not until four years of age, that the poor child's bodily health seemed restored, and she was able to enter upon her apprenticeship of life and the world." — p. 25.

Thus the case was made about as unmanageable as it is possible to conceive. With sight and hearing gone, whatever approach can be made to the disabled mind must be through the avenues of smell, taste, and feeling. But smell, which at best is the medium of a very small number of ideas, was almost lost; and taste, which conveys still fewer, was much impaired. Whatever was to be effected was to be done through the one sense of feeling. By this one slight thread passing to her from the intelligible universe, the unhappy child was to be brought, if at all, to the knowledge of nature, of truth, of duty, of God.

The account of her progress till her eighth year, as being obtained at second hand, is brief and general.

"As soon as she could walk, she began to explore the room, and then the house; she became familiar with the form, density, weight, and heat, of every article she could lay her hands upon. She followed her mother, and felt of her hands and arms, as she was occupied about the house; and her disposition to imitate led her to repeat every thing herself. She even learned to sew a little, and to knit.

"Her affections, too, began to expand, and seemed to be lavished upon the members of her family with peculiar force.

"But the means of communication with her were very limited; she could only be told to go to a place by being pushed; or to come to one by a sign of drawing her. Patting her gently on the head signified approbation; on the back, disapprobation.

"She showed every disposition to learn, and manifestly began to use a natural language of her own; she had a sign to express her idea of each member of the family; as drawing her fingers down each side of her face, to allude to the whiskers of one; twirling her hand around, in imitation of the motion of the spinning wheel, for another; and so on. But although she received all the aid that a kind mother could bestow, she soon began to give proof of the importance of language to the developement of human character: caressing and chiding will do for infants and dogs, but not for children; and by the time Laura was seven years old, the moral effects of her privation began to appear. There was nothing to control her will but the absolute power of another, and humanity revolts at this; she had already begun to disregard all but the sterner nature of her father; and it was evident, that as the propensi-

ties should increase with her physical growth, so would the difficulty of restraining them increase.

"At this time, I was so fortunate as to hear of the child, and immediately hastened to Hanover, to see her. I found her with a well-formed figure; a strongly-marked, nervous-sanguine temperament; a large and beautifully shaped head, and the whole system in healthy action." — pp. 24, 25.

In October, 1837, she was brought to the Institutution for the Blind in Boston.

"For a while, she was much bewildered; and after waiting about two weeks, until she became acquainted with her new locality, and somewhat familiar with the inmates, the attempt was made to give her knowledge of arbitrary signs, by which she could interchange thoughts with others.

* * * * *

"The first experiments were made by taking articles in common use, such as knives, forks, spoons, keys, &c., and pasting upon them labels with their names printed in raised letters. These she felt of very carefully, and soon, of course, distinguished that the crooked lines *s p o o n*, differed as much from the crooked lines *k e y*, as the spoon differed from the key in form.

"Then small detached labels, with the same words printed upon them, were put into her hands; and she soon observed that they were similar to the ones pasted on the articles. She showed her perception of this similarity by laying the label *k e y* upon the key, and the label *s p o o n* upon the spoon. She was encouraged here by the natural sign of approbation, patting on the head.

"The same process was then repeated with all the articles which she could handle; and she very easily learned to place the proper labels upon them. It was evident, however, that the only intellectual exercise was that of imitation and memory. She recollected that the label *b o o k* was placed upon a book, and she repeated the process first from imitation, next from memory, with the only motive the love of approbation, but apparently without the intellectual perception of any relation between the things.

"After a while, instead of labels, the individual letters were given to her on detached bits of paper; they were arranged side by side, so as to spell *b o o k*, *k e y*, &c.; then they were mixed up in a heap, and a sign was made for her to arrange them herself, so as to express the words *book*, *key*, &c., and she did so.

"Hitherto, the process had been mechanical, and the success about as great as teaching a very knowing dog, a variety

of tricks. The poor child had sat in mute amazement, and patiently imitated every thing her teacher did ; but now the truth began to flash upon her, — her intellect began to work, — she perceived that here was a way by which she could herself make up a sign of any thing that was in her own mind, and show it to another mind, and at once her countenance lighted up with a human expression ; it was no longer a dog, or parrot, — it was an immortal spirit, eagerly seizing upon a new link of union with other spirits ! I could almost fix upon the moment when this truth dawned upon her mind, and spread its light to her countenance ; I saw that the great obstacle was overcome, and that henceforward nothing but patient and persevering, but plain and straightforward efforts were to be used.

" The result thus far is quickly related, and easily conceived ; but not so was the process ; for many weeks of apparently unprofitable labor were passed, before it was effected.

" When it was said above, that a sign was made, it was intended to say, that the action was performed by her teacher, she feeling of his hands, and then imitating the motion.

" The next step was to procure a set of metal types, with the different letters of the alphabet cast upon their ends ; also a board, in which were square holes, into which holes she could set the types, so that the letters on their ends could alone be felt above the surface.

" Then, on any article being handed to her, for instance, a pencil, or a watch, she would select the component letters, and arrange them on her board, and read them with apparent pleasure.

" She was exercised for several weeks in this way, until her vocabulary became extensive ; and then the important step was taken of teaching her how to represent the different letters by the position of her fingers, instead of the cumbrous apparatus of the board and types. She accomplished this speedily, and easily, for her intellect had begun to work in aid of her teacher, and her progress was rapid.

" This was the period, about three months after she had commenced, that the first report of her case was made, in which it is stated that ' she has just learned the manual alphabet, as used by the deaf mutes, and it is a subject of delight and wonder to see how rapidly, correctly, and eagerly, she goes on with her labors. Her teacher gives her a new object, for instance a pencil, first lets her examine it, and get an idea of its use, then teaches her how to spell it by making the signs for the letters with her own fingers ; the child grasps her hand, and feels of her fingers, as the different letters are formed, — she turns her head a little one side, like a person listening closely, — her lips are apart, —she seems scarcely to breathe

— and her countenance, at first anxious, gradually changes to a smile, as she comprehends the lesson. She then holds up her tiny fingers, and spells the word in the manual alphabet ; next she takes her types and arranges her letters ; and last, to, make sure that she is right, takes the whole of the types composing the word, and places them upon or in contact with the pencil, or whatever the object may be.'

"The whole of the succeeding year was passed in gratifying her eager inquiries for the names of every object which she could possibly handle ; in exercising her in the use of the manual alphabet ; in extending in every possible way her knowledge of the physical relations of things ; and in proper care of her health." — pp. 25–27.

The following is an extract from the Report on her case, made at this period ;

"She never seems to repine, but has all the buoyancy and gayety of childhood. She is fond of fun and frolic, and when playing with the rest of the children, her shrill laugh sounds loudest of the group.

"When left alone, she seems very happy if she has her knitting or sewing, and will busy herself for hours ; if she has no occupation, she evidently amuses herself by imaginary dialogues, or by recalling past impressions ; she counts with her fingers, or spells out names of things which she has recently learned, in the manual alphabet of the deaf-mutes. In this lonely self-communion she seems to reason, reflect, and argue; if she spells a word wrong with the fingers of her right hand, she instantly strikes it with her left, as her teacher does, in sign of disapprobation ; if right, then she pats herself upon the head, and looks pleased. She sometimes purposely spells a word wrong with the left hand, looks roguish for a moment and laughs, and then with the right hand strikes the left, as if to correct it.

"During the year she has attained great dexterity in the use of the manual alphabet of the deaf-mutes ; and she spells out the words and sentences which she knows, so fast and deftly, that only those accustomed to this language can follow with the eye the rapid motions of her fingers.

"But wonderful as is the rapidity with which she writes her thoughts upon the air, still more so is the ease and accuracy with which she reads the words thus written by another, grasping their hands in hers, and following every movement of their fingers, as letter after letter conveys their meaning to her mind. It is in this way that she converses with her blind playmates ; and nothing can more forcibly show the power of mind in forcing matter to its purpose, than a meeting between them.

For, if great talent and skill are necessary for two pantomimes to paint their thoughts and feelings by the movements of the body and the expression of the countenance, how much greater the difficulty when darkness shrouds them both, and the one can hear no sound!

"When Laura is walking through a passage way with her hands spread before her, she knows instantly every one she meets, and passes them with a sign of recognition; but if it be a girl of her own age, and especially if one of her favorites, there is instantly a bright smile of recognition,— and a twining of arms,—a grasping of hands,—and a swift telegraphing upon the tiny fingers, whose rapid evolutions convey the thoughts and feelings from the outposts of one mind to those of the other. There are questions and answers, — exchanges of joy or sorrow, — there are kissings and partings, — just as between little children with all their senses." — pp. 27, 28.

She had been six months at the institution, when her mother came to visit her.

"The mother stood some time, gazing with overflowing eyes upon her unfortunate child, who, all unconscious of her p esence, was playing about the room. Presently Laura ran against her, and at once began feeling of her hands, examining her dress, and trying to find out if she knew her; but not succeeding in this, she turned away as from a stranger, and the poor woman could not conceal the pang she felt, at finding that her beloved child did not know her.

"She then gave Laura a string of beads, which she used to wear at home, which were recognised by the child at once, who, with much joy, put them around her neck, and sought me eagerly, to say she understood the string was from her home.

"The mother now tried to caress her, but poor Laura repelled her, preferring to be with her acquaintances.

"Another article from home was now given her, and she began to look much interested; she examined the stranger much closer, and gave me to understand she knew she came from Hanover; she even endured her caresses, but would leave her with indifference at the slightest signal. The distress of the mother was now painful to behold; for, although she had feared that she should not be recognised, the painful reality of being treated with cold indifference by a darling child, was too much for woman's nature to bear.

"After a while, on the mother taking hold of her again, a vague idea seemed to flit across Laura's mind, that this could not be a stranger; she therefore felt of her hands very eagerly, while her countenance assumed an expression of intense

interest, — she became very pale, and then suddenly red, — hope seemed struggling with doubt and anxiety, and never were contending emotions more strongly painted upon the human face ; at this moment of painful uncertainty, the mother drew her close to her side, and kissed her fondly, when at once the truth flashed upon the child, and all mistrust and anxiety disappeared from her face, as with an expression of exceeding joy she eagerly nestled to the bosom of her parent, and yielded herself to her fond embraces.

"After this, the beads were all unheeded ; the playthings which were offered to her were utterly disregarded ; her playmates, for whom but a moment before she gladly left the stranger, now vainly strove to pull her from her mother ; and though she yielded her usual instantaneous obedience to my signal to follow me, it was evidently with painful reluctance. She clung close to me, as if bewildered and fearful ; and when, after a moment, I took her to her mother, she sprang to her arms, and clung to her with eager joy." — pp. 28, 29.

The parting scene evinced alike her tenderness, intelligence, and resolution.

"Laura accompanied her mother to the door, clinging close to her all the way, until they arrived at the threshold, where she paused, and felt around, to ascertain who was near her. Perceiving the matron, of whom she is very fond, she grasped her with one hand, holding on convulsively to her mother with the other, and thus she stood for a moment, — then she dropped her mother's hand, — put her handkerchief to her eyes, and turning round, clung sobbing to the matron, while her mother departed, with emotions as deep as those of her child." — p. 29.

At the end of the year 1839, when she had been a little more than two years at the Institution, her proficiency was thus described ;

"Having mastered the manual alphabet of the deaf-mutes, and learned to spell readily the names of every thing within her reach, she was then taught words expressive of positive qualities, as, *hardness*, *softness* ; and she readily learned to express the quality, by connecting the adjectives *hard* or *soft* with the substantive ; though she generally followed what one would suppose to be the natural order in the succession of ideas, by placing the substantive first.

"It was found too difficult, however, then to make her understand any general expression of quality, as *hardness*,

softness, in the abstract. Indeed, this is a process of mind most difficult of performance to any, especially to deaf-mutes.

"Next she was taught those expressions of relation to place, which she could understand. For instance, a ring was taken and placed *on* a box, then the words were spelt to her, and she repeated them from imitation. Then the ring was placed *on* a hat, and a sign given her to spell; she spelt, *ring on box*, — but being checked, and the right words given, she immediately began to exercise her judgment, and, as usual, seemed intently thinking. Then the same was repeated with a bag, a desk, and a great many other things, until at last she learned that she must name the thing *on* which the article was.

"Then the same article was put *into* the box, and the words "ring *in* box" given to her. This puzzled her for many minutes, and she made many mistakes; for instance, after she had learned to say correctly whether the ring was *on* or *in* a box, a drawer, a hat, a bucket, &c., if she were asked, "where is house, or matron," she would say, "*in* box." Cross-questioning, however, is seldom necessary to ascertain whether she really understands the force of the words she is learning; for when the true meaning dawns upon her mind, the light spreads to her countenance.

"In this case, the perception seemed instantaneous, and the natural sign by which she expressed it was peculiar and striking; she spelt *o n*, then laid her hand *on* the other; then she spelt *i n t o*, and enclosed one hand *within* the other.

"She easily acquired a knowledge and use of active verbs, especially those expressive of *tangible action;* as to *walk*, to *run*, to *sew*, to *shake*.

"At first, of course, no distinction could be made of mood and tense; she used the words in a general sense, and according to the order of her *sense of ideas*. Thus, in asking some one to give her bread, she would first use the word expressive of the leading idea, and say, *Bread, give, Laura*. If she wanted water, she would say, *Water, drink, Laura*.

"Soon, however, she learned the use of the auxiliary verbs, of the difference of past, present, and future tense. For instance, here is an early sentence; *Keller is sick, — when will Keller well;* the use of *be* she had not acquired.

"Having acquired the use of substantives, adjectives, verbs, prepositions, and conjunctions, it was thought time to make the experiment of trying to teach her to *write*, and to show her that she might communicate her ideas to persons not in contact with her.

"It was amusing to witness the mute amazement with which she submitted to the process, the docility with which she imi-

tated every motion, and the perseverance with which she moved her pencil over and over again in the same track, until she could form the letter. But when at last the idea dawned upon her, that by this mysterious process she could make other people understand what she thought, her joy was boundless.

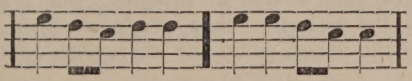
"Never did a child apply more eagerly and joyfully to any task, than she did to this; and in a few months she could make every letter distinctly, and separate words from each other; and she actually wrote, unaided, a legible letter to her mother, in which she expressed the idea of her being well, and of her expectation of going home in a few weeks. It was indeed a very rude and imperfect letter, couched in the language which a prattling infant would use. Still it shadowed forth, and expressed to her mother, the ideas that were passing in her own mind.

"She is familiar with the processes of addition and subtraction in small numbers. Subtraction of one number from another puzzled her for a time; but by help of objects she accomplished it. She can count and conceive objects to about one hundred in number; to express an indefinitely great number, or more than she can count, she says, *hundred.* If she thought a friend was to be absent many years, she would say, *will come hundred Sundays*, — meaning weeks. She is pretty accurate in measuring time, and seems to have an intuitive tendency to do it. Unaided by the changes of night and day, by the light, or the sound of any timepiece, she nevertheless divides time pretty accurately.

"With the days of the week, and the week itself as a whole, she is perfectly familiar. For instance; if asked what day will it be in fifteen days more, she readily names the day of the week. The day she divides by the commencement and end of school, by the recesses, and by the arrival of meal-times.

"Those persons who hold that the capacity of perceiving and measuring the lapse of time is an innate and distinct faculty of the mind, may deem it an important fact, that Laura evidently can measure time so accurately, as to distinguish between a half and whole note of music.

"Seated at the piano forte, she will strike the notes in a measure like the following, quite correctly.



"Now it will be perceived, that she must have clear perception of lapse of time, in order to strike the two eighths at

the right instant ; for in the first measure they occur at the second beat, in the second measure at the third beat.

" Her judgment of distances and of relations of place is very accurate. She will rise from her seat, go straight towards a door, put out her hand just at the right time, and grasp the handle with precision." — pp. 29 – 31.

The first prodigious difficulties thus happily overcome, her progress during the last year, which completed the eleventh year of her age, was, of course, more rapid. We reluctantly omit a few of the details in Dr. Howe's recent statement. We should do it too much wrong by any attempt to abridge it further.

" Her health has been very good. She has not grown much in height, but her frame has filled out.

" A perceptible change has taken place in the size and shape of her head ; and though unfortunately the measurement taken two years ago has been mislaid, every one who has been well acquainted with her, notices a marked increase in the size of the forehead. She is now just eleven years old ; and her height is four feet, four inches, and seven tenths. Her head measures twenty inches and eight tenths in circumference, in a line drawn around it, and passing over the prominences of the parietal, and those of the frontal bones ; above this line the head rises one inch and one tenth, and is broad and full. The measurement is four inches from one orifice of the ear to the other ; and from the occipital spine to the root of the nose, it is seven inches.

" Nothing has occurred to indicate the slightest perception of light or sound, or any hope of it ; and although some of those who are much with her, suppose that her smell is more acute than it was, even this seems very doubtful.

" It is true that she sometimes applies things to her nose, but often it is merely in imitation of the blind children about her ; and it is unaccompanied by that peculiar lighting up of the countenance, which is observable whenever she discovers any new quality in an object.

" It was stated in the first report, that she could perceive very pungent odors, such as that of cologne ; but it seemed to be as much by the irritation they produced upon the nervous membrane of the nares, as by any impression upon the olfactory nerve.

" It is clear that the sensation cannot be pleasurable, nor even a source of information to her respecting physical qualities ; for such is her eagerness to gain this information, that could smell serve her, she would exercise it incessantly.

"Those who have seen Julia Brace, or any other deaf-blind person, could hardly fail to observe how quickly they apply every thing which they feel, to the nose; and how by this incessant exercise, the smell becomes almost incredibly acute. Now with Laura this is not the case; she seldom puts a new thing to her nose; and when she does, it is mechanically, as it were, and without any interest.

"Her sense of touch has evidently improved in acuteness; for she now distinguishes more accurately the different undulations of the air, or the vibrations of the floor, than she did last year. She perceives very readily when a door is opened or shut, though she may be sitting at the opposite side of the room. She perceives also the tread of persons upon the floor.

"Her mental perceptions, resulting from sensation, are much more rapid than they were, for she now perceives by the slightest touch, qualities and conditions of things, similar to those she had formerly to feel long and carefully for. So with persons, she recognises her acquaintances in an instant, by touching their hands or their dress; and there are probably fifty individuals, who if they should stand in a row, and hold out each a hand to her, would be recognised by that alone."

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"The progress which she has made in intellectual acquirements, can be fully appreciated by those only who have seen her frequently. The improvement, however, is made evident by her greater command of language; and by the conception which she now has of the force of parts of speech, which last year she did not use in her simple sentences; for instance, of pronouns, which she has begun to use within six months. Last spring, returning fatigued from her journey home, she complained of a pain in her side, and on being asked what caused it, she used these words, *Laura did go to see mother, ride did make Laura side ache, horse was wrong, did not run softly.* If she were now to express the same thing she would say, *I* did go to see mother, ride did make *my* side ache. This will be seen by an extract from one of her teachers' diary of last month, 'Dec. 18th. To-day Laura asked me 'what is voice?' I told her as well as I could, that it was an impression made upon another when people talk with their mouth. She then said, '*I do not voice.*' I said, 'can you talk with your mouth'? Answer, '*No;*' 'why?' '*Because I am very deaf and dumb.*' 'Can you see?' '*No, because I am blind, I did not talk with fingers when I came with my mother, Doctor did teach me on fork, — what was on fork?*' I told her paper was fixed on forks; she then said, '*I did learn to read much with types. Doctor did teach me in nursery. Drusilla was very sick all over.*'

"The words here given (and indeed in all cases) are precisely as she used them; for great care is taken to note them at the time of utterance. It will be observed that she uses the pronoun, personal and possessive; and so ready is she to conceive the propriety of it, and the impropriety of her former method, that upon my recently saying, 'Doctor will teach Laura,' she eagerly shook my arm to correct me, and told me to say, '*I will teach you.*' She is delighted when she can catch any one in an error like this; and she shows her sense of the ludicrous, by laughter, and gratifies her innocent self-esteem by displaying her knowledge.

"It will be observed that these words are all spelled correctly; and indeed her accuracy in this respect is remarkable. She requires to have a word spelled to her only once, or twice at most, and she will seldom fail to spell it right ever afterwards.

"I will give some sentences such as she was accustomed to use about the commencement of the past year, and contrast them with those of later date. Riding in the stage coach with her teacher over a rough road, she said, '*Laura will say to man horse will run softly, — horse is wrong.*' Sitting at breakfast she asked; '*who did make egg?*' — Ans. 'hen;' '*With foot?*' Ans. 'No;' '*Laura do love egg, hen will make more.*'

"Here are some of her sentences of a more recent date, and subsequently to her learning the use of pronouns, the numbers of nouns, &c. Being surprised lately that I had not examined her for some time, she stopped short in her lesson, and said to her teacher, '*Doctor is not glad that I can cipher good;*' being asked why, she said, '*because he does not want me to show him sum.*' She was told I was busy, and had gone to the city; she said, '*horse will be much tired to go to Boston all days.*'

"She easily learned the difference between the singular and plural form, but was inclined for some time to apply the rule of adding *s*, universally. For instance, at her first lesson she had the words *arm-arms*, *hand-hands*, &c.; then being asked to form the plural of *box*, she said *box s*, &c., and for a long time she would form the plural by the general rule, as *lady, ladys*, &c.

"One of the girls had the mumps; Laura learned the name of the disease; and soon after she had it herself, but she had the swelling only on one side; and some one saying, 'you have got the mumps, she replied quickly, '*no no, I have mump.*'

"She was a long time in learning words expressive of comparison; indeed her teacher quite despaired of making her understand the difference between *good, better*, and *best*, after

having spent many days in the attempt. By perseverance, however, and by giving her an idea of comparative sizes, she was at last enabled to use comparisons pretty well. She seemed to attach to the word *large*, when connected with an object, a substantive meaning, and to consider it a specific name of the particular thing."

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"The word *or*, insignificant as it seems, has been a stumblingblock to Laura up to this day.

"With pronouns she had very little difficulty. It was thought best at first to talk with her as one does with an infant; and she learned to reply in the same way. *Laura want water, give Laura water;* but she readily learned to substitute the pronoun, and now says *give me water, — I want water*, &c. Indeed she will not allow persons to address her in the third person, but instantly corrects them, being proud to show her knowledge.

"She learned the difference between present and past tense the last year, but made use of the auxiliaries; during this year she has learned the method of inflecting the verb. In this process too, her perfect simplicity rebukes the clumsy irregularities of our language: she learned *jump, jumped, — walk, walked*, &c., until she had an idea of the mode of forming the imperfect tense, but when she came to the word *see*, she insisted that it should be *seed* in the imperfect; and after this, upon going down to dinner, she asked if it was *eat — eated*, but being told it was *ate*, she seemed to try to express the idea that this transposition of letters was not only wrong, but ludicrous, for she laughed heartily."

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"The most recent exercises have been upon those words which require attention to one's own mental operations, such as *remember, forget, expect, hope*, &c.

"Greater difficulties have been experienced in these than in her former lessons, but they have been so far surmounted that she uses many words of this kind, with a correct perception of their meaning.

"The day after her first lesson on the words *I remember*, and *I forget*, this memorandum was made of her second lesson on the same words; Question —'What do you remember you did do last Sunday?' Answer — '*I remember not to go to meeting*,' meaning that she did not go to meeting. Question; 'What do you remember you did do on Monday?' Answer; '*To walk in streets, on snow;*' this was correct. Question; 'What do you remember you did do in vacation?' Answer; '*What is vacation?*' This was a new word to her; she had

been accustomed to say '*when is no school*,' or '*when girls go home*.' The word being explained, she said '*I remember to go to Halifax;*' meaning that she did go to Halifax, which was true. 'What do you remember you did in vacation before?' Answer; '*to play with Olive, Maria, and Lydia.*' These were the girls who had been her companions.

"Wishing to make her use the word *forget*, I pushed the questions back to periods which she could not recall. I said, 'what did you do when you was a little baby?' She replied laughing, '*I did cry*,' and made the sign of tears running down her cheeks.

"'What did you *say?*—[no answer]; did you talk with fingers?' '*No*,' [very decidedly]; 'did you talk with mouth?—[a pause]—what did you say with mouth?'—'*I forget.*' I then quickly let her know, that this was the proper word, and of the same force as, I *do not remember*. Thinking this to be a good opportunity of testing her recollection of her infancy, many questions were put to her; but all that could be learned satisfactorily was, that she could recollect lying on her back, and in her mother's arms, and having medicines poured down her throat,—or in her own words, '*I remember mother to give me medicines*,'—making the signs of lying down, and of pouring liquids down the throat.

"It was not until after she had learned a few words of this kind, that it was possible to carry her mind backwards to her infancy; and to the best of my judgment, she has no recollection of any earlier period than the long and painful illness in which she lost her senses. She seems to have no recollection of any words of prattle, which she might have learned in the short respite which she enjoyed from bodily suffering.

"Her idea of oral conversation, it seems to me, is that people make signs with the mouth and lips, as she does with her fingers."

* * * * *

"When Laura first began to use words, she evidently had no idea of any other use, than to express the individual existence of things, as *book*, *spoon*, &c. The sense of touch had, of course, given her an idea of their existence, and of their individual characteristics; but one would suppose that specific differences would have been suggested to her also; that is, that in feeling of many books, spoons, &c., she would have reflected that some were large, some small, some heavy, some light, and been ready to use words expressive of the specific or generic character. But it would seem not to have been so, and her first use of the words *great, small, heavy*, &c., was to express merely individual peculiarities; *great book* was to her

the double name of a particular book ; *heavy stone* was one particular stone ; she did not consider these terms as expressive of *substantive* specific differences, or any differences of quality ; the words *great* and *heavy* were not considered abstractly, as the name of a general quality, but they were blended in her mind with the name of the objects in which they existed. At least, such seemed to me to be the case, and it was not until some time after, that the habit of abstraction enabled her to apply words of generic signification in their proper way.

"This view is confirmed by the fact, that when she learned that persons had both individual and family names, she supposed that the same rule must apply to inanimate things, and asked earnestly what was the other name for *chair*, *table*, &c.

"Several of the instances which have been quoted, will show her disposition to form her words by rule, and to admit of no exceptions ; having learned to form the plurals by adding *s*, the imperfect by adding *ed*, &c., she would apply this to every new noun or verb ; consequently the difficulty hitherto has been greater, and her progress slower, than it will be, for she has mastered the most common words, and these seem to be the ones that have been most broken up by the rough colloquial usage of unlettered people."

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"The moral qualities of her nature have also developed themselves more clearly. She is remarkably correct in her deportment ; and few children of her age evince so much sense of propriety in regard to appearance. Never, by any possibility, is she seen out of her room with her dress disordered ; and if by chance any spot of dirt is pointed out to her on her person, or any little rent in her dress, she discovers a sense of shame, and hastens to remove it.

"She is never discovered in an attitude or an action, at which the most fastidious would revolt, but is remarkable for neatness, order, and propriety.

"There is one fact which is hard to explain in any way ; it is the difference of her deportment to persons of different sex. This was observable when she was only seven years old. She is very affectionate, and when with her friends of her own sex, she is constantly clinging to them, and often kissing and caressing them ; and when she meets with strange ladies, she very soon becomes familiar, examines very freely their dress, and readily allows them to caress her. But with those of the other sex it is entirely different, and she repels every approach to familiarity. She is attached, indeed, to some, and is fond of being with them ; but she will not sit upon their knee, for in-

stance, or allow them to take her round the waist, or submit to those innocent familiarities which it is common to take with children of her age."

* * * * *

"She seems to have also, a remarkable degree of conscientiousness, for one of her age; she respects the rights of others, and will insist upon her own.

"She is fond of acquiring property, and seems to have an idea of ownership of things which she has long since laid aside, and no longer uses. She has never been known to take any thing belonging to another; and never but in one or two instances to tell a falsehood, and then only under strong temptation. Great care, indeed has been taken, not to terrify her by punishment, or to make it so severe, as to tempt her to avoid it by duplicity, as children so often do.

"When she has done wrong, her teacher lets her know that she is grieved, and the tender nature of the child is shown by the ready tears of contrition, and the earnest assurances of amendment, with which she strives to comfort those whom she has pained.

"When she has done any thing wrong, and grieved her teacher, she does not strive to conceal it from her little companions, but communicates it to them, tells them '*it is wrong,*' and says, '*———* *cannot love wrong girl.*'

"When she has any thing nice given to her, she is particularly desirous that those who happen to be ill, or afflicted in any way, should share with her, although they may not be those whom she particularly loves in other circumstances; nay, even if it be one whom she dislikes. She loves to be employed in attending the sick, and is most assiduous in her simple attentions, and tender and endearing in her demeanor.

"It has been remarked in former reports, that she can distinguish different degrees of intellect in others, and that she soon regarded almost with contempt, a new comer, when, after a few days, she discovered her weakness of mind. This unamiable part of her character has been more strongly developed during the past year.

"She chooses for her friends and companions, those children who are intelligent, and can talk best with her; and she evidently dislikes to be with those who are deficient in intellect, unless, indeed, she can make them serve her purposes, which she is evidently inclined to do. She takes advantage of them, and makes them wait upon her, in a manner that she knows she could not exact of others; and in various ways she shows her Saxon blood.

She is fond of having other children noticed and caressed by

the teachers, and those whom she respects ; but this must not be carried too far, or she becomes jealous. She wants to have her share, which, if not the lion's, is the greater part ; and if she does not get it, she says, '*My mother will love me.*'

"Her tendency to imitation is so strong, that it leads her to actions which must be entirely incomprehensible to her, and which can give her no other pleasure than the gratification of an internal faculty. She has been known to sit for half an hour, holding a book before her sightless eyes, and moving her lips, as she has observed seeing people do when reading.

"She one day pretended that her doll was sick, and went through all the motions of tending it, and giving it medicine ; she then put it carefully to bed, and placed a bottle of hot water to its feet, laughing all the time most heartily. When I came home, she insisted upon my going to see it, and feel its pulse ; and when I told her to put a blister to its back, she seemed to enjoy it amazingly, and almost screamed with delight.

"Her social feelings, and her affections, are very strong ; and when she is sitting at work, or at her studies, by the side of one of her little friends, she will break off from her task every few moments, to hug and kiss them with an earnestness and warmth, that is touching to behold.

"When left alone, she occupies and apparently amuses herself, and seems quite contented ; and so strong seems to be the natural tendency of thought to put on the garb of language, that she often soliloquizes in the *finger language*, slow and tedious as it is. But it is only when alone, that she is quiet ; for if she becomes sensible of the presence of any one near her, she is restless until she can sit close beside them, hold their hand, and converse with them by signs.

"She does not cry from vexation and disappointment, like other children, but only from grief. If she receives a blow by accident, or hurts herself, she laughs and jumps about, as if trying to drown the pain by muscular action. If the pain is severe, she does not go to her teachers or companions for sympathy, but on the contrary tries to get away by herself, and then seems to give vent to a feeling of spite, by throwing herself about violently, and roughly handling whatever she gets hold of.

"Twice only have tears been drawn from her by the severity of pain, and then she ran away, as if ashamed of crying for an accidental injury. But the fountain of her tears is by no means dried up, as is seen when her companions are in pain, or her teacher is grieved.

"In her intellectual character, it is pleasing to observe an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and a quick perception of the

relations of things. In her moral character, it is beautiful to behold her continual gladness, her keen enjoyment of existence, her expansive love, her unhesitating confidence, her sympathy with suffering, her conscientiousness, truthfulness, and hopefulness.

"No religious feeling, properly so called, has developed itself; nor is it yet time, perhaps, to look for it. But she has shown a disposition to respect those who have power and knowledge, and to love those who have goodness; and when her perceptive faculties shall have taken cognizance of the operations of nature, and she shall be accustomed to trace effects to their causes, then may her veneration be turned to Him who is almighty, her respect to Him who is omniscient, and her love to Him who is all goodness and love!

"Until then, I shall not deem it wise, by premature effort, to incur the risk of giving her ideas of God, which would be alike unworthy of His character, and fatal to her peace.

"I should fear that she might personify him in a way too common with children, who clothe him with unworthy, and sometimes grotesque attributes, which their subsequently developed reason condemns, but strives in vain to correct."— pp. 32–40.

We have restricted ourselves to an exhibition of the main facts of this unprecedented case, as they are recorded by Dr. Howe in the recent Report. He has connected with them many important observations, for which we would also find room, were it not that they may be laid before our readers to still better advantage, when some of them shall have been further pursued. We wait the result of his continued efforts with profound interest. It is with difficulty that we abstain from the attempt to express, — faintly, after all, it would have to be, — our sense of the worth of his labors; but to those who have the true heart for such, the praise of men is apt to be felt as scarcely better than intrusion and annoyance. This is a wide and busy world, and in it a great many great things are done and talked about; but it has exceedingly few things for the ambition or enjoyment of a wise man, to be compared with the consciousness of services like these in the cause of afflicted humanity.

Art. X. — 1. *Original-Beiträge zur Deutschen Schaubühne.* 4 Bänd. Dresden und Leipzig. 1836 – 1839. [Original Contributions to the German Stage.]

2. *Social Life in Germany, illustrated in the Acted Dramas of Her Royal Highness*, the Princess Amelia of Saxony. *Translated from the German, with an Introduction and Notes, explanatory of the German Language and Manners.* By Mrs. Jameson, Author of "Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad," "Characteristics of Women," "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada," &c. London: Saunders & Otley. Vols. I. and II. pp. lxxix, 264 and 399.

Since Madame de Staël, no more brilliant female writer has appeared in European Literature than Mrs. Jameson. She has not the originality, the versatility, nor the fiery vigor of the renowned author of "Corinne"; but she has more taste, a finer appreciation of the beautiful, a keener insight into the mysteries of art, and a higher style of æsthetic criticism. Her first work, the "Diary of an Ennuyée," was published anonymously, many years ago. That book was deeply tinged with a sentimental hue, which was vastly attractive to imaginative young people of both sexes; but besides this, and better than this, it contained the finest descriptions of Italian scenery that have ever been written, glowing and eloquent discussions of the merits of the great masters of art in Italy, and personal characteristics, all wrought up in a copious, elegant, and brilliant style, which even then gave an earnest of the great success which the author was destined to attain in after years. The narrative part of the work drew from many tender-hearted readers tears of regret at the untimely fate of one so young and so accomplished; and while she was growing in strength, and imping her wing for a bolder flight, they were indulging in silent sorrow, that a fair woman, who had moved them so deeply by her sad eloquence, should have died broken-hearted in the midst of her swan-like strains. We remember to have read, in a journal of no small merit, the "Southern Literary Messenger," a notice of the American edition of the "Diary," in which the particulars of the melancholy story were solemnly recited, long after Mrs. Jameson had become widely known as a living, healthy,

hearty, and most agreeable English woman, who was likely to live a long physical life, and certain to enjoy a literary immortality ; — so deep was the impression made by that tale of woe upon the public mind. A warning this, (we may say, in passing,) to all literary ladies, not to commit themselves, by pretending to die before they mean to do so. People do not like to spend their tears, — those precious pearly drops, — to no purpose ; if you once cause it to be given out that you are dead, you will certainly be considered and treated as such ; and the burden of proof to the contrary ever afterwards rests upon yourself ; you will be considered dead until you have clearly proved yourself alive. Whether, in the case referred to, the proof ought to have satisfied the "Messenger," we pretend not to decide ; it certainly did not, and that is enough to settle the point we have been stating.

The "Characteristics of Women" are universally known. But one opinion has ever been expressed of their rare merits. Everybody, perhaps, will not agree with all of Mrs. Jameson's views upon each of the Shakspearian women ; for it is a wonderful testimony to the miraculous genius of Shakspeare, that we discuss the motives and characters of his personages just as we discuss the characters of real life, and form different opinions of them, according to the light in which they happen to strike us, or according to our own peculiar turn of thought or moral feeling ; and this remark does not apply to the characters of any other dramatist whatever. But, whether we agree or not with Mrs. Jameson's views, we must admit that she has studied Shakspeare's women profoundly ; that she has scrutinized them with a keenness never surpassed ; that she has sympathized with them as woman alone can sympathize with the sufferings and emotions of her sex, whether in fiction or reality. She has sometimes made more of them, perhaps, than ever entered the mind of Shakspeare. To his teeming invention, human beings formed of airy nothing crowded together with a sort of visionary reality, and then vanished away ; just as breathing and moving beings in the thronged metropolis pass before the spectator's eye, and a moment after disappear. Some notion of their real qualities is impressed upon the spectator's mind, and, were he to embody it in works of art, the student would evolve from those works completely unfolded characters, by making the unknown harmonious with the known ; characters, which, in

their completeness, the artist never conceived, and yet, which may be strictly accordant with nature. This is what Mrs. Jameson has done for Shakspeare's women ; and the manner in which she has done it is so marked with taste, right feeling, ingenuity, and magnificent eloquence, that her book will always be read with delight, wherever Shakspeare is studied, that is, wherever European civilization extends. Mrs. Jameson's illustrations of her views upon dramatic characters, drawn from the works of the great masters in the fine arts, are of the highest order of merit, and lend an irresistible charm to the book by the multitude of beautiful associations which they excite. On the whole, considered as a book of criticism, the "Characteristics of Women" may be placed very nearly at the head of that department of literature ; on a level at least with, if not higher than, the celebrated lectures of the Schlegels.

Mrs. Jameson's next work, the "Visits and Sketches," was less elaborately written, but showed the same general traits. Her sketches of Germany, especially of the artists of Germany, were thrown off with great vivacity, and a passionate love of her subject. To the English and American public, they conveyed a great deal of information about the men and things of that studious land. The account of Retsch, the illustrator of Goethe and Shakspeare, dwells upon our mind as a fine passage in the book, and a beautiful specimen of Mrs. Jameson's peculiar powers. The "Winter Sketches and Summer Rambles in Canada," is a still more hastily written book, devoted in part to subjects very different from any that had hitherto employed her pen. The scenery of America, particularly along the northern frontier of the United States, and in Canada, was never more vividly described ; and the literary episodes woven from her studies into the tissue of her book, give it a delicious variety. Mrs. Jameson has published several other works of great merit ; but it is not necessary or desirable to particularize them here. We have only touched rapidly upon a few of her writings, — those most characteristic of her remarkable genius, — by way of introduction to the account, which we now proceed to give, of her last publication, the title of which is placed second at the head of the present article.

It cannot be denied, that German Literature has come to exercise a great influence upon the intellectual character of

Europe and America. We may lament over this fact, or rejoice at it, according to our several points of view ; but we cannot disguise from ourselves its existence. It is thrust upon our notice at every corner of the street ; it stares us in the face from the pages of every literary journal. All the sciences own the power of that influence ; on poetry and criticism it acts still more sensibly. Theology is putting on such a foreign look, that we scarcely recognise our old acquaintance under her masquerading Teutonic garb. Even our good, honest, old-fashioned English language has caught the infection, and from time to time attempts to imitate the indescribable tricks, — the fantastic capers, — the elephantine dances of her High Dutch country cousin. Where all this will end, it passes the wit of man to know. We hope to be able to hold fast our Spensers, our Miltons, our Shakspeares, and our Walter Scotts, at least.

In such a state of the intellectual world, we are interested to know all we can about this extraordinary people. They are incessantly toiling in the great intellectual workshop of the world ; the productions of their great energies are, like the Cyclopean walls of old, the wonder and astonishment of the age. Do these people eat and drink and sleep like the rest of the world ? or have they some principle of vitality denied to other mortals, by which they are enabled to task their intellects beyond other men, without the terrible penalties which the rest of the world have to pay,—the penalties of hypochondria, dyspepsy, broken down bodies, and enfeebled minds ? How is it that a dense population in the heart of Europe, with innumerable princely, ducal, archducal houses, — Highnesses, Serene Highnesses, " thoroughly illustrious" without end, — to support ; with all the restraints of etiquette, the hitherto impassable barriers that have separated class from class, with but little commerce, and with comparatively scanty resources of fortune ; how is it that such a population have become the most cosmopolitan people on earth ; have absorbed the intellectual influences of all other nations into their own being ; have become the " cousin Germans," as they have wittily been called, of all the world ; have gone back to the remotest period, and breathed into its dry bones the breath of life ; have restored the buried forms of classical and oriental antiquity ; have explored the mysteries of every science, and expounded the principles of every art, with an industry and enthusiasm

hitherto unheard of and unseen? These are questions not easily answered. It is plain that the causes of these marvellous phenomena must lie far below the surface, and in the deepest recesses of the national history and character. The present condition of German society, as indicated by the mirror of literature, has been preparing by influences that have wrought upon it from time immemorial; and to trace out those influences would require volumes, instead of the few pages that we can at present give to the Princess Amelia's plays and Mrs. Jameson's book. But it is equally plain that the peculiar influences of the present age are acting with amazing energy upon the forms and conditions of German society. The democratic tendencies of the times are making themselves felt throughout the heaving mass of German intellect,— *mens agitat molem*,— and the great interests of humanity are preparing a triumph over the narrow spirit of caste, and asserting their claims side by side with the abstractions of philosophy, and the elegancies of poetry and art. A princess of the Royal House of Saxony, with the Styx of etiquette and formality "winding nine times round her," steps forth, obedient to the genius of the age, breaks through the restraints by which that royal line had been ever before environed, enters the arena of letters, and in a very peculiar department, bears away the palm from her untitled compeers, long before her illustrious rank is known or suspected. In a series of dramas, — among the most remarkable literary phenomena of the age, — she portrays, with unrivalled elegance and rare humor, the features of German common life, and gives a new tone to the theatrical literature of her country. We are indebted to Mrs. Jameson's preface and notes for the following facts in this royal lady's life.

Amelia-Maria-Frederica-Augusta (like the Vicar of Wakefield we love to give the whole name), Duchess and Princess of Saxony, was born in 1794, and is now consequently forty-seven years old. Her father was Prince Maximilian, the youngest son of the Elector Frederic Christian. Her uncle, Frederic Augustus, ruled Saxony for sixty-four years, as Elector and king, — as Elector from 1763 to 1806, and as king from 1806 to 1827. The Princess Amelia was ten years old when her mother the Princess of Parma died, in 1804. Her education was conducted by her two aunts, the Queen Maria Amelia, and the Princess Maria Theresa.

"From this time till 1815, the Princess Amelia shared in all the vicissitudes of her family; saw her uncle-king twice exiled from his estates, and twice restored, a prisoner and again on his throne; and during these chances and changes and reverses, which occurred during the most momentous period of a woman's life, from the age of twelve to that of three and twenty, what Amelia of Saxony with all her good and rare gifts of nature, her quick perceptions and quick sympathies, might be feeling and thinking and suffering and learning, we have no means of ascertaining; only the result is before us, and it is most remarkable. Would not any one have imagined that the tremendous drama played before her eyes, the sound of battle-thunder in her ears, would have given a high poetical turn to her mind, — inspired gorgeous themes of tragedy, wondrous and pitiful?

> 'A kingdom for a stage, — princes to act,
> And monarchs to behold the swelling scene?' —

No such thing! Borne on the surface of that great wave which had wrecked and overwhelmed empires, she was floated, as it were, into quite another hemisphere, — the new world of real and popular life; awakening far more curiosity, sympathy, and interest, than the game of war and ambition played by her equals around her. What opportunities were granted to study variety of scenes and variety of characters, — 'to grapple with real nature,' — to extend on every side her sphere of observation, at an age when the fresh youthful mind was warm to every impression, were not then lost, — were, on the contrary, put to most profitable use, though, perhaps, unconsciously. From their retreat at Prague, she returned with her family, in 1815, to inhabit the palace of her ancestors at Dresden, — a very different being, I imagine, from what she would have been had she never left it; yet — no, I correct myself, — not different in *being*, but different in *working*. The nature would have been there, — the power; but would it ever have received the current stamp of authenticity, which only act and performance could give it? — that is the point." — Vol. I. *Introduction*, pp. xxxvii – xxxix.

After the restoration of her family, the Princess accompanied her father to Italy, one of her younger sisters being the wife of the present Grand Duke of Tuscany, and another having married his father, the late Grand Duke. Her younger sister married Ferdinand the Seventh, of Spain, who is said to have offered his hand first to the Princess Amelia. In 1824 she paid a visit of some months to her sister in

Spain. In 1827, her uncle King Frederic Augustus died, and was succeeded by his brother Anthony. In 1830, the government of Saxony was changed from a despotism to a limited monarchy, with an Upper and Lower House of Assembly, and Prince Maximilian, the father of Amelia, resigned his claims in favor of his son Frederic, who assumed the government, with the title of Crown Prince and Co-Regent of Saxony. Prince Maximilian lived in complete seclusion from this time until his death. In 1833 the Princess sent her drama of "Lüge und Wahrheit" (Falsehood and Truth), to the Court Theatre at Berlin, under the assumed name of Amelia Heiter. It remained unnoticed until February, 1834, when it was represented at the private theatre of the Prinzessinnen-Pallast, on the birthday of the Princess of Mecklenburg, a daughter of the King of Prussia. It became at once universally popular, and was successfully produced on every stage in Germany. In the same year her "Braut aus der Residenz" (The Bride from Town), made its appearance, and this was followed by the "Verlobung's-Ring" (Betrothal Ring), which was performed at Berlin in 1835. "Die Fürstenbraut" (The Princely Bride) soon after appeared, and was played for the first time at Dresden. This was succeeded in the same year by "Der Oheim" (The Uncle), which is considered by many her masterpiece, and is said to be the most popular of her dramas. Early in 1836, she produced "Der Landwirth" (The Farmer), which is commonly ranked next to "The Uncle." Her next production was "Der Zögling" (The Protégé), translated by Mrs. Jameson "The Young Ward." In the same year she gave "Das Fräulein vom Lande" (The Country Girl), and "Der Unentschlossene" (The Irresolute Man), which was performed at Dresden. "Vetter Heinrich" (Cousin Henry), and "Der Pflegevater" (The Foster-Father), appeared in 1837, and "Der Majorâts-erbe" (the Heir to the Entail) in 1838. These were soon followed by "Die Unbelesene" (The Woman without Reading); since which, Mrs. Jameson states, two other pieces have appeared in Germany.

Here is a life of extraordinary literary activity for any one, — fifteen or sixteen dramas in about eight years; for a princess, actually wonderful. The merits of these pieces, both as literary performances, and as ingenious pictures of German society, are most remarkable. Mrs. Jameson suggests

the comparison between them and the novels of Miss Jane Austen ; and the comparison is just in the main, but will turn out to the advantage of the Princess. Nothing can surpass the minute fidelity of Miss Austen's family pictures, nor the skill with which she has worked up the materials of every-day life, — absolutely everyday life, without the least disguise or poetical coloring, — into tales of exceeding interest. But she never rises above this sphere of characters ; she never idealizes in the least ; she never utters a brilliant or striking sentiment, or soars with strong flight into the regions of eloquence ; and this the Princess Amelia often does, the dictum of Mrs. Jameson to the contrary notwithstanding. She has a profounder insight into the depths of character and passion than Miss Austen ; and the plots of her dramas excite a deeper interest, and call into play stronger feelings than those of Miss Austen's novels. The variety of characters, distinctly drawn, is also greater in the plays than in the novels. We should say that Miss Austen was the closer observer of external peculiarities, while the Princess Amelia had more of creative genius ; the former delineates manners and little scenes of common life with minuter care ; the latter touches the chords of the passions with a bolder hand. The former is more strictly national in her delineations ; the latter, without ever violating her nationality, blends more of a cosmopolitan interest in hers. The former is exclusively English ; the latter is very German, and something besides.

Of the manners and person of the Princess, Mrs. Jameson says ;

"It will perhaps be a satisfaction to you to know, that I thought her deportment and personal appearance very much in harmony with the benign and womanly character of her works. She has a fine open brow, a clear, penetrating blue eye, and a mingled expression of benevolence and *finesse* lurking round her small mouth. Her manners are, for a Princess, not so much what you would call gracious, as simple and cordial ; altogether she struck me as a very pleasing, lively, kind-hearted person."

To go a little more into detail with regard to this royal lady's peculiar genius. The volumes of her dramas which now lie before us contain a most interesting exhibition of rare intellectual endowments, and sound moral feeling. She has drawn a great variety of characters, and placed them with singular effect in most of the common relations of life. She

has, like Miss Edgeworth, represented the fatal consequences of a single departure from perfect veracity, in her "Falsehood and Truth." She has, in the same piece, forcibly represented the temporary power which the passion for a young and beautiful woman may exercise over a high-principled man, in compelling him, strongly against his will, to assent, time and again, to what his conscience tells him is wrong; and the gradual dissipation of the charm, when his conscience is thoroughly awakened to the character of the tortuous policy of his mistress. In young Meerfeld, she has drawn an admirable portrait of the straight-forward merchant, who considers the signature to his marriage contract "at least as sacred as that to a bill of exchange." The contrast between this personage and Juliana is most skilfully managed, and their final union is brought about, improbable as such an event may at first sight appear, in such a way as to reconcile the seeming incongruities of character and principle, and to satisfy us that all will be well; that he is just the husband to mould her character to honor and truth, and that she is just the woman to form the happiness of the young merchant, by her beauty, wit, and accomplishments; that her repentance for her past insincerity is deep and sincere, and that her reformation will be made lasting by the example of spotless integrity held up to her in the daily conduct of Meerfeld. The character of Frederica, in the same play, is an exquisite creation; or rather an exquisite delineation from nature. A young and lovely woman, — dependent upon an uncle, who is too busy with the world's affairs to understand her intellectual powers and to prize her moral worth, — placed in daily contrast with the spoiled daughter of the house, in whose presence her simple and unpretending nature stands abashed, and by whose haughty spirit her lowly shrinking modesty is utterly despised, — Frederica, unobserved by all but her affectionate nurse Christine, silently goes on from day to day, discharging her unostentatious duties, filling her mind with all good knowledge, nurturing her moral being with the high and heroic sentiments of poetry, kindling her imagination with the masterpieces of the literature in her mother tongue, until at last the beauty and power of her character break upon the astonished minds of those around her, and she wins the wavering heart of Willmar, and her meekness humbles the arrogance of her conceited fine-lady cousin.

The play of "The Uncle" has been, according to Mrs. Jameson, the most successful of all the dramas of the Princess.

"The causes of its success," she remarks, "lie deep in the peculiar habits and sympathies of the German character; it is, in fact, the most essentially *German* of all these comedies, the one least likely to be understood in England. Some of those scenes which I remember to have been most effective on the stage, would not be comprehended by any English audience; would appear perhaps flat in effect and puerile in sentiment,—perhaps provoke a smile, where feelings of a very opposite nature would be excited in Germany. We are in England almost as much the slaves of certain arbitrary associations as the French themselves, while the Germans are less subjected to the influence of conventional ridicule than any people among whom I have lived. To make an old bachelor, a physician, a recluse philosopher, who feeds birds and dries butterflies, the serious hero and lover of the drama, is an idea which certainly would not have entered into the mind of any common playwright. Yet this original conception has been here most happily executed, without the slightest violation of nature or probability, as far as German manners or feelings are concerned. Dr. Löwe, with his personal negligence and mental refinement, his childlike simplicity and moral grandeur, in the beautiful blending of homeliness, sentiment, humor, and pathos, is one of the happiest and most perfect delineations I have met with in the German modern drama."

The remarks above cited are generally true; but a correct appreciation of such a character as that of Dr. Löwe is not so exclusively confined to Germany as Mrs. Jameson seems to suppose. We have no idea what would be its effect upon the English or American stage; and that is a matter of small importance. The English and American stage is now too degraded to be taken into the account in any estimate of literary merit. The leading purpose of dramatic literature at the present day,—so far as concerns England and the United States,—is to supply amusing and instructive reading, by furnishing animated pictures of life and representations of the passions, brought out with more vivacity than belongs to the nature of other forms of literary composition. Tried by this standard, the character of Dr. Löwe will excite as much sympathy among English and American as it can among German readers.

The play of "The Uncle" has several other characters as well drawn in their way as the hero. Madame von Stürmer,

the *malade imaginaire* is extremely amusing; and the doctor's prescriptions for her case are worthy of the best attention of the Faculty. The effect of the interview with Anna, upon the bachelor Doctor, is very well hit off in the following passage.

"MARTIN (*alone*).

"I wish I could find out what in the name of wonder has possessed my master: he is quite transmogrified, as it were — quite rebellious! First he abuses me when I tell him of the colonel's arrival; then he sets off to him, humming a tune as he goes along the streets; then, when he comes home, he locks himself up in his study, writes a letter, and gives it to Rosine to take, and not to me. I begin to be afeard it 's not all right; suppose he were to get crazed in his old age, — O Lord! O Lord!

Enter LÖWE.

LÖWE.

Martin, I have been talking to the Kreigsrath Lindner. I have spoken to Caroline, and I am happier than words can express!

MARTIN.

How so, your honor?

LÖWE.

Caroline, — only think, Martin, — she is betrothed! — 't was as if a millstone had fallen from my heart when I heard it.

MARTIN.

How so, your honor?

LÖWE.

Ah! I remember me you know nothing about it. (*Aside.*) Now I have the means of soothing Julius, if he should be vexed with his uncle's marriage; but he shall know nothing of his happiness yet, — I will surprise him. (*Aloud.*) Martin, what I have just told you is between ourselves.

MARTIN.

Why, your honor has told me nothing yet!

LÖWE (*looking round*).

This room is in horrible disorder, Martin.

MARTIN.

It is just as it always is.

LÖWE.

Every thing covered with dust.

MARTIN.

And yet it is swept every Easter and every Michaelmas.

LÖWE.

I 'll have it swept every day; people are coming in from

time to time, and it 's scandalous to see the dust flying in their faces. (*Looking round again.*) What a household! the book-cases empty, the books lying about on tables and chairs ——

MARTIN (*sulkily*).

I 'm not to meddle with them.

LÖWE.

No, not you, — certainly ; I 'll put them in their places myself.

MARTIN (*aside, shaking his head*).

He 's a going to die ! *

LÖWE.

Martin !

MARTIN.

Sir !

LÖWE.

This Madame von Stürmer, whom I have just taken under my care, will give me a good deal of trouble.

MARTIN.

That 's the lady that sent the pretty maid here this morning ?

LÖWE.

The maid happens to be a young lady, and her daughter.

MARTIN.

A lady ! and I treated her just as my equal ! † but it 's not my fault, however. If she 's a lady, why doesn't she dress like one, — more reasonable like ?

LÖWE.

The dress makes the woman and the man too, — eh, Martin ? Ay, it 's inconceivable what effect dress has, even on the most rational people. I think I might dress better myself.

MARTIN (*frightened*).

Pray, sir, — I hope you won't begin to think of such a thing !

LÖWE.

And why not ?

MARTIN.

At your years !

LÖWE.

Why, I am not such an old man, Martin.

MARTIN.

But we are no longer young, your honor.

" * It is a German, as well as an Irish and a Scotch superstition, that any sudden and unaccountable change in the manners and disposition is the certain prelude of death."

" † Martin remembers with consternation that he had used the wrong pronoun when addressing her: Ein Fräulein! und ich habe sie par "höre Sie" tractirt!"

LÖWE.

How ? — *we!* — you talk as if we were nearly of the same age.

MARTIN.

Why, when I first attended on you at the university, we were both hearty young fellows.

LÖWE.

Ay, but I was eighteen, and you forty.

MARTIN.

Only nine-and-thirty, your honor.

LÖWE.

And I shall be eight-and-thirty in September.

MARTIN.

As your honor pleases.

LÖWE.

Martin, I shall go to that tailor who keeps all kinds of fashionable clothes ready made, and I 'll choose myself a new coat.

MARTIN.

Then you 'll look just like a wasp.

LÖWE.

No, no, — no such thing : he has coats fit for rational people to wear.

MARTIN (*aside*).

If I could only conjure him out of this paroxysm ! (*Aloud.*) Have you been to the church-yard to-day, sir ?

LÖWE.

To the church-yard ?—no.

MARTIN.

Then you 'll go this evening ?

LÖWE.

I don't think I will.

MARTIN.

The weather 's cleared up, sir.

LÖWE.

Glad of it ; but I feel as if, — and yet what should hinder me ? (*Aside.*) My good Marie ! she too would rejoice if she knew how happy I am going to be. Shall I therefore forget *her* ? O no, never !

MARTIN.

My dear master, either you are ill, or there is something on your mind that you can't get over.

LÖWE.

Why, there *is* something on my mind, Martin, if you will know it, — something, — but you must not laugh at me, Martin ! What would you say if I ——

MARTIN.

Well, sir ?

LÖWE.

If now, for instance, I ——

MARTIN.

If what ?

LÖWE.

If— I — should ——

MARTIN.

If you should ?——

LÖWE.

If I — you see — if I should marry — a wife ! ——

MARTIN (*in terror*).

The Lord in heaven shield you !

LÖWE (*angrily*).

The Lord might shield me from worse, I think."

— Vol. i. pp. 212–218.

The character of Anna, the beautiful English heiress, is very well drawn ; and the transfer of her affections from the young baron Julius, to his bachelor uncle, is managed with infinite skill. She had engaged herself to the former, from mere kindness of heart and the hope of making something worthy of her devotion out of the plausible, but unsteady young scapegrace ; but when she came in contact with solid merit, like that of the doctor, these flimsy grounds of attachment gave way at once before the force of lofty principles, and a noble character. We finish reading the piece with a conviction that Julius will repent of his inconstancy to Caroline ; that the doctor will enjoy all the felicity he so richly merits ; and that Madame Stürmer's maladies are cured for ever. At least we hope, for the comfort of all parties, that such is her ladyship's case.

The characters and plot of " The Young Ward " are more peculiarly German than those of either play in Mrs. Jameson's first volume. The Countess von Werdenbach, a rich and noble widow, is intrusted with the care of Count Robert von Hallerfeld, an orphan. Ida von Grünau is her niece, a young girl whose school education is not yet completed. Hallerfeld's character is that of a romantic youth, who falls desperately in love with a woman much older than himself, that woman being his father's friend, his own benefactress. Salome, an old house servant, and Ida's nurse, and her uncle Baron von Grünau have set their hearts on a marriage between the young people ; but their excellent designs are for the time frustrated by discovering who is the real object of the young Baron's

passion. Despairing of ever obtaining the forgiveness of the Countess, for his presumptuous hopes, Baron Robert determines to desert his *carrière*, travel into foreign parts, and lose, in the dissipations of Paris and London, the sense of his sufferings. The feelings of the enthusiastic young gentleman, with his heart bubbling over with what he fancies to be love for a woman some fifteen years older than himself, are described with great force and humor. The Countess resolves on a bold stratagem to save her young ward from ruin. She gives him reason to hope for the fulfilment of his wishes at some future day, when he shall have distinguished himself in the career he has begun ; at the same time she puts into his hands a sealed paper, which contains her justification, and is to be opened on the day of their formal betrothal. Of course, our young gentleman, having the best of reasons, — to wit, the mature conviction of a man of twenty, — to know that his passion for the Countess is an everlasting one, stands now upon the topmost round of human happiness, and resumes his diplomatic labors with extraordinary alacrity, after having cut a few capers, such as young gentlemen in his situation are wont to exhibit, and squeezing old Grünau almost to death in his frantic joy. Ida is sent off to a boarding school to finish her education, sorely against the will of uncle Grünau and the nurse ; and the Countess exposes herself consequently to the harsh and uncharitable constructions of her kindred and acquaintances. Affairs are now wound up into a pretty, very pretty entanglement ; the plot is a very good plot, and it begins to unravel itself about two years after. The following passage will give us some insight into the course of affairs during the interval.

"Ida (*entering*).

"It made me feel strangely to see him again. In the last two years he has grown more manly, — handsomer, I think. Fortunately, he did not know me ; for when I saw him standing there, — the man in office, — the secretary of legation, — and thought of all the childish nonsense of old times, I felt almost painfully confused, — but that will not be the case another time, when other people are by, and my aunt presents him to me formally. I know not when I was so pleased as at the idea of our breakfast to-day; a *bal champêtre* in the open air is something new, — for me at least. O, I will dance, — dance all day, every dance from beginning to end ! I feel so happy,

and in such spirits! — it must be this beautiful weather, — of course.

Enter the COUNTESS.

COUNTESS.

All is in full activity in the garden, and I think I see some carriages coming over the hill yonder, — our guests probably; we shall have thirty people together in all.

IDA.

Has my uncle Grünau accepted your invitation?

COUNTESS.

I would wage any thing that uncle Grünau is the first to arrive. He brings Count Bibereck with him.

IDA.

O, I 'm *so* glad! I like that Count Bibereck.

COUNTESS (*smiling*).

Why, yes, he has always abundance of pretty things for a young lady's ear.

IDA.

O, it is not *that*; — but he amuses me, and besides —— (*she stops suddenly*).

COUNTESS.

I have invited him, to gratify Hallerfeld. They were schoolfellows, you know.

IDA.

Do you know, my dear aunt, that I have already seen Hallerfeld this morning?

COUNTESS.

Indeed! where did you see him?

IDA.

In the village, and before the door of old Margaret's house. I had persuaded her, for the first time, to venture into the open air; he stopped as soon as he saw me, and looked at me for some time without stirring; but he did not approach, nor did he speak. So I suppose he did not recognise me.

COUNTESS.

Probably not, for I doubt if he knows that you are here.

IDA.

Yes; I came from school, I remember, just as he was appointed *attaché* at Vienna; and you have not, I suppose, mentioned me in your letters to him?

COUNTESS.

Why, I do not think that during the whole year any particular good or evil fortune has befallen you, sufficient for the subject-matter of a letter.

IDA (*with a forced smile*).

I dare say he hardly recollects that I once lived under the same roof with him.

COUNTESS.

So much the better, for it will be like making a new acquaintance to-day. Have you arranged your toilette ?

IDA.

I intend to be dressed simply, — quite simply.

COUNTESS.

Simply, — yes ; but with elegance and taste, I hope ?

IDA.

O surely ! and at this moment I cannot decide between two dresses, — the white and the blue.

COUNTESS.

Choose then, for my sake, the one that is most becoming. I wish you to appear to advantage to-day, — you understand !

IDA.

O trust me for that ! you know, dear aunt, I am not vainer than is absolutely necessary : but at a ball, and a ball by daylight, one would not be the worst looking. (*She goes to the door and returns.*) Don't you think, aunt, it would be best to wear the white dress ? it is *sans prétension*, and looks so fresh !

COUNTESS.

Yes, right ! (*She goes towards the writing-table,— Ida going, stops, as meditating, and then turns back.*)

IDA.

On reflection, dear aunt, I think, after all, the blue is the prettiest.

COUNTESS.

Dress yourself as you please, my love. (*Ida goes out, — the Countess seats herself at her writing-table, opens a small writing-case, and takes out a parcel of letters.*) His letters to me during the last twelvemonth, — truly a respectable collection. Let us see, — (*she opens two or three,*) — July, last year, four pages, — five, — six pages, — 'Most beloved of human beings !' — *etcetera.* In December two pages, — three, — "My dearest Countess,' and so forth. In April this year, so, — one page, — 'Ever honored friend !' — ah, April was a bad month, it seems ! But what have we here ? — alas ! worse, — in June last, — half a page, — business, — want of time, — and 'My dear madam !' — O men, men ! — but is it your fault if the enthusiasm to which you give the name of love does not last for ever ? Ought we not even to be thankful when such feelings subside into calm friendship, and not into absolute indifference ?" — Vol. II. pp. 90 – 95.

The amount of it is that Hallerfeld has found out that his eternal love lasted considerably less than two years, — precisely what the Countess had the good sense to anticipate ; and that he has fallen in love with the Countess Ida, — and

that, too, is what was anticipated and desired. Arrangements, however, are making for a festival, which the Countess gives Hallerfeld to understand is to end in the betrothal. The conflict in the young man's mind between feeling and honor, between love and duty, is well managed; honor and duty maintain their ground, and he is resolved to devote his future life to the happiness of the woman whom he once so passionately loved, and now so deeply reverences. But "all 's well that ends well;" the Baron's good intentions are rewarded by the possession of Ida's hand; the sealed paper explains every thing, and everybody is as happy as happy can be.

There is much grace and delicacy in the delineations of character in this piece. The Countess-widow is beautifully drawn, and the young Baron is true, not merely to German, but to universal nature. The conception of such a character shows a deeper insight into the springs of human feeling than is common among princes, — or other people either. Old Grünau, the fidgetty, self-willed, gossipping uncle, has, we are sorry to say it, many counterparts among the bachelor uncles of other countries besides Germany.

"The Princely Bride" is a play that moves in a different sphere of German life. Its characters are royal personages and their attendants; and it may be expected that they will be delineated with even more truth and fidelity than those drawn from common life. Upon this point we cannot speak with confidence, as we are but plain republicans, and know but little of courts and courtly people. Mrs. Jameson says;

"Never perhaps was a courtly group sketched off with such finished delicacy, such life-like truth; such perfect knowledge of, and command over the materials employed. We have no other instance, I think, of the portrait of a princess delineated by the hand of a princess, and informed with sentiments and feelings drawn possibly from her own nature, or at least suggested by her own position. It is easy to conceive that one cause of this drama not being oftener performed is the very truth of the picture it represents. I have been told that at the Burg Theatre at Vienna, it was set aside, because it was not thought decorous to exhibit all the details of a modern court upon the stage; and, as almost all the theatres of Germany are attached to the court of some sovereign prince, and form a part of his state establishment, subject to his pleasure, the same feeling may have prevailed elsewhere."

However this may be, the character of the "Princely

Bride " is one of the most interesting in the whole range of these dramas. The portrait is most delicately finished, and the effect delightful. A marriage has been arranged between her and a young neighbouring German prince, by the usual diplomatic formalities, in such cases made and provided. The prince, however, under the disguise of an assumed name, has had an interview with a person whom he supposes to be his future bride ; and, under this idea, he has carried on a correspondence with her, which deepens the impression her personal charms have already made. When she is conducted to his capital, he is, of course, in a flutter of joyful expectation ; and his astonishment and dismay, when he becomes aware of the fatal mistake, form what may be called the distress of the piece. Under these embarrassing circumstances, the gentleness and nobleness of the heroine are conspicuously brought out. The character is one which could only be drawn by a woman ; the minute and delicate traits, the mingled sweetness and strength, the devoted love, and the martyr-like readiness to sacrifice herself for the happiness of others, as they belong eminently to the character of woman in its noblest form, so they require the graceful hand of woman to portray them as they should be portrayed. There are many scenes in this delightful drama, that deserve to be quoted. Still the effect of the piece depends, in a peculiar degree, upon reading the whole together ; and we would rather send our readers to the book, than do the principal character an injustice by presenting it in a partial and imperfect light.

The last play translated by Mrs. Jameson is " Der Landwirth," *The Farmer*, to whom she has given the title of " The Country Cousin." There is great spirit and vivacity in the scenes of this piece ; much variety in the characters ; and a great deal of humor. Young Edward von Thürmer, the gay and fashionable heir, is finely contrasted with the noble qualities of his cousin Rudolph, who has been brought up amidst the employments of a farm. Dame Beatrice is an excellent fussy manager, — a notable housewife, — such, alas ! as this degenerate age has but few to boast of. The plot of the drama may be stated in a few words. The old Baron von Thürmer has wrongfully possessed himself of an estate which should have gone to his elder brother, the father of Rudolph. The latter is, therefore, educated in the country, and after a fashion suitable to his supposed condition. The growth and developement of his moral and intellectual nature, amidst

the influences of a quiet country life, are finely shadowed forth by the incidents of the drama. Edward is educated like a young man of fashion, the heir to the estates and titles of the old Baron. He visits Prague, to become acquainted with the Count von Leistenfeld, his father's early friend, and the Count's daughter, his own destined bride. But being a somewhat imaginative, sentimental, and self-conceited personage, he takes the whim into his head to appear under the name and character of his country cousin, and attempts to excite the young Countess's interest by playing the melancholy poor gentleman ; and to a certain extent succeeds. All this is quite delightful ; and he has returned, when our drama opens, with the pleasing conviction that his future bride loves him for himself alone. The old Count and his daughter make a visit to the country seat of the Baron von Thürmer, partly for the purpose of concluding the matrimonial arrangements already begun by the old people, and so happily seconded by Edward, as he supposes, during his visit *incog.* to Prague. An accident, however, brings the young Countess and the rustic Rudolph acquainted, neither knowing who the other may be. The prospect of the approaching visit compels Edward to let his father into the masquerade he had been playing during his travels. The old gentleman calls him a fool, — as indeed he was, — but finally consents to continue the farce a little longer, warning his son, however, that the event might be somewhat different from his anticipations. When Rudolph visits the castle, he is of course mistaken by the Count and Countess for the veritable Edward ; and the young lady is not in the least sorry to discover in the unknown but agreeable and handsome young man, with whom she had conversed in the morning, her destined husband.

But before making her final answer to the suit, — before giving the irrevocable *Jawort*, she determines to subject his integrity to a trying test. She has become possessed of the evidence of the old Baron's fraudulent dealings with his nephew ; this evidence she is resolved to lay before the supposed Edward, and if he will at once renounce his father's ill-gotten wealth in favor of the injured Rudolph, then to accept his hand. The decisive moment arrives ; the fatal paper is put into her rural lover's hands, and to her infinite disappointment, when the first surprise is past, he thrusts the document into the fire, and it is reduced to ashes. Of course, she is indignant and wretched ; but when the truth is

known, and she finds that it is Rudolph himself, who has burnt the only remaining evidence of his right to the Thürmer estates and title, and all this to shield his uncle from dishonor, her admiration knows no bounds, and she surrenders her heart at once and for ever. Poor Edward must wear the willow with what grace he may. He has merely excited her compassion, —touched her fancy a little, it may be, — by his melancholy airs at Prague under the assumed character of his cousin. But the end shows that he has completely overshot his mark, and Rudolph is rewarded with the happiness which his noble and disinterested conduct so richly merited.

We have thus given some account of those plays of the Princess Amelia, which Mrs. Jameson has translated. They are only a small specimen of the whole ; a pretty fair specimen, it is true, but not the most entertaining part. The translation is executed with spirit, and generally with fidelity to the original ; and the English is marked by the purity and sprightliness, which characterize Mrs. Jameson's other writings. But the numerous idiomatic terms of the original are not always faithfully rendered. Mrs. Jameson has frequently substituted a comparatively tame periphrasis or vague generality, for a popular proverb or pithy saying of the original. It is true, that the English language does not always afford an exact equivalent for such proverbs and sayings ; but a little care will, in nine cases out of ten, enable a translator to find something very near them. The trouble seems to be, that English writers are terribly afraid of being vulgar, and look with suspicion upon all expressions, which smack of the popular mind. The consequence is, that a large number of pithy turns of speech lie unemployed, except in the conversation of the people ; and the force and picturesqueness of English style lose materially by this false gentility.

No one, we think, can read the plays of the Saxon Princess, without feeling a profound respect for the fine qualities of her heart, and the brilliant powers of her mind. Her sympathies far transcend the lines of the courtly circle around her ; she comprehends and loves the great and good qualities of her countrymen, and knows how to portray them with marvellous skill. She sees perfectly well the foibles of men and women, but looks upon them with an indulgent eye. The passions of youth and the vices of manhood and age are not unknown to her keenly observant spirit, and have not escaped her good-humored satire. It is quite amusing to see how often she laughs at the vagaries of young men and women, which they are pleased

to denominate love; how often, in her plays, people begin by being desperately enamoured of one person, and end by marrying another. Willmar, in "Falsehood and Truth," thinks himself incurably in love with Juliana, but forms a happy marriage with Frederica. Dr. Löwe remains faithful some eighteen years to the memory of his Marie, and then suddenly surrenders his heart to Anna, who as suddenly breaks off from her lover, the young Baron, who on his part has deserted his first love, Caroline, to whom he again returns. Hallerfeld at one time thinks life not worth the having, unless he can marry the Countess Werdenbach, and a year or two after finds there is no happiness but in marriage with Ida. In "The Princely Bride," the prince at dinner is in despair for the love of Matilda, but before seven o'clock, the well-being of his whole life depends on marrying the princess; Matilda, too, gets over her fancy for the prince in the course of the day, and gives her hand to Major von Sollau. In the "Landwirth," Marie von Leistenfeld is one day half in love with Edward von Thürmer, and the next wholly so with Rudolph, whom she marries. In "Der Verlobung's-Ring," *The Betrothal Ring*, (by the by, one of the best pieces in the whole collection, and as well worth translating as any Mrs. Jameson has selected,) Francisca von Falkenberg is betrothed to the Count von Wildenhain, but has had her head completely turned by reading, to the great vexation of the old gentleman her father. She falls desperately in love with her cousin, Adolph, who has risked his neck to recover her lost scarf, and held it next his heart, and thus won *her* heart from the staider and more rational bridegroom; but when he, like a man of sense, sets her at liberty, and no obstacle stands in the way of her marriage with her gallant cousin, presto, the delusion vanishes, the young lovers become tired of each other, and she sighs for Wildenhain again, and marries him.

The same thing comes up in one form or another in several more of these dramas. In fact, it seems as if the Princess were aiming constantly to guard the young against the delusions of passion and imagination. She has undoubtedly exaggerated the whimsical freaks and sudden turnings of what boys and girls take to be everlasting attachment; but there is a basis of truth in her representations, and a great deal of wisdom in the lesson she indirectly inculcates. Her men are not, generally, so well drawn as her women. They all are the creations of a female mind, and have a vein of womanishness in their characters, that betrays their origin

to the masculine eye. It is said, too, that her pictures of German society are sometimes unnatural and perhaps impossible ; this may to some extent be true. There are many traits of common life, that must, of necessity, escape the observation of a royal personage, however keen and vigilant ; but we think she approaches, even in this respect, as near to the truth of nature as any other dramatist who has aimed at painting contemporary manners. The truth is, the drama is not, never was, and never can be, a very exact transcript of the details of common social life. But no one, at all familiar with German literature, will hesitate, we think, to say, that these pieces are true to the essential spirit of the German character ; that they faithfully represent its honest-heartedness, its romantic and poetical cast of thought, its love of simple nature, and its freedom from conventional sentiment and manners. The language, — the German style, — is admitted, on all hands, to be elegant, descriptive, and pure. It abounds, as we said before, in national idioms ; but it is an excellent model of the conversational style among the best educated classes. Some of the female characters in these dramas are among the most exquisite creations of Poetry. No reader of sensibility can ever forget the mild beauties of Frederica ; the gentle and affectionate and trustful spirit of the Hedwig, in " Der Pflegevater " ; the simple, but noble and high-hearted Dorothea, in " Das Fräulein vom Lande " ; or the magnanimity of the " Princely Bride." They are all characters, who stand forth in our memory as lovely impersonations of all that is at once human and angelic in woman ; as realizing the dreams of poetry, but not transcending the possibilities of earthly life. Of each of them, we may say with the philosophical poet ;

" I saw her upon nearer view,
A spirit, yet a woman too !
Her household motions light and free,
And steps of virgin liberty ;
A countenance in which did meet
Sweet records, promises as sweet ;
A creature not too bright and good
For human nature's daily food.

* * * *

A perfect woman, nobly planned
To warn, to comfort, and command ;
And yet a spirit still, and bright
With something of an angel light."

Art. XI. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *A Greek Reader, for the Use of Schools ; containing Selections in Prose and Poetry, with English Notes and a Lexicon. Adapted particularly to the Greek Grammar of E. A. Sophocles, A. M.* By C. C. Felton, A. M., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. Hartford, Conn. : H. Huntington, Jr. 12mo. pp. 442.

One cannot help being struck, in looking over the pages of this book, with the difference between the standards of American scholarship now, and in the days removed from us by only one generation. Forty years ago, a boy who had studied the New Testament in the original, had read Greek enough to secure his admission into any of our colleges. The first advance was made at Cambridge, we believe, by requiring an additional examination in Dalzel's "Collectanea Minora" ; for which, in 1824, Professor Everett's edition of Jacobs's "Greek Reader" was substituted; the Four Gospels, by a further change, taking the place of the whole of the New Testament. And now, as the Cambridge Catalogue just published informs us, Jacobs is to be dropped, and Professor Felton's "Reader" adopted in its place. Thus has the amount of study requisite for admission into that University been virtually doubled three times within the last half century. And we catch no hint of a disposition to stop here ; but we venture to hope, in view of the merits of the book before us, that further advances, for a long time at least, will be made by addition, and not by substitution.

We cannot regret, on the whole, that the old "Greek Reader" is likely to be supplanted in the public favor. However superior in some respects that selection may have been to the manuals it superseded, we think we can see many reasons, besides the propriety of increasing the amount of classical study in the schools, for giving it up in favor of Professor Felton's compilation. For not only will a boy on entering college, after being drilled in the new book, know about twice as much Greek as under the former arrangement, but his knowledge will be drawn from much purer sources. In this lies its great superiority over the "Reader" of Jacobs. Instead of filling up his pages with extracts from Plutarch, and other writers who lived centuries after

the most flourishing period of Grecian literature, Professor Felton has with great judgment and taste well nigh confined his selections to early writers who are models of style in their respective departments. Xenophon, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Lysias, we doubt not, will on all hands be allowed to have been purer writers, and better authority for the classical use of the Greek language, than Strabo and Plutarch. And from those four authors, more than half of the text of the new manual is taken. The pseudo-Æsop and Lucian are happily chosen as adequate representatives of the later writers. The selections in verse are equally judicious. None of them will present very serious difficulties to the learner, and yet the poetical literature of Greece hardly affords brighter gems. It was the editor's aim to give an adequate specimen from each important department; and here also the new has a decided superiority over the old "Greek Reader," in which only a few epic verses were given. Homer, Anacreon, Sappho, Simonides, Callistratus, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Moschus, all contribute something to these pages.

The extracts are illustrated by a sufficiently large body of notes, in which we are glad to see that Professor Felton gives in to none of the fashionable extravagances of the day. He takes it for granted, that the boy into whose hands his book is to come, will know something; and accordingly does not consider it necessary to proffer his aid on all occasions. And we cannot but think him entirely right in this respect. If a boy always receives assistance, how is he ever to learn the great art of teaching himself? He ought to be left to his own resources, wherever he can by ordinary diligence master the difficulties of his author. But, in the virtual assumption that those for whom he writes are beyond the need of many explanations, Professor Felton is also careful to avoid the mistake of supposing a greater proficiency than the truth would be likely to warrant.

The notes upon each extract are preceded by a biographical sketch of its author, conveying in an easy and attractive style a great amount of information. Thus notice is taken of all the valuable results which modern criticism has arrived at, when employed upon the Æsopic fables and Homeric poems. And all is told with so much simplicity and clearness, as to be brought within the comprehension of boys of moderate capacity on the lowest forms. A vocabulary, which supersedes the necessity of purchasing a separate lexicon, is appended. Besides such definitions as belong to the dif-

ferent words in their places in the text, secondary cases and tenses are given; and, what is of hardly less value, compound and derived words are referred to their roots, which are also accompanied by translations.

If we have seemed to speak unfavorably of the "Greek Reader" of Jacobs in what precedes, we conceive that we have merely discharged a duty to Professor Felton, and to the public, in entering upon a comparison from which but one verdict could result. In an age distinguished by the multiplication of school-books beyond all precedent, one who puts forth a new one can hardly be justified, unless a decided case of inadequateness is made out against that formerly in use. And we have thought it right to say thus much in commendation of the new "Greek Reader," both because we esteem it a book of great merit, as well as calculated to supply an important demand in the literary market, and because we hold that no real service of this kind should go without its acknowledgment. When a finished scholar thus foregoes for a period the enjoyment of the most fascinating studies, to toil through the drudgery of correcting Greek proof-sheets, and writing notes which require the most painful accuracy, we think it right that those, whose school and college days are over, should know the result, and feel to whom are due some of their greatest obligations in the matter of educating their children.

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2. — *Discourse on the Objects and Importance of the National Institution for the Promotion of Science, established at Washington,* 1840, *delivered at the First Anniversary.* By Joel R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, and Senior Director of the Institution. Washington: P. Force, Printer. 1841. 8vo. pp. 52.

Mr. Poinsett's Discourse comprises a plain and sensible statement of the objects of the new institution at Washington, and a consideration of their practicability and importance. He manifests an intimate acquaintance with the theory and present condition of all the leading branches of science, and, in a style remarkable for chasteness, simplicity, and force, he advocates the methodical cultivation of them by a society, which, established at the seat of government, and fostered by the federal authorities, shall have good claim to be considered as a national institution. Like many other observers of the condition of

this country, and the nature of its government, he has a deep sense of the advantages, which would accrue to scientific research and literary effort, if we possessed a metropolis, which should perform the same office for us, that is rendered by the great capitals of Europe to their respective states, by concentrating the action of individuals, and affording combined means and facilities for the advancement of learning. Mr. Poinsett argues further, in support of the feasibility and importance of the Society's design, that some branches of knowledge cannot be cultivated and rendered extensively useful without aid from the government. If our navigators are ever to be freed from their present dependence on European science, it can only be by the establishment of an observatory, which shall belong to the nation, and by the calculation of *Ephemerides*, which shall be published under the sanction of the national executive. In respect to geography, also, though the individual states may construct maps of their own territories, yet without a common centre, whence uniform plans and instructions may be issued, these maps will be laid down on different projections, and executed with various degrees of accuracy, so that the aggregate of them will be far from presenting a correct hydrographical view of the country.

The objects of the founders of the National Institution are deserving of all praise, but we fear that the attainment of them will be found beyond the means of the society itself, and that the patronage of government will prove a slender resource. A city cannot be rendered the scientific and literary metropolis of a whole nation, by merely constituting it the seat of political government. The situation of Washington and the character of its population are most unfavorable to the calm pursuits of science. It is a sort of vast hotel, which everybody visits, but where nobody is at home. Eminent men are called thither every year, from all parts of the Union, but their errand is a political one, and if they have any predilection for scientific pursuits, it must be merged for the time in the dust and turmoil of their public career. Nor is the case far different with those functionaries, whose stay at the capital is determined by their connexion with the executive departments. These, also, are birds of passage, though their periods of migration, instead of being limited to a year, may extend through a Presidential term. Mr. Poinsett himself is an eminent instance to prove that an ardent love of science is not incompatible with the faithful discharge of high official duties. But we find even him expressing regret, that the calls of the Institution upon him require "more leisure than I now enjoy."

We hazard these remarks, because, from the title which the

Society has assumed, and from several passages in the Address before us, we suppose the hope exists, that the income of Mr. Smithson's bequest may be applied by Congress to the support of the "National Institution." Aided by this fund, and by their connexion with the general government, the directors expect that their association may in time assume a character and functions similar to those of the French Institute. But we fear the difficulties already hinted at are more than sufficient to defeat such an ambitious plan. Paris is in every sense, not merely the political capital, but the very heart of France. No city in this country can ever attain a corresponding station and influence, and Washington is, perhaps, the least likely of all to acquire such preëminence. Besides, the fund in question, if, indeed, it is now in existence, is altogether too small for such a magnificent scheme; and the parsimony of Congress in relation to such objects will not justify the expectation of further aid, even if there were no constitutional difficulties in the way. No proposal for the employment of this fund, as it seems to us, offers results of such certain utility, as the one sanctioned by the opinion of Mr. Adams. We ardently hope, that the remaining years of this venerable statesman's career may be gladdened by the accomplishment of the object, which he has so long had in view, the establishment of a National Observatory.

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3. — *Outline of a System of Legislation, for securing Protection to the Aboriginal Inhabitants of all Countries colonized by Great Britain. Drawn up at the Request of the Committee of "The Aborigines Protection Society," for the purpose of being laid before the Government.* By Standish Motte, Esq., a Member of the Committee. London: John Murray. 1840. 8vo. pp. 32.

English philanthropy has been accused at times, and not without some reason, of pursuing comprehensive, far-reaching, but somewhat indefinite plans for the general improvement of mankind in all quarters of the globe, while more direct and efficient schemes of practical benevolence at home were allowed to languish from the want of patronage. The Bible Society has expended millions in translating and circulating the Scriptures among distant tribes and nations, while a large portion of England's own manufacturing population is desti-

tute, or nearly so, of the means of religious instruction. The gigantic efforts of the government and the people, during nearly half a century, to put a stop to the slave trade, have resulted in the mortifying admission, made during the past year by the principal agents in the cause, that the abominable traffic is now carried on to a greater extent than ever, and that there is too good reason to believe, that the business has received an impulse from some of the very measures that were contrived for its suppression. One of the hardest things in the world for individuals or communities to learn, is, to be judiciously and serviceably benevolent.

These remarks have been suggested by the perusal of the pamphlet, the title of which is given above. It appears, that about four years since, a society was established in London, for the purpose of protecting against the aggressions and injustice of civilized man, not merely the aborigines, amounting to about one million, who may be said to be under British protection, but also about two hundred and eighty millions, natives of Asia, Africa, and America, who have no connexion with England whatever. And at this early period, when little or no progress has been made, so far as we can gather from this pamphlet, in collecting distinct statements of facts, or in making inquiries from persons living on the very scene of contemplated operations, the Society put forth a general scheme of legislation for the protection of savages against the cruelty and rapacity of white men, — equally applicable to Canada, the Cape of Good Hope, New Holland, and the Islands in the Pacific Sea. The enactments proposed are as vague and impracticable, as might be expected in a project drawn up under such circumstances. Many of the excellent judicial and municipal institutions of Great Britain are to be transported at once to the forests of Canada, the sands of Africa, and the bushes of New Holland, there to be managed and kept in force by unbreeched savages. For instance, the natives are to be allowed to hold real and personal property, and to dispose of the same by will and transfer, the written instruments being duly registered in proper form, and in certain cases to be free from the stamp tax. The local administration of justice is to be left with the chiefs, who shall have power to empannel "a jury or court of not less than seven natives, of which the verdict of a majority shall be in all cases binding;" and with a view to protect them from injuries from each other, as well as from the colonists, "a certain number of the aborigines shall be trained as a constabulary force." It would certainly be worth while to see an empanneled jury of Hottentots, fresh from the bush, or a company of New Hollanders, with fishbones through their noses, acting as special constables.

Far be it from us, to throw ridicule or discouragement on any scheme of rational philanthropy. But the generous spirit of individuals ought to be turned away from the wild schemes of notoriety-seeking projectors, or the inevitable disappointment of their hopes will do much to dry up the very springs of benevolence. It seems to be ordered, by a law as fixed as that of gravitation, that savage tribes shall retire and waste away before the incoming tide of civilization. The philanthropist may grieve at the immediate suffering which is thus occasioned, though he cannot but rejoice at the ultimate result. The injustice and rapacity of the new comers may increase the hardships of the natives' lot, and unnecessarily hasten their final extinction. But were the acts of the colonists regulated by the most just and tender regard for the rights of the aborigines, we cannot believe that the end would be long postponed. The native population would still dwindle away, from causes, that human wisdom cannot detect or appreciate. Positive legislation can do little or nothing to stay the evil, if it must be called one. Legal enactments are not easily enforced in new settlements, except so far as regards the intercourse of the colonists with each other, where self-interest is the powerful teacher of regard to law. The pioneers of civilization, the tamers of forests and the settlers of islands at the Antipodes, are naturally of a rugged and daring character, and the difficulties of their situation cannot tend to soften their nature. The only effectual way of preserving the natives from the superiority of the arms, or the contamination of the vices, of the settlers, is by preventing the two races from coming into immediate contact. By removing the savages to an allotted district, as remote as possible from the colonized spot, the race may be preserved, at least, for a time. This policy, as we learn from the pamphlet before us, has been adopted by the British authorities in Australia. "The whole of the aboriginal inhabitants of Van Dieman's Land, excepting four persons, are now domiciliated, with their own consent, on Flinder's Island."

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4. — *A New Spanish Grammar, adapted to every Class of Learners.* By Mariano Cubí i Soler. Sixth Edition, with corrections and improvements. Baltimore : Fielding Lucas, Jr. 1840. 12mo. pp. 294.

The author of this work has been long and favorably known by his literary labors ; first, as a Grammarian, and a most

zealous and successful teacher of his native tongue, and afterwards as the founder and editor of the "Revista Cubana," a periodical, published in Havana, and conducted with great ability, though its career was short. Mr. Cubí is now Professor of Modern Languages in the College of Louisiana, where he enjoys the reputation, which his character, talents, and experience as an instructor so well deserve.

We are happy to see that Mr. Cubí's Grammar has met with such success, as to have reached, in so few years, a sixth edition. It is one of the best Spanish Grammars in use ; and is alike remarkable for correctness, perspicuity, and completeness. In the Preface to the fifth edition, the author says, that his work "has undergone corrections and improvements, successively, for the last fourteen years ;" and again, in the Advertisement to the present edition ;

"He has endeavoured to make, at each successive edition of his work, as many corrections and improvements, as experience and a better acquaintance with the comparative genius and grammar of the English and Spanish Languages would enable him advantageously to introduce. It is fondly anticipated, therefore, that a comparison of the sixth edition of this grammar with the former ones, will show, that the unremitted attempts of the author at improvement have not been altogether unsuccessful."

We may add, that this assiduous care and repeated elaboration have produced a work of great value to the student of the Spanish language.

We observe that Mr. Cubí, in common with some other Spanish grammarians, uses certain forms of orthography, which, so far as we know, have not yet met with the sanction of the Spanish Academy, "quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi,"—at least assumed, if not conceded. For instance, the letter *x* has been entirely exploded, and its place supplied by *j*, when it has the sound of *jota ;* by *s*, when it has the sound of *s* ; and by *cs*, when its original sound is preserved. We like the change in the first two cases ; but not in the last. Why substitute two letters for one ? Why not retain *x* in all cases where the original sound of that letter is retained ? Again, *j* is constantly used to express the guttural sound, to the exclusion of *ge* and *gi* even, though these forms were admitted in the former editions, and in one instance, at least, ("plugiera," &c., p. 103,) have escaped the author's correction in this. This change being a simplification of the orthography of the language, we think it an improvement; though we confess our eyes are not yet accustomed to "Jil Blas," p. 133. Nor are we fully satisfied with the substitution of *i* for *y*, conjunction ; and its use also (in the diphthongs *ai*, *oi*, &c.) for *ay*, *oy*,

&c., though Salvá very stoutly maintains in his "Grammática," (Paris, 1830,) that *y* should only be used as a consonant. We do not note down these changes in orthography as defects; but as peculiarities. Perhaps they will finally fight their way through all opposition, and become established forms. This, however, is a question to be decided by Spaniards themselves, and not by us. After all, these changes are so trifling, that neither teacher nor pupil could be for a moment embarrassed by them in using the Grammar. Mr. Cubí has discussed the subject in detail in an article entitled "Ortografia," in the second number of his "Revista Cubana."

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5. — *A Manual of Chemistry, on the Basis of Dr. Turner's Elements of Chemistry; containing, in a condensed form, all the most important Facts and Principles of the Science. Designed for a Text-Book in Colleges, and other Seminaries of Learning.* By John Johnston, A. M., Professor of Natural Science in the Wesleyan University. Middletown: Barnes & Saxe. 1840. 12mo. pp. 453.

This work, with the exception of occasional verbal alterations to adapt its parts to each other, is a reprint of such portions of the late Dr. Turner's "Elements of Chemistry," as were thought by the author suited to the wants of students in the higher order of literary institutions in this country, together with some valuable additions, not, however, of great amount, derived from other sources. No better work could have been selected, as the basis of a text-book on Chemistry, than that of Turner. With uncommon precision and elegance of language, it combines, in an unusual degree, the cardinal requisites of thorough research, sound judgment in the selection and arrangement of materials, great clearness of thought and expression, and an accurate and extensive knowledge of the subject. It is, however, too comprehensive, and embraces too great a variety of details, to be mastered in the limited time usually allotted to the science in our colleges, and Professor Johnston has done good service to the cause of education, by presenting to the public a selection of its more important parts, in a less bulky and expensive shape.

It will, perhaps, be regretted by some, that his additions are not more numerous. Since the publication of the fifth edition of "Turner's Chemistry," in the year 1834, many interesting disoveries have been made in the science; some of which, on

account of their valuable practical applications, and others, on account of their important bearings upon certain new principles of chemical philosophy established within a few years, — such, for instance, as those of dimorphism and catalysis, — well deserve a place, even in the most elementary treatise. Professor Johnston has given an account of the new art of photogenic drawing, the processes of which were discovered by Daguerre ; but he has made no mention of the scarcely less interesting and valuable art of electrography, or electrotype engraving, likewise of recent origin.

There is one mistake in the work, which the interests of truth and justice require to be corrected. We refer to the statement on page 102, in which Messrs. Cook and Davenport, of this country, are represented to have first constructed an electro-magnetic machine, capable of producing rotary motion. The invention was, without doubt, original in them ; but they had been anticipated, both in this country and in Europe. Professor Henry, now of Princeton College, New Jersey, who has not had justice done to him in Europe for his invention, first contrived an instrument for generating motion, by means of an electro-magnet, and first applied the principle, which has been the basis of all subsequent attempts to use electro-magnetism as a motive power to propel machinery. Immediately after an account of Professor Henry's invention arrived in England, the late Professor Ritchie, of the University of London, by a modified application of the same principle, converted the reciprocating motion of the electro-magnet, obtained by Professor Henry, into one of rotation. Several electro-magnetic engines had been constructed in Europe before December, 1833, when, as it appears from a statement contained in Silliman's "Journal of Science," Mr. Davenport saw an electro-magnet for the first time. By far the most successful application of electro-magnetism, as a motive power, that has hitherto been made, is that of Professor Jacobi, of St. Petersburgh. By means of this agent he succeeded, in the year 1839, in propelling on the Neva a boat twenty-eight feet in length, and carrying fourteen persons, at the rate of about three miles an hour ; a velocity, as he remarks, not much less than that of the first invented steamboat.

We would suggest to Professor Johnston the expediency of modifying, in a future edition, the principle by which he has been guided in the selection of his matter. It admits of great doubt, we think, whether, in reducing a comprehensive treatise on chemistry to a proper size for a text-book, it is judicious to attempt to "make the work true to the science, and present in true proportion all its important features." The science is of vast extent, and its different departments vary much in their

relative importance, as objects of attention in a general education ; it is, therefore, by no means desirable for the sake of learners, that, in reducing its several parts, the same regard should be had to harmony of proportion, that would be indispensable in reducing the size of a picture, or of an architectural design. While the philosophy of chemistry, and those subjects, which derive interest and importance from their connexion with our physical well-being, or from their relations to the arts, or which throw light on the great operations of nature, should be brought forward quite prominently and fully, a description of that very numerous class of substances, which have little or no claim to attention from these considerations, and which are little known beyond the precincts of the laboratory, might be wholly omitted in a work designed for the young. We do not wish to convey the impression, that what we object to in the general plan of Professor Johnston's book is peculiar to him. All the text books on chemistry, recently published in this country, are, in a greater or less degree, liable to the same strictures.

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6. — 1. *Elements of Mental Philosophy, abridged, and designed as a Text-Book for Academies and High Schools.* By Thomas C. Upham, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. New York : Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 480.

2. *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on the Will, forming the Third Volume of a System of Mental Philosophy.* By Thomas C. Upham, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. New York : Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 411.

We have already noticed Professor Upham's larger work on Mental Philosophy,* of which one of the volumes now before us contains an abstract, prepared for the use of schools, and of those persons, who wish to gain a general knowledge of the subject, but have not either the leisure or the inclination to plunge deeply into the "science of abstruse learning." The Abridgment is evidently executed with care, and from the writer's long experience in the use of his original work as a text-book, we may be sure, that he has selected such portions

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* See *North American Review*, Vol. LI. p. 240.

of it for preservation in this single volume, as are best adapted to the taste and comprehension of youthful and imperfectly instructed readers. The work is founded almost entirely upon the writings of Locke, Reid, and Stewart, and the materials thus obtained have been fashioned with considerable skill into a connected treatise. Mr. Upham's style is lucid and correct, and his statement of the most important points of mental science, so far as it goes, shows marks of good sense and sound judgment. Teachers of youth, who wish to introduce the philosophy of mind into their course of instruction, will find in this work a safe and pleasant guide.

The phenomena of mind are considered by our author under the three divisions of the Intellect, the Sensibilities, and the Will. The volumes formerly published relate entirely to questions ranked under the two former heads, and the present treatise on the Will, therefore, is a natural complement of the previous publication, and forms the conclusion of Mr. Upham's plan. He has here grappled with a thorny subject, the difficulty of treating which in a satisfactory manner is not lessened by the consideration, that the giant mind of Jonathan Edwards had gone before him in the inquiry ; and the edifice which he erected, it behoves a writer of the present day to examine with caution and respect. Our author has evidently studied the celebrated "Inquiry" with care, and has endeavoured to modify the conclusions of Edwards by some views of his own, and by bringing them in contact, as it were, with the labors of some metaphysicians and theologians of later date. If he has not accomplished much in this attempt, he may be consoled by remembering, that other and eminent men have failed before him. The question respecting the freedom of the will, and the compatibility of the doctrine of the Divine prescience with that freedom, has furnished, in all ages, matter of keen contention both to philosophers and divines, and we are not certain that the aggregate of their labor has thrown any material light on the subject. Sure we are, that the much lauded speculations on this topic, by the modern French and German schools, have resulted only in cutting the knot, rather than untying it, even where they do not evade the real difficulty altogether.

The fact, therefore, that Mr. Upham has obtained no new insight into this matter by his researches, is not mentioned by way of detracting from his merits. His work is written in a candid and unpretending manner, that invites perusal, and disarms criticism. The writer's peculiar theological opinions are visible in the work, but they give no undue bias to his judgment, and impart no acrimony to the conduct of the argument,

or to the refutation of opposing theories. The careful arrangement of the subject, the clear statement of the points in dispute, and the abundance of illustrations, will make the work accessible to a larger class of readers, than are usually interested in metaphysical inquiries. If curiosity is rather incited, than gratified, by its perusal, we presume the author will by no means deem himself without reward for his trouble.

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7. — *Outlines of Anatomy and Physiology; translated from the French of* H. Milne Edwards, Doctor of Medicine, Professor of Natural History at the Royal College of Henry the Fourth, and at the Central School of Arts and Manufactures in Paris, by J. F. W. Lane, M. D. Boston: C. C. Little & J. Brown. 8vo. pp. 312.

This book is not designed chiefly for the medical profession, either pupils or adepts, but for those innocent persons who are too modest to read a real doctor's book, or who are scared by the hard words in which doctors are supposed to clothe their thoughts. Its purpose, however, is different from the "Physiology" of Dr. Coates, which was noticed in our last number, inasmuch as that is intended for the school-room, while this claims a place in the library or parlour. If some knowledge of the functions of living bodies is to constitute a part of a course of general education, and few will doubt that it should, then of course books must be prepared for the purpose; and such books will, according to their intrinsic value, possess their full share of utility. But we are not quite sure that such *expurgated* editions are really demanded for full grown men and women, in any of the departments of medical knowledge. Physicians will not read them; for besides the annoyance from frequent explanations of familiar terms, the knowledge they communicate, if not too superficial, is necessarily too general, to be of use to them. And as for others, they whose delicacy or morals are so fragile as to be endangered by legitimate scientific works, had better keep out of harm's way by shutting themselves up in a dark room, and not read at all; and the fear of technical phrases in any sensible medical book is a bugbear that will frighten nobody that has sense enough to read any thing.

Still, it must be acknowledged, that works on physiology are in fact little read, except by physicians. It might be supposed that educated men would acquire a knowledge of the phenomena of living bodies, at least equal to their knowledge of other

branches of general science. But it is not so. Nothing is more common than to hear public speakers, clergymen, and lawyers, commit blunders in speaking of these subjects, of which they would be greatly ashamed in any other. It may be that a book like this will come advantageously to their aid. Written, as it is, expressly for their use, made attractive by its general appearance and style of execution, and avoiding all topics that can be supposed offensive to the most fastidious, it may obtain a reading, where other works on the subject have failed to secure attention.

It is certainly well adapted to its object. Although too general in its descriptions to answer well the purposes of the medical student, it is far from being a superficial work. It gives enough of anatomical delineation to furnish an outline of the general structure of the human body, and to render intelligible the explanations of the several functions. In doing this, the author addresses himself to intelligent educated persons generally, avoiding, on the one hand, that simplicity or poverty of language that is thought to be suited only to those whose education is in progress, and on the other either abstaining from or explaining such terms as are peculiar to medical men. The style is clear and intelligible. The English version, of which alone we speak, is good, pleasant reading, although, like most translations, the idiom of the original language occasionally appears in the structure of the sentences, and sometimes, though rarely, in the use of words. The translator would have done well, we think, to have rendered into English the terms of measure, instead of adopting the *metre*, and *litre*, with their compounds, of the original. It was all, and more than all, that even Napoleon in the height of his power could do, to compel the French nation to lay aside their accustomed designations of weight and measure, and adopt a new and greatly improved system. It is too much to expect us strangers to learn to understand them ; and quite too much to suppose that casual readers will take the trouble to turn to the notes for a key to explain them, and then make a calculation of their value in each case. This is what the translator should have done for them. Besides, it gives a foreign air to the book, and every time it occurs, reminds the reader that he has but a translation before him.

After all, these are small blemishes. The translation is, on the whole, decidedly a good one ; and the work itself abounds in sound instruction and useful information. The explanations of the several functions are, in general, in accordance with the opinions of the best physiologists ; and in most instances they include the results of the latest discoveries and observations.

This last circumstance is of more importance than would readily be believed by one who had given no attention to the subject. The phenomena of living bodies are produced by a combination of physical and chemical operations, with actions that are purely vital. It follows that discoveries in either of these branches of science, may have a direct bearing upon that of physiology, as well as those which are the direct result of researches upon the animal body itself. In all these departments of learning, investigations have been carried on with great activity and success, in the last few years. Those physicians whose reading is somewhat old, would be surprised to find how much they have to learn, of what is familiar to the more fresh investigation of the active inquirers of the profession. In this point of view the volume before us may be a valuable acquisition to some physicians. It gives a condensed view of the present state of physiological knowledge, which they may not have the leisure or the industry to obtain from more elaborate works, and in the correctness of which they may place a confidence not always due to extra-professional works.

The book is the more attractive, that the mechanical execution is excellent, vastly superior to that of most works of the sort issued from the press in this country, and compares well with the best specimens of American printing. The pictorial illustrations, which are numerous, are in the best style of wood-engraving ; and the printing, paper, and binding, in short the whole execution, are such as to render it a comfort to the eye that reads it. We are grateful to every man that will help to sustain the art of printing among us, in these degenerate days of cheapness and consequent meanness of execution ; and we shall be truly glad if both the publishers and the translator of this work find, in the sale of it, an ample remuneration for their enterprise and good taste.

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8. — *Sonnets*, by Sir John Hanmer, Baronet. London : Edward Moxon. 8vo. pp. 62.

The present age is called an unpoetical one ; and if, by this, it is meant that there is a dearth of great poets, the saying is true enough. The soil was taxed too hard by the last generation not to be allowed to lie fallow, for half a century, at least. But in another sense, the age is far from being unpoetical, since the very elements of poetry enter more or less into every thing that comes from the press. Not a book of travels, an article of a periodical, a sermon, or a speech, but shows

something of a poetic coloring; an active fancy, a quick sense of the beautiful, a care for rhetorical finish and verbal elegance, — in short, for those decorations of thought, the chief object of which is to please, and which often form a substitute for thought itself. In this general poetic illumination we may find in some measure the cause, as well as the compensation, for the deficiency of stars of the first magnitude.

The poems before us are fair specimens of the times. Without having any very marked physiognomy of their own, they are the product of a cultivated age. They could have been produced in no other. They are full of rich classical allusion, of images suggested by a familiarity with the arts and letters of ancient and modern Italy. Without any great depth of feeling, they show the natural sensibility of a cultivated mind to the beauties of outward nature, and to the monuments of human genius and taste. And if they have none of those curious felicities of expression which stick in the memory, when the book or the poem, in which they are found, is forgotten, they are full of that poetical expression, which enables the reader of taste to find much pleasure in the perusal, and we may add, what is not often the case, in the re-perusal of them. The sonnets range over a great variety of subjects, not always of the most promising kind for a poet to stumble upon. Such, for example, are those on a "Steamboat," the "Chartists," the "Ballot," and the like. Any peg, it seems, will serve to hang a sonnet on. We select the three following, as those which have pleased us as much as any, though not possessed of greater merit, perhaps, than some others in the collection.

"TO A PINE.

"Pine, whose green branches to my vernal song
Were as the coronal, gracing its close;
Now, forth his painted portals, Autumn goes
Over the woods, that will be bare ere long.
He leads them, reeling like a Thracian throng;
And each in turn his leafy chaplet throws
Down at his feet; only the Ilex knows
A spell superior to the enchanter strong.
He hath a hollow root, in which the mice
Dream out the winter, or some woodland bee;
Yet bravely doth his dusk head front the stars;
Through whose dread gates hath pass'd a century twice,
Since he was planted; flourish thus my tree,
And see a prosperous end of civil jars." — p. xxi.

"EVENING IN GERMANY.

"How each sharp hammer of the minster clock
Cuts off a point of time, until the bell,
Up-carolling to the clouds with silvery swell,
The sullen presage like a bird doth mock:

But the day fleets, and the shadow of the rock
Falls opposite to where at morn it fell;
The bees come home, each to her angular cell;
Up to his hostel flies the roosting cock.
Now creep the beggars, some with misery pined
To dungeon-pits; some where the woodland yields
Small shelter, thinned for comfortable fires:
Some to lone huts, such as the shepherd builds
Under a bank, to shield him from the wind,
In an old tree set round with thorns and briars."—p. XL.

"THE SUPPRESSED CONVENT.

"The vine builds o'er the broken convent tower
God's architecture, hiding that of man;
The soft blue brook runs on as first it ran,
Fed by the mountain rills, the forest shower;
Gone is the Benedictine garb, and dower,
Marble, and pomp, and then amain began
Ruin, last phase of beauty; but the plan
That reared these walls outlasts the levelling hour.
To the fair city over Arno's side,
That when its lily on Arcetri smiles,
Doth celebrate the festival of St. John,
Might such still come as wont to fill these aisles.
The light from darkness in their thoughts divide,
And let the world, e'en as it will, go on." — p. XLVIII.

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9. — *The Practical Spelling-Book, with Reading Lessons.* By T. H. GALLAUDET and HORACE HOOKER. Hartford: Belknap & Hamersley. 12mo. pp. 166.

IN the systems that prevail wherever the English language is taught, the Spelling-book, under that name or some other, lies almost universally at the threshold. Whoever, therefore, makes important improvements in the spelling-book, should be considered a public benefactor. He saves a portion of the life of every individual, to whom the advantage of the improvements is extended. He may do much more; he may not only shorten, but render pleasanter, the path that leads to intellectual life. He may convert a mechanical and wearisome task to a profitable and interesting exercise.

So much of the future intelligence and mental activity of every individual depends upon the first steps he takes, upon the habits he is at the outset led to form, that it would seem to be a work worthy of the best minds in the community, to prepare the elementary books for children. A hasty examination

of almost any of the numerous spelling-books in use is sufficient to show that very little of either learning or intelligence has usually gone to their composition. The title-page and every other page satisfactorily show that this has not been the case with "the Practical Spelling-Book."

It contains great and important improvements. It is evidently formed, not from previous books of the same name, but from an examination of the whole language.

It is made up of the words in common use, and omits all others, unless there be something remarkable in their orthography or pronunciation.

It contains the roots of the language, while it omits most of the derivatives which would only encumber its pages.

The words are arranged on a philosophical principle, according to the sounds of the letters in the important or difficult syllable; thus aiding the memory, by placing in juxtaposition and contrast the various combinations of letters by which the same sound is expressed.

It contains excellent directions to teachers. These are of great value, and will continue so until all our schools shall be supplied with well-trained teachers.

It has an index, whereby are shown at a glance the lessons containing the words into which enter the various sounds of the various letters and combinations.

It is thus a great advance beyond all the books of this kind that it has been our fortune to examine, though we confess we have not examined all that are in use. We think it should be in the hands of every teacher. It contains a better arrangement of the sounds of the letters and of the anomalies, than, so far as we know, is to be found in the same compass elsewhere.

Still it is not immaculate. To say nothing of errors of the press, of which there should be none in books for children and teachers, many of whom may not have the means of correcting them, we object to teaching children that the vowel in *word* and *world* has the same sound as it has in *son*, or that the same is to be given in *hoop* and *root* as in *bush;* we object to allowing people to say *brĭch*, *lĕzhur*, *fĕrs*, or *pĕrs*, and flatter themselves that they are pronouncing correctly. After giving a very restricted pronunciation of the words, the authors say, — "some pronounce *mā'tron*, *pā'tron*." Is it fair and respectful to call the great majority of all educated persons who speak the English language, — *some* people?

These are things of minor consequence, since they regard single words only. There are others, however, in regard to which we would lift up our voice if it would be of any avail. We are sorry to see mere Americanisms in pronunciation sanctioned by such authority as accompanies this book. We are

sorry to see the vowel *a* in such words as *grant, branch, dance, disaster,* deprived of the delicate short sound which the well-educated English give it, and degraded to the sound of *a* in *bar.* There is no more infallible mark of a superior education than delicacy of pronunciation; and there is no class of words in which a correct ear more immediately detects vulgarity than in this. It is mortifying to think that the best educated scholar who shall learn to pronounce from this book, will, if he comes to travel in the mother country, be taxed at once with provincialism and vulgarity, for the coarse *ah* in *dance,* instead of the beautiful sound which alone English ears will acknowledge.

We have said that this little volume has probably no superior in its way. But is it not time that a better system of instruction should dispense with such books altogether? One of the authors, certainly, has some idea at least of a far more philosophical method. He probably knows, better than we can tell him, what a vast deal of time is spent to no purpose upon these nonsense columns. He must be familiar with the fact, that, as spelling has usually been taught, the most skilful oral spellers fail for the most part as soon as they are set to writing. He must have observed that the names of the letters have but a distant connexion with their sounds; that the spelling of words addresses itself only to the eye; and that occupying children for hours daily upon words only, arranged in columns in which they can have no meaning, has an obvious and almost necessary tendency to form habits of looking at words as mere sounds having no connexion with sense. He can hardly have failed himself to suspect that the listlessness often observed in children at school is owing to their habits of not using their understandings in study; habits, which it ought not to surprise us to find formed, when we have spent so many years in forming them. He is of course familiar with the *phonic* method of learning to read, which has been introduced with success on the continent of Europe, and he has himself suggested the mode of learning the letters from the words in which they occur, instead of learning them by themselves.

Who is more capable than he of carrying out these suggestions? Who could, better than he, introduce, in familiar and interesting stories, or in other suitable forms, all the words which are contained in this spelling-book, so that no word should be presented but as the representative of thought, and the unnatural divorce of sense and sound should henceforth be for ever forbidden? Such a work would be worthy of those, who have so successfully accomplished this which they have undertaken. A work fraught with such benefits to the understanding, would be richly worthy of the author of the beautiful "Child's Book of the Soul."

10. — *Considérations sur le Principe Démocratique qui régit l'Union Américaine et de la Possibilité de son Application à d'autres Etats.* Par le Major G. T. Poussin, Auteur de plusieurs Ouvrages sur les Travaux Publics des Etats Unis et sur les Chemins de Fer de l'Angleterre et de la France. Paris. C. Gosselin. 1841. 8vo. pp. 311.
[Reflections upon the Democratic Principle which governs the American Union, and upon the Possibility of applying it to other States. By Major G. T. Poussin, Author of several Essays upon the Public Works in the United States, and upon the Railroads of England and France.]

This volume has just issued from the press in France. It is written by a gentleman well known in the United States, as he was for a long time engaged under General Bernard in the work of maturing a system of national defence for this country. We believe that the revolution of 1830 in France recalled him, as well as his principal, to his native country, and that he has since resided there. But he does not appear to have forgotten the effect of his residence among us. The present work contains the results of his observation of the effect of our political institutions upon our social organization. This observation, it ought to be remarked, was made under very favorable circumstances, and for a much longer period of time than is commonly employed by foreigners who take the trouble to write about the United States. And if we cannot always fully assent to the justness of his conclusions, we can very rarely refuse to admit the accuracy of the facts upon which they are founded.

The title of the book does not appear to us exactly to express its character. In the shape of a review of the several portions of the remarkable production of M. de Tocqueville, the author has taken the opportunity to throw out suggestions of his own, which his experience in the United States supplied to him. Thus it happens, that whilst he sustains and still more fully confirms the justice of most of the reflections made by his predecessor, he occasionally puts in such modifications and qualifications of some of them, as his long acquaintance with the country furnishes. Major Poussin appears to us much more democratic in his principles than M. de Tocqueville. He is consequently more inclined to see us *couleur de rose.* This will not probably make his book the less acceptable to our countrymen. We are not sure that we like it the better on that account. For, after all, the great merit of M. de Tocqueville consists in the singular justness of his analysis, and the impartiality with

which he weighs in even scales the good and the bad consequences of our form of Government.

There are cases in which a perfect stranger is more likely to be just in his judgment of facts presented to his observation, than a resident of long standing in a country. For his mind is open to natural impressions, the effect of which has not been weakened by becoming habituated to certain established prejudices of the community of which he for the time makes a part. There are, on the other hand, cases, in which a counterbalancing advantage is enjoyed by the long resident, through the opportunity which he obtains by the passage of time to correct notions hastily assumed in the outset, and superficially drawn from partial observation. We think cases of both kinds can be seen in the present volume; and that much of the opposition of opinion that appears between M. de Tocqueville and his reviewer, may be traced to the different points from which they view our institutions, without very much invalidating the judgment of either.

M. de Tocqueville is the first European who has taken the pains to apply the principles of philosophical analysis to the phenomena presented by the social system of the United States. The results of his labor constitute, as we sincerely think, the most remarkable book of the age. Most particularly valuable are they to the citizens of America, on account of the liberal yet just spirit in which they are drawn up. The mirror which he presents does not flatter like those which are made at home, neither does it distort nor pervert in the manner practised in England. M. de Tocqueville may have erred now and then in his inferences, and he may sometimes have been too much influenced in his judgment by the source from which he happened to draw portions of his information; but after all he is generally right, and always sincere. The love of system, a fault so common with his countrymen, has not misled him, or at all confused the accuracy of his moral perception.

But it is impossible for us, within the limits of a brief notice, to go into any examination of the various particulars, in which the author deems it proper to correct the judgment of M. de Tocqueville. We can only advert to the most remarkable ones. For example, Major Poussin is of opinion that there is no cause whatsoever for the apprehension, entertained by his predecessor, for the safety of the United States, from the increase of the black race. He thinks the end of it will be the establishment of that race by itself upon a remote and separate territory. We are at a loss to perceive the precise grounds upon which such an opinion is founded. It is very true that there are some facts made evident by the returns of the census

of 1840, which are at first sight calculated somewhat to surprise the public. We allude more particularly to the diminution in the ratio of increase on the part of the colored population within the last ten years, compared with that of the ten years immediately preceding. But we have not yet in a proper and authentic shape the full returns of the late census, upon which to base any accurate judgment of their effect upon this question ; nor, if we had, do we understand how they could be made to support the hypothesis of Major Poussin. One fact, and one only, is in his favor ; and that is, the indisputable predominance of increase in the Free States, as compared with that of the Slave States of the Union. This does go far, to be sure, to dispel anxiety respecting the power of the black race, but it does not remove the obstacles in the way of any disposition ultimately to be made of it, like the one suggested by our author. Time alone can settle the question, and to time we are perfectly content to leave it, without hazarding any opinion of our own.

Major Poussin considers M. de Tocqueville in error, when expressing the opinion, — not very uncommon among us in the more wealthy classes of society, where he probably picked it up, — that it is the tendency of our institutions to drive the highest order of talents out of political life, and that it takes refuge in the pursuit of property. We also regard this to be an error, although not entirely without color of reason in its defence. It is the tendency of our popular system to deter the best educated and the most honestly disposed class of citizens from participating in the management of public affairs. But the effect which it must necessarily have in bringing into v ew the greatest talents existing in the great mass of the people, is too obvious to need enlarging upon. "Democracy," says Mr. Mitford, somewhere in his history, "though a wretched regulator, is a powerful spring." The remark has undoubtedly much truth. And, however great may be the checks which have been applied to it by our tripartite theory of government, in order to supply the regulator, it can hardly be doubted, that the spring was left as powerful as ever. We nowhere see, in the United States, any want of ability on the part of those selected by the people as their representatives, although we may seldom meet with that combination of moral, intellectual, and political superiority, the result of nature, education, and practice of public affairs, without which there never can be any thing very durable in the reputation of a statesman.

There are some other differences of opinion between M. de Tocqueville and his reviewer, which we must touch upon very briefly. We incline to side with the first in those appre-

hensions expressed by him of danger from the omnipotence of the majority, which his critic holds to be ill-founded. But we cannot stop to give our reasons to sustain the opinion. On the other hand, we think Major Poussin right in affirming, that the effect of our system of government is *not* to isolate mankind, as M. de Tocqueville would infer, but rather to strengthen those ties which bind men together in a common bond of society at the expense of the relations of family. We do not believe with the author, that our system of government is very well calculated for a period of convulsion, and to stand the perils of war, nor yet that President Jackson was a good exponent of Constitutional doctrine. But these are matters which it is impossible yet to decide. All that we can tell is, that the two parties, which have always divided the people of the Union, radically differ in opinion as to the degree of energy necessary to be conceded to the governing power, and that experience can alone test the soundness of their doctrines, by the proportion of success they will respectively attain in the application of their principles to practice, when they are intrusted with the management of public affairs.

When M. de Tocqueville ventured the opinion, that democracy tended to resolve man into selfishness, it seems as if he had voluntarily overlooked all the lessons of antiquity, as well as the history of the present day. If there is one thing more perceptible than another, under a system of perfect equality of right, it is the voluntary submission of the mass to the service of idols of their own creation. Was it not so in Greece with Pericles, and Cleon, and Demosthenes? Was it not so in Rome with Pompey and Cæsar, with the Gracchi, and Clodius, and Milo, and Catiline? In all these instances the democracy cheerfully allowed itself to be made the sport of the contending passions of their ambitious and aspiring leaders. The same tendency has always been visible in the United States. The rallying cry of every political party is a name; and Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Harrison have, each in his turn, been the individuals to whom a great majority of the nation have bowed as the oracle of truth. Sensible men may mourn, and independent ones may grieve at the want of discrimination in the popular mind, that is thus perpetually exposing itself; but the fact remains confirmed by the history of ages. If there is one tendency in a democracy more marked than another, it is towards the formation of parties, under the lead, and for the support, of some acknowledged chief. The corrective most to be relied upon is, that the same species of superiority which rallies them in defence of some, commonly furnishes the occasion for a corresponding amount of opposition on the part of

others, and thus the natural effect of contention is to neutralize the power of all parties. There has never been a really great man in America, whose career has not been marked with constant and steady resistance. It is the conservative principle of the social system, which, as it betrayed itself long ago in a small democracy by the singular law of ostracism, so it does in a large one at this day by the conflict of personal parties. We may regret that the means are so unpleasant, by which we keep society steady ; we may fear the extremes, to which we may sometimes be suddenly brought by the violence they occasion ; but, after all, the equal movement of our system must be allowed to be maintained by it. And so long as the equality of men's natural rights continues in open contradiction to the inequality of men's natural gifts, just so long do we believe that the only method of keeping the waters of a democratic ocean tolerably clear, is, to have them agitated. But this system, so far from isolating man, as M. de Tocqueville would have us believe, throws him into the closest of all, that is, a party combination.

But we cannot follow our author into all the very interesting questions which he opens by differing from his predecessor. It will be sufficient for our present purpose, to recommend hs work to the favorable attention of the American public. We understand that a translation is in progress. We would recommend that particular attention be paid to the rectification of the errors in the original, which are so evidently typographical that we do not think it necessary to specify them. They are to be found mostly in the figures used as dates and statistics.

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11. — *Writings of* Charles Sprague, *now first collected.* New York : Charles S. Francis. 1841. 12mo. pp. lviii. and 124.

A collection of Mr. Sprague's poems cannot fail to be welcomed by all readers of taste. In some respects they are very remarkable productions. They are highly finished, at a time when a majority of writers cast aside all the old fashioned principles of elegant composition. Their style is formed upon the best English models of an age, when the regularity of classical writing was much more highly appreciated than it is now. The thought is always clear and definite ; a marked contrast with the cloudiness that envelopes a large part of the literature of the day. It is rational, well meditated, and temperate; and this, too, is a happy contrast to the extravagance, and theatrical study for effect, which characterize the most popular of

the recent writers. They show a calm and observing mind ; fineness of sentiment and feeling ; a ready perception of the vices and follies of mankind ; and at the same time a tolerating spirit, which visits them with good-humored satire, rather than the awful severity of the judge. Mr. Sprague's poetical genius passes with ease and grace from the grave to the gay ; from the didactic to the humorous ; from earnest delineations of passion and suffering, to sportive pictures of fashionable folly, vanity, and frivolity. The lyrical element enters largely into the formation of his poetical character ; some of his shorter pieces compare well with the best things of their kind in the language. Most of the peculiar qualities of his genius are happily illustrated by the first and longest piece in the collection, the Phi Beta Kappa poem on "Curiosity." This opens by a passage ingeniously contrived to excite the very feeling which was to be the subject of the poem ; and the effect upon the audience when the verses were recited we well remember to have been extraordinary The various modes in which this, the master passion of human nature, manifests itself, are beautifully described in a series of pictures drawn with admirable skill. A great deal of playful satire enters into the material of the poem ; fine turns of wit enliven it from time to time ; and here and there a touch of pathos harmonizes it to a proper tone. The versification is highly polished, and the poet happily selected the good old-fashioned heroic couplet ; the only measure in which a poem designed to be spoken should ever be written. It flows on in a stream of harmonious beauty ; and not without the epigrammatic point, for which the English couplet is excellently adapted, and the last perfection of which it acquired in the hands of Pope. Wit, humor, pathos, and epigram are all subjected, in this fine poem, to a moral purpose ; immorality, impiety, and blasphemy, are held up to execration with all the force of the poet's genius. Falsehood and calumny, fraud and avarice, are painted with the colors borrowed from the artist's moral wrath. The spirit of evil which walks up and down and to and fro to destroy, in the shape of the bigot and the religious quack, — the atheist and the "unsexed thing that scorns her God," — is pointed out to the indignation and contempt of man. We should be glad to quote many of the noble passages in illustration of our remarks, but they are familiar to most of our readers. They are excellent examples of the true, vigorous, and polished expression of the thoughts, feelings, and convictions of a poetical mind, and a heart morally sound to the core.

The Shakspeare Ode is a noble lyric, devoted, as its title implies, to celebrating the genius of the "myriad-minded" Shakspeare. We are reminded, while reading this Ode, of the

best lyrics in the English language, the Odes of Gray. Not that Mr. Sprague has borrowed any thing from his English predecessor, but the similarity of the subject to that of some parts of the "Progress of Poesy," and a kindred loftiness of language, recall the magnificent stanzas of that writer. Mr. Sprague's language is not, of course, so compressed nor so gorgeously inwrought with the golden embroidery of classical allusion as Gray's; but he shows the same skill in personifying the passions, and thus exalting the genius of Shakspeare, by making the mighty elements of the soul of man come and bow themselves submissively to their great master's will. The leading characters in the Shakspearean dramas appear in this grand ode, in slow procession, conjured up by one who has felt them in all their awful sublimity. The high-wrought poetical cast of the language by which they are presented to us, is worthy of the exalted theme.

Some of the shorter pieces, expressive of the domestic affections, are exquisitely tender. Nothing can surpass the sweetness of "I see thee still," or the delicacy of the lines beginning

> "O! it is life! departed days
> Fling back their brightness while I gaze."

The "Winged Worshippers" is a charming little poem, upon a trifling but pleasant incident, — two swallows flying into church during divine service. The language is very elegant, and the incident finely moralized. We believe this poem has been oftener quoted than any other of Mr. Sprague's writings. It is one of those rare things that people never forget. It is printed in all selections of poetry, elegant extracts and the like; it is committed to memory in the schools; and about once in three years it goes the round of all the newspapers.*

The Prize pieces and prologues are very finished productions; but being designed for occasions of merely temporary interest, are not likely to be much read after the occasions are forgotten. The two prose discourses, with which the volume closes, by no means equal, in their way, the poems. They are

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* The third stanza in this elegant poem is as follows:

> "Ye never knew
> The crimes for which we come to weep;
> Penance is not for you
> Blessed wanderers of the *upper deep.*"

The expression in italics reminds us of a similar poetical turn in Euripides;

> "Δεῖ γάρ νυν ἤτοι γῆς σφε κρυφθῆναι κάτω,
> Ἢ πτηνὸν ἄραι σῶμ' ἐσ αἰθέρος ζάθος."
> "For she must either hide beneath the earth,
> Or soar on wings into the *ethereal deep.*" — *Med.* 1294 - 5.

far from being good specimens of English style. They are deficient in simplicity and directness of expression ; they are altogether too ornate for good taste, presenting in this respect a singular contrast to the poems, the chasteness of which is one of their greatest charms. The only thing to be regretted with regard to this volume is, that the poet did not choose to make it for himself, and confine it to a selection of his best poetical pieces. We hope the cares of business will yet allow him to do this, and that we shall be favored in future with more notes under his signature, whether poetical or otherwise, than we have ever had the good fortune to receive in times past.

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12. — *The Position and Duties of the Educated Men of the Country. A Discourse pronounced before the Euglossian and Alpha Phi Delta Societies of Geneva College, August 5th,* 1840 : By C. S. Henry, D. D., Professor of Intellectual Philosophy and Belles Lettres in the University of the City of New York. New York : Robert Craighead. 8vo. pp. 46.

Professor Henry is a vigorous and cultivated writer. His papers in the "New York Review" show uncommon powers of style, thought, and illustration. His acquirements in various branches of literature, especially in philosophy, are distinguished. From time to time he has been called upon to deliver anniversary discourses before the literary societies which form a remarkable feature in the public institutions of the United States. These discourses have shown abilities of a high order ; and though we are far from agreeing with Mr. Henry's opinions on many points, we cannot help admiring his unquenchable love of good letters, the bold eloquence with which he advocates their cause, and the frankness with which he utters sentiments that he honestly cherishes, however at variance with the popular tendencies of the times. He always advocates high and generous views of the worth of moral and intellectual culture, and points to an ideal standard for the rising minds of the country to aspire to. But he is too alive to the evil tendencies of the times, and, as it seems to us, fails to discern the blessed promises that gleam out from the clouds, of a better and a brighter future. He takes too dark a view of that disregard of ancient forms, which marks the proceedings of the present generation ; and places too much stress upon the efforts he would have us make to rekindle a reverence for them, as a means of spiritual improvement. He not only looks to the church for aid in the moral regeneration of mankind, but

would reunite the broken bands by which education and the church in past times have been held together.

Excepting that we do not agree with many of Mr. Henry's disparaging views of the working of our institutions, we cordially approve of his discourse. It is written throughout in a spirited and scholarlike style, and some passages are wrought up to a high pitch of eloquence and beauty.

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13. — *The Lowell Offering ; a Repository of Original Articles, written by Females employed in the Mills.* Lowell : A. Watson. Numbers 1, 2, and 3. 4to. pp. 1 – 48.

In an article on "The Cotton Manufacture," in the last Number of this Journal, we took occasion to speak of the intelligence and general respectability of the factory operatives at the new city of Lowell. We little expected so soon to see such evidence of their cultivation of mind, as what is now before us. A literary periodical from a cotton-mill is a new thing under the sun. One might think that a factory, with its eternal and confounding whirl and clatter, would be the last place on earth which the Castalian maids would choose to haunt. But here they have been, past doubt, and have left the authentic print of their step.

The "Lowell Offering," it appears, had its origin in a *réunion* of factory girls, who were accustomed to enliven, and turn to profit, their social meetings, by communicating to one another their compositions in prose and verse. Two clergymen, who were in the habit of attending these meetings, suggested a publication of some of the pieces thus contributed, in order "to encourage the cultivation of talent, to preserve articles worthy of preservation, and to correct an erroneous idea which generally prevails in relation to the intelligence of persons employed in the mills." We are not surprised to be told, that the success of the work has far exceeded the modest expectations of its projectors. Of the first Number, we learn that an edition of three thousand copies has been disposed of, and a second edition of two thousand copies has just been issued from the press.

The papers in the three Numbers before us are wholly the production of female operatives in the Lowell mills. Their merit will astonish and mistify all readers, whose notions of a manufacturing population are drawn from descriptions of the manufacturing towns abroad ; and especially will it be a sore perplexity and cross (while it should rather be a provocative to a generous literary emulation) to those ingenious gentlemen,

who, in Congress and elsewhere, have been used to speak so intelligently of the "white slaves" of the North. Of course, it is less matter of surprise to us, who have been aware that many of these young women have that sort of taste, which leads them, when their day's work is done, to take lessons in French and music, and that they are mostly the well-educated daughters of substantial New England farmers, attracted to the factories by the prospect of earning more money than other occupations afford the promise of, and securing an honorable independence for the present, or making provision for a future home.

Yet we confess we were not entirely prepared for the evidence of taste, talent, and acquisition, on the part of their fair authors, which these writings exhibit. They are by no means compositions of that class which young ladies are prone to record in each other's albums, or boarding-school misses to hand in for the quarterly prize. While the whole collection is pervaded by a tone of sound and healthy feeling, many of its pieces show a maturity of thought, and a familiarity with the literature of the present day and other days, such as satisfy the reader at once, that if he has only taken it up as a phenomenon, and not as what can bear criticism and reward perusal, he has but to own his error and dismiss his condescension, as soon as may be. Among the prose articles, the "History of a Hemlock Broom," and the "Dialogue between Mr. Spruce and Mr. Birch," are pieces which would not seem out of place in a collection of the writings of Jane Taylor; and the "Recollections of an Old Maid," are charming sketches of still human life, which Miss Mitford's self would not need to blush to own. In a different style is an article occasioned by a calumny said to have been vented by Mr. Orestes A. Brownson. It seems that, among other inane and insane things with which that gentleman has treated the public, he has lately ventured to indite the exquisite absurdity; "*She has worked in a factory* is sufficient to damn to infamy the most worthy and virtuous girl." He reckoned without his host. The "Lowell Offering" will, we fancy, make him more careful for the future how he deals with the characters of the thousands of his respectable young countrywomen engaged in this employment. He sees, by this time, — if he does not, others do, — that there are some among them whose literary skill would do no discredit to his own spirited pen, while their right tone of sentiment, moral elevation, and generous and Christian feeling are out of reach of a comparison with the demagogic rhapsodies, with which, — to judge from occasional specimens that come in our way, — his readers are wont to be edified. If he does not find himself, in this instance, pursued by the Furies, like his namesake of old, or, like the

rash Lycurgus, torn in pieces by the Mænades, he has taken a lesson, of a kind likely to be remembered, as to what a sensible and right-minded woman can do, when an unmanly assault provokes it. The piece is as good in point of logic and style, as of spirit and temper.

Of the poetical compositions, the following may serve as an agreeable specimen, though there are others well executed in a more ambitious strain.

"NO.

"THEY say it is too hard a word
For coward lips to speak;
They tell us it is seldom heard
Where moral power is weak.
'Tis but two letters though, at most,
Two harmless creatures, N & O;
And sure he has no need to boast,
Whatever of applause is lost,
If nought of principle it cost,
And truth and duty tell him so,
Who cannot promptly answer, NO.

"But that it is too hard sometimes,
Its simple power to try,
Bear witness all ye ills and crimes
That stain humanity,—
Too hard! and would *that* told it all;
But nay, it is too *easy* too!
When suffering and sorrow call,
It echoes from the rich man's hall,—
The sighs that rise, the tears that fall
From virtue's lids, too plainly show,
How easy selfishness says, NO.

"I've seen upon the orphan's cheek
The eloquence of grief,
Betokening more than words can speak,
And pleading for relief.
That look was changed to wild despair,
And hope's last vestige sold to woe;
Nought but keen anguish lingered where
One ray had mingled with her care;
For the dark frown which met her there,
Forbade the soothing tear to flow,
And said, in direful accents, NO.

"I've heard the voice of love
Soft sighing on the breeze,
And gentle as the timid dove,
Each tone was framed to please.
It sought the wanderer's feet to lure
Where once it fondly loved to go;
It talked of pleasures that endure,—

Ennobling, lofty, simple, pure,
And fain the tempted soul would cure;
But its rich music sunk in wo,
When sullen hatred muttered, NO.

"I've felt the movings of a Hand
That touched to win the soul,—
I wonder how I could withstand
So meek, so mild control.
The Hand that led my early feet
Through fields where streams of mercy flow;
The Hand that made my life replete
With joy, and hope, and blessings sweet;
'T would lead me to a safe retreat,
An humble vale, a heaven below,—
But my proud spirit answered, NO.

"That Hand of love, unwearied still
By such ingratitude,
Has been my guide through good and ill,
And daily life renewed.
And now I can but love that Hand,
My strength to conquer every foe,
My life and shield; and I may stand
On the sure rock of his command,
Despite the passions' lawless band,—
When tempted from my rock to go,
Its length and breadth shall echo, NO.

"In that one word is magic power,
As little as it is;
It would have guarded Eden's bower,
And cherished man in bliss;
It would have thwarted many a plan,
Deep-laid, for deadly overthrow.
Decision oft has rescued man
From snares himself could hardly scan;
And often since the world began,
Hath peace, like a pure fountain's flow,
Accompanied the steadfast NO.

"Then let me wield the weapon well,
And make its power my own
Nor fear for what the world may tell,
Though I shall stand alone,
But that same word, when out of place,
Has been to worth the overthrow,—
Then let me with a soothing YES,
My warmest sympathy express,
The tear from sorrow's eyelids chase,—
For where kind words of love shall flow,
Why should these lips speak cruel NO?

"ADELAIDE."

—No. III. p. 38.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

The American Swine Breeder, a Practical Treatise on the Selection, Rearing, and Fattening of Swine. By Henry W. Ellsworth. Philadelphia: Hogan & Thompson. 16mo. pp. 304.

Agricultural Addresses, delivered at New Haven, Norwich, and Hartford, Connecticut, at the County Cattle Shows, in the year 1840. By Henry Colman, Commissioner of the Agricultural Survey of Massachusetts. Published by request of the three Societies. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 72.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Memoir of Nathaniel Bowditch. Prepared for the Young. Printed for the Warren Street Chapel. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 158.

Sketches of Conspicuous Living Characters of France. Translated by R. M. Walsh. Philadelphia: Lee & Blanchard. 12mo. pp. 332.

The Bland Papers; being a Selection from the Manuscripts of Colonel Theodorick Bland, Jr., of Prince George County, Virginia; to which are prefixed an Introduction, and a Memoir of Colonel Bland. Edited by Charles Campbell. Petersburg, (Va.): Edmund and Julian C. Ruffin. pp. 160.

The Life of De Witt Clinton. By James Renwick, LL. D., Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry in Columbia College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 334.

The Life of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry. By Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, U. S. N. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 18mo. pp. 322 and 270.

EDUCATION.

The Artist's Guide and Mechanic's own Book, embracing the Portion of Chemistry applicable to the Mechanic Arts, with Abstracts of Electricity, Galvanism, Magnetism, Pneumatics, Optics, Astronomy, and Mechanical Philosophy; also, Mechanical Exercises in Iron, Steel, Lead, Zinc, Copper, and Tin soldering; and a Variety of Useful Receipts, extending to every Profession and Occupation of Life, particularly Dyeing, Silk, Woolen, Cotton, and Leather. By James Pilkington. New York: Alexander V. Blake. 12mo. pp. 482.

A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language. By Isaac Nordheimer, Phil. Doct., Professor of Arabic and other Oriental Languages in the University of the City of New York. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. xix. 360.

An Elementary Treatise on Algebra, in Theory and Practice, with Attempts to simplify some of the more Difficult Parts of that Science, particularly the Solution of Cubic Equations and the Higher Orders; with Notes and Illustrations, containing a Variety of Particulars relating to the Discoveries and Improvements that have been made in this Branch of Analysis, and, it is believed, more New and Entertaining Questions and Solutions than can be found in any other Work on the Same Subject. To which is added an Appendix, on the Application of Algebra to Geometry. By John D. Williams, Author of "A Key to Hutton's Mathematics, containing the Questions and their Solutions"; "Arithmetical and Algebraical Amusements," "Arithmetic and Key," &c. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 605.

The title-page of this treatise may serve students for a good long morning's first lesson. We have not sufficiently recovered from the exhaustion of reading it, to feel equal to any examination of the following pages. We observe, however, that the Preface declares, that "volumes have been written on the elegance and importance of this study"; — which is very likely, though it has not been our hap to meet with their titles in any catalogue; and that it commemorates successful votaries of the science, who "have gained for themselves an immortality that shall endure till time shall be no longer," — an immortality of that uncommon kind which may well excite a peculiar ambition.

HISTORY.

The History of Rowley, anciently including Bradford, Boxford, and Georgetown, from the year 1630 to the present time. By Thomas Gage. With an Address, delivered September 5th, 1839, at the Celebration of the Second Centennial Anniversary of its Settlement. By the Rev. James Bradford. Boston: Ferdinand Andrews. 12mo. pp. 484.

An Offering to Churchmen; or a few Historical Hints connected with the Origin and Compilation of the Prayer Book, with Notes and an Appendix, containing various Documents connected with our Liturgy. By W. H. Odenheimer, A. M., Rector of St. Peter's Church. Philadelphia: R. S. H. George. 48mo. pp. 166.

JUVENILE BOOKS.

The Poetry of Woman. By the Author of "The Palfreys"; "Ellen Clifford," &c. Boston: A. Tompkins & B. B. Mussey. 18mo. pp. 180.

Blind Alice; or, Do Right, if you wish to be Happy. By a Lady. New York: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 18mo. pp. 101.

Interesting Stories, chiefly in Illustration of Providence. From the German of Schmid. Translated from the latest French Edition by the Author of "The Factory Boy." Boston: D. S. King. 18mo. pp. 154.

The Pathway of the Saviour; designed for Sunday School Libraries and Bible Classes. By a Friend of Children. Boston: Benjamin H. Greene. 18mo. pp. 155.

The Faded Flower; or, History of Charles P. By the Author of "Samuel in the Temple." Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 50.

Mary Somers, a Narrative from Real Life. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 54.

Conrad; or, a Time to Die. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 54.

Thoughts for Little Children. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 32mo. pp. 96.

Samuel in the Temple. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 36.

Conversations about the Babe of Bethlehem. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 72.

The Young Forester. A Narrative of the Early Life of a Christian Missionary. 18mo. pp. 94.

LAW.

Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts from 1630 to the Revolution in 1775. By Emery Washburn. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 407.

Commentaries on the Conflict of Laws, Foreign and Domestic, in Regard to Contracts, Rights, and Remedies, and especially in Regard to Marriages, Divorces, Wills, Successions, and Judgments. By Joseph Story, LL. D., Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. Second Edition. Revised, corrected, and greatly enlarged. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 559.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The New World or Mechanical System, to perform the Labors of Man and Beast by Inanimate Powers, that cost nothing, for producing and preparing the Substances of Life. With Plates. By J. A. Etzler. As a Sequel of his "Paradise." Philadelphia: C. F. Stollmeyer. 8vo. pp. 75.

The Women of England, their Social Duties, and Domestic Habits. By Mrs. Ellis (late Sarah Stickney), Author of "The Poetry of Life," "Pictures of Private Life," &c., &c. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker. 12mo. pp. 239.

A Green Hand's First Cruise, roughed out from the Log-Book of Memory of Twenty-five Years' Standing; together with a Residence of Five Months in Dartmoor. By a Younker. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 278 and 329.

The Eccentric Preacher; or a Sketch of the Life of the celebrated Lorenzo Dow, abridged from his Journal, and containing the most Interesting Facts in his Experience; also, an abridgment of his celebrated Chain! and of his curious Thoughts on Matrimony! Lowell: E. A. Rice & Co. 16mo. pp. 204.

Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, August, September, and October, 1840.

Viator; or a Peep into my Note-Book. By the Author of a "Grumbler's Miscellaneous Thoughts," &c. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 12mo. pp. 355.

Remarks on the Nature and Probable Effects of introducing the Voluntary System in the Studies of Latin and Greek, proposed in certain Resolutions of the President and Fellows of Harvard University, now under the Consideration of its Board of Overseers, and also

on the Present State of the Latin Department in that Institution. By Josiah Quincy, President of the University. Cambridge: John Owen. 8vo. pp. 29.

Miscellaneous Thoughts on Men, Manners, and Things. By Anthony Grumbler, of Grumbleton Hall, Esquire. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 12mo. pp. 365.

Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Navy of the United States, including Officers of the Marine Corps for the year 1841. Printed by Order of the Secretary of the Navy, in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate of the United States, of December 13, 1815. Washington: Jacob Gideon, Jr. 12mo. pp. 72.

Official Army Register for 1841. Printed by Order of the Secretary of War, in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate of the United States, of December 13, 1815. Adjutant General's Office, Washington, January, 1841. 12mo.

Old Humphrey's Observations. New York: Robert Carter. 12mo. pp. 258.

The Envoy. From Free Hearts to the Free. Pawtucket, R. I. Published by the Juvenile Emancipation Society. 18mo. pp. 112.

Correspondence between Oliver Johnson and George F. White, a Minister of the Society of Friends, with an Appendix. New York: Oliver Johnson. 12mo. pp. 48.

Browne's Banking and Mercantile Tables. New York: George F. Nesbett.

A Genealogical Register of the Descendants, in the Male Line, of Robert Day, of Hartford, Connecticut, who died in the year 1648. New Haven: William Storrer, Jr. 8vo. pp. 44.

Famous Old People; being the Second Epoch of Grandfather's Chair. By Nathaniel Hawthorne, Author of "Twice Told Tales." Boston: E. P. Peabody. 32mo. pp. 158.

A Vindication of Classical Studies. By Charles H. Lyon, A. M., one of the Principals of the Irving Institute. New York: H. & S. Raynor. 12mo. pp. 48.

The Rhode Island Book; Selections in Prose and Verse, from the Writings of Rhode Island Citizens. By Anne C. Lynch. Providence: H. Fuller. 12mo. pp. 352.

Accident has prevented our taking up this attractive volume in season to give any account of it in the present Number. It strikes us, on a glance at the contents, as one of the most agreeable compilations of its very popular class, which have been brought before the public.

MUSIC.

The Boston School Song Book. Published under the Sanction of the Boston Academy of Music. Original and Selected. By Lowell Mason. Boston: J. H. Wilkins & R. B. Carter.

The Southern Harp; consisting of Original, Sacred, and Moral Songs, adapted to the most Popular Melodies, for the Piano-forte and Guitar. By Mrs. Mary S. B. Dana. Boston: Parker & Ditson. 4to. pp. 99.

NEW PERIODICALS.

Arcturus, a Journal of Books and Opinion. New York: Benjamin G. Trevett. Monthly. 8vo. $5·00 per annum.

The Mother's Assistant and Young Ladies' Friend. William C. Brown, Editor. Monthly. 8vo. Each No. to contain 32 pages. $1·00 per annum.

Merry's Museum. Monthly. Boston: Bradbury & Soden.

Roberts' Semi-Monthly Magazine, for Town and Country. Published on the 1st and 15th of every Month, and containing forty large octavo pages. Boston: George Roberts.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

Constance, or the Merchant's Daughter. A Tale of our Times. New York: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 18mo. pp. 160.

The Kinsmen; or, the Black Riders of Congaree. A Tale. By the Author of the "Partisan," "Mellichampe," "Guy Rivers," "The Yemassee," &c. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 241 and 275.

Barbara Howard, or the Belle of Allensville. A Tale. Boston: Sleeper, Dix, & Rogers. 16mo. pp. 106.

Annie O'Connel. A Temperance Tale. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 32mo.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

An Address delivered in South Hadley, Massachusetts, July 30th, 1840, at the Third Anniversary of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. By Mark Hopkins, D. D. Published by request of the Trustees. Northampton: John Metcalf. 8vo. pp. 23.

A Tribute to the Memory of the Rev. Wilbur Fisk, D. D., President of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut. By the Reverend Professor Whedon. New York. 8vo. pp. 23.

Discourse before the Students of La Fayette College, on the Study of Mathematics. By Washington M'Cartney, Esquire, Professor of Mathematics. Easton, (Penn.): Hetrick & Maxwell. 8vo. pp. 20.

Two Lectures; viz. Lecture on the Causes of the Decline of Political and National Morality, and Lecture on the Adaptation of the Universe to the Cultivation of the Mind. By Rowland G. Hazard, Author of "Language." Providence: H. Fuller. 8vo. pp. 29 and 48.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

Thoughts in Past Years. By the Author of "The Cathedral." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 400.

Sacred Melodies, or Hymns for Youth; with appropriate Selections from Scripture. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 12mo. pp. 111.

The plan of this little work is excellent; and its execution combines a profound religious feeling, and a good literary taste; — two things that do not go together as often as could be wished. The selections from the Bible are judicious, and the hymns, in which the thoughts conveyed in the Scriptural passages are repeated and enlarged upon, are marked by smoothness of versification, and a correct sense of the proprieties of language. They are well adapted by their simplicity to interest the feelings, and imprint themselves on the memories, of the young.

Poems. By Miss Charlotte Allen. Boston: Saxton & Pierce. 16mo. pp. 143.

The Scimeter. Containing well-tempered Reflections by the Sharpe Family. Boston: I. R. Butts. pp. 32.

The Patapsco, and other Poems. By Charles Soran. Baltimore: N. Hickman. 8vo. pp. 104.

This volume shows a good deal of native vigor. We take it up for a few words of notice, because it certainly contains lines, and even whole stanzas, of uncommon merit. But Mr. Soran has not attained to a mastery over the instrument which he aspires to manage. He feels the force of language, and has thoughts which deserve fit expression; but he cannot use language happily for a long time together, and therefore cannot, except in short passages, give a suitable utterance to his thoughts. The use of language, especially of poetical language, is an art to be laboriously acquired like any other art. Fine writing has been well said to be the finest of all the fine arts. It does not, like Dogberry's reading and writing, come by nature. It is the result of the most secret and most subtle intellectual processes. In Mr. Soran's verses there are frequent instances, where the language becomes awkward, or breaks down, or fails to convey the image; and others, where the laws of metre are remorselessly violated; — all which is against the peace and dignity of the literary commonwealth.

In short, this handsome volume shows promising natural powers, with little culture; the language is often striking, but not seldom feeble and flat; the versification is sometimes harmonious and graceful, and then again harsh, irregular, and rough; the author has, therefore, much yet to do, before he will print a volume of poems that shall do full justice to his unquestionable abilities. We will not be so unfeeling as to make a separate point of the love verses, though of these there are too many of that kind, which are the common fruit of a *tender* age, and which one has to live but a little while, to feel uneasy that he has committed.

Mary Stuart, a Tragedy from the German of Schiller. By William Peter, A. M. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 12mo. pp. 255.

Mr. Peter has lately become known in the United States by an excellent translation of "William Tell." The present work is marked by the same excellences and defects as the former. The excellences are a general fidelity to the original, and a uniform purity of English style; the defects are occasional baldness, and a deficiency of poetical phraseology. The play in the original, though full of Schiller's splendid declamation, must be considered on the whole his least successful drama. It is altogether too long. The action lingers in a manner very trying to any but a German patience; and the dialogue at the conclusion, after Mary's final doom is known, is protracted to an agony. Nor do we think there is any very nice drawing of characters in this play. The English statesmen who were most concerned in the memorable event of Mary's execution, were among the most extraordinary men of the age; but they do not appear so in Schiller. They are all mere stalking tragedy figures, speaking in the same sounding Iambic measure, and making no very distinct impression on the mind. The Virgin Queen herself is a vague and shadowy monster, and her beautiful rival nothing but a plaintive phantom.

But there is a fine vein of lyric poetry running through this drama. The noble passage in which Mary gives utterance to her feelings on being released for a short time from her prison, just before her interview with Elizabeth, is in Schiller's best and highest mood. Mary's penitence for the sins of her youth is also a grand passage. The exalted character of Schiller is everywhere manifested in the sentiments of the drama; and whatever may be its unfitness for the stage, it must ever be read with a glow of pleasure for its many moving strains of eloquence, and sublime lyric poetry. The translation of such a work is a meritorious service to the cause of letters, and is very honorable to the taste and ability of Mr.

Peter. The translation of the "Battle with the Dragon" is extremely well executed. The original is among the most spirited of Schiller's minor pieces; and the translation preserves, in a very good degree, the animation and fire of the German.

THEOLOGY AND SERMONS.

Two Sermons, preached at the Second Church in Boston; the one Thanksgiving Day, and the other November last; occasional to the Times. By Chandler Robbins. Boston: S. G. Simpkins. 12mo. pp. 30.

Sermons to Children. By F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D., Minister of King's Chapel. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 16mo. pp. 128.

A Sermon delivered before his Excellency Marcus Morton, Governor, his Honor George Hull, Lieutenant-Governor, the Honorable Council, and the Legislature of Massachusetts, at the Annual Election, January 6th, 1841. By David Damon, Pastor of the Congregational Church in West Cambridge. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 34.

A Discourse, delivered on a Special Occasion at Weymouth, South Parish, January 10th, 1841. By Wales Lewis, Pastor of the Church. Published by request. Boston: S. N. Dickinson. 8vo. pp. 28.

Christ the Head of the Church. A Sermon delivered at the Installation of the Rev. Edmund H. Sears, in Lancaster, Massachusetts, December 23d, 1840. By Henry Ware, Jr., Parkman Professor of Pulpit Eloquence and the Pastoral Care in Harvard University. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 8vo. pp. 36.

True Charity a Check to Pauperism. A Discourse delivered before the Howard Benevolent Society, at the Old South Church, January 24th, 1841. By the Rev. William Hague, Pastor of the Church in Federal Street. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 72mo. pp. 72.

The New Birth. A Sermon preached at the Bulfinch Street Church, Sunday Morning, January 10th, 1841, by its Pastor, Frederick T. Gray. Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins. 12mo. pp. 16.

Pastoral Addresses. By John Angell James, Author of "Anxious Inquirer after Salvation," "Young Man from Home," "Christian Professor," &c. &c., with an Introduction by the Rev. William Adams. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 16mo. pp. 213.

Religion in its Relation to the Present Life; in a Series of Lectures, delivered before the Young Men's Association of Utica. By A. B. Johnson. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 180.

Sermons on Public Worship suited to the Times. By Samuel Nott, Jr. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 12mo. pp. 404.

Preëminence of Christianity. A Discourse delivered on Christmas Eve, December 24th, 1840. By the Rev. L. C. Browne. Nashua: Charles F. Gill. 8vo. pp. 24.

Sermons on various Subjects. By the Rev. E. H. Chapin. Boston: A. Tompkins. 18mo. pp. 216.

Socinianism Subversive of Christianity. A Sermon. By Samuel A. Van Vranken, Minister of the Gospel, and Pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church in Broome Street. New York: Robert Carter. 18mo. pp. 64.

An Examination of President Edwards' Inquiry on the Freedom of the Will. By Jeremiah Day, President of Yale College. New Haven: Durrie & Peck. 12mo. pp. 340.

Travels of our Saviour, with some of the leading Incidents of his Life. By William A. Alcott. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. pp. 311.

The New Idolatry. A Sermon, preached to the First Church, on Sunday, 22d November, 1840. By its Minister, N. L. Frothingham. Boston: J. T. Buckingham. 8vo. pp. 15.

Voices of the Dead. A Sermon preached before the Jamaica Plain Parish, Sunday Morning, December 20th, 1840. By its Junior Pastor, George Whitney. Boston: I. R. Butts. 8vo. pp. 16.

Reminiscences of the Best Hours of Life for the Hour of Death. From the German of Jean Paul Richter. Boston: Joseph Dowe. 16mo. pp. 52.

Heroines of Sacred History. By Mrs. Steele. New York: John S. Taylor & M. W. Dodd. 12mo. pp. 238.

A Dictionary of Correspondences, Representations, and Significatives, derived from the Word of the Lord. Extracted from the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg. Boston: Otis Clapp. 8vo. pp. 431.

God's Hand in America. By the Rev. George B. Cheever. With an Essay, by the Rev. Dr. Skinner. New York: M. W. Dodd. 12mo. pp. 168.

Children taught about God. By the Rev. E. N. Kirk. New York: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 32mo. pp. 64.

The Flying Roll; or, Free Grace Displayed. By F. W. Krummacher, D. D., Author of "Elisha the Tishbite." New York: M. W. Dodd. 12mo. pp. 296.

Christ our Example. By Caroline Fry, Author of "The Listener," "Scripture Reader's Guide," &c. Philadelphia: R. S. H. George. 12mo. pp. 318.

Jacob Wrestling with the Angel. By the Rev. G. D. Krummacher. Solomon and Shumalite. By F. W. Krummacher, D. D., Author of "Elisha the Tishbite." Translated from the German. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 288.

The Martyr Lamb, or Christ the Representative of his People in all Ages. Translated from the German of F. Krummacher, D. D., Author of "Elisha the Tishbite," "Elisha," "Dew of Israel," &c. New York: Robert Carter. 12mo. pp. 288.

Christian Love; or, the Duty of Personal Efforts for the Immediate Conversion of the Impenitent. New York: John S. Taylor. 72mo. pp. 96.

The Backslider. By Andrew Fuller, with an Introduction by the Rev. John Angell James. New York: John O. Taylor. 32mo. pp. 122.

Sacred Paths; or Life in Prospect of Immortality. Boston: Joseph Dowe. 18mo. pp. 218.

Think on these Things. A Sermon, delivered in the Unitarian Church, Newport, R. I., Sunday, February 28th, 1841. By Charles T. Brooks. Newport: James Atkinson. 16mo. pp. 16.

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